

The Rivals of Aristophanes

David Harvey

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THE RIVALS OF ARISTOPHANES

STUDIES IN ATHENIAN OLD COMEDY



edited by

David Harvey and John Wilkins

with a foreword by Kenneth Dover

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Illustrations by Myfanwy Tristram

Duckworth
and
The Classical Press of Wales



Frontispiece. Four terracottas of comic actors Courtesy British Museum.

1 Mon. A(ttic) T(erracotta) 9b (p. 46); BM 1865.7-20.37. Old nurse in a *himation* (mantle), holding a baby on her arm. The child is swaddled, and wears a pointed cap. Early 4th cent.; from Athens (?); height 7.5 cm.

2 Mon. AT 26b (p. 69); BM 1842.7-28.752. Herakles, cross-legged, with club, lionskin, bow and quiver. He wears a dotted *chiton* (tunic) and looped phallos; same mask as **A**. Early 4th cent.; from Melos; height 9 cm. From a mythological burlesque? (see Bowie in this volume, pp. 319-24).

3 Mon. AT 10c (p. 47); BM 1907.5-18.7. Woman hiding her face with her *himation*. Early 4th cent.; provenance unknown; height 9.5 cm.

4 Mon. AT 6b (p. 43); BM 1880.11-13.3. Traveller wearing cloak and *pilos* (pointed felt cap), carrying flask and basket. Looped phallos; same mask as **B**. He has a 'slightly aggressive attitude' (Green & Handley 60). Early 4th cent. from Tanagra (?); height 9 cm.

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General index

John Wilkins

The audiences who watched the original performances of Aristophanes in the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens knew a great deal about his rivals. They witnessed, for example, the triumph of Aristophanes' *Acharnians* over Cratinus' *Cheimazomenoi* (*Tempest-Tossed*) in 425 BC and, conversely, of Cratinus' *Pytine* (*Wine Flask*) over Aristophanes' *Clouds* in 423. We are not so fortunate. No complete play of any other poet of Old Comedy survives. Yet these poets are indispensable for anyone interested in Old Comedy. Aristophanes should surely not be read in a cultural vacuum, as if he were writing plays for their own sake and not in competition at major civic festivals. Furthermore, his attacks on his rivals are an important part of his comic rhetoric: take, for example, his comments on Cratinus, Eupolis and others at *Knights* 507–50 and *Clouds* 518–62.

Much, however, is known about these rival comic poets. There are the comments of Aristophanes himself, ancient anecdotes and summaries of plays, and above all the fragments of the comic poets (including lost plays of Aristophanes). The fragments are currently being edited by R. Kassel and C. Austin in *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin and New York, 1983–), which is now nearing completion. These splendid volumes have inspired us to produce the present volume, *The Rivals of Aristophanes*. Kassel and Austin present all the surviving texts and fragments, with commentary and bibliography. It would have been difficult to assemble a book like *The Rivals of Aristophanes* before their publication. There are too many rival poets to include in a single work, but we have covered a large number of them and all are noted in our Biographical Appendix.

The present work is divided into five sections: editing comic fragments (chapter 1), the poets of Old Comedy (chapters 2–13), the transition to Middle Comedy (chapters 14–15), literary themes (chapters 16–19) and social themes (chapters 20–28). The aim of this book is two-fold: to present an assessment of many of the rival poets and to compare them with the plays of Aristophanes, in order to understand better his comic achievement. Some chapters assess all of a rival poet's work, while others discuss a particular play or topics in Aristophanes and in the lost plays. Large issues such as the definition of 'Old' and 'Middle' comedy are also addressed. We address general problems arising from the editing of fragments (chapter 1) and discuss the possible authorship of a recently-found fragment of papyrus (chapter 11). We also pay attention to the evidence of artefacts and vase-paintings, some of which are included as illustrations in the

volume. A possible portrait of Eupolis is considered in chapter 10.

Contributors to the volume include a number of editors of Aristophanes, whose books are widely used: Kenneth Dover's *Clouds* (Oxford, 1968) and *Frogs* (Oxford, 1993), Jeffrey Henderson's *Lysistrata* (Oxford, 1987), Douglas Olson's *Peace* (Oxford, 1998) (Olson's *Knights* is forthcoming from Oxford) and Alan Sommerstein's edition with excellent translations of all the plays of Aristophanes (Warminster, 1980–): all these form the foundation for any study of Aristophanes. We are delighted to present these authors' views on the rivals of Aristophanes alongside contributions from an international array of other textual scholars, literary scholars and ancient historians.

Naturally this is not the only recent collection of essays on the rivals of Aristophanes (Gregory Dobrov has recently edited *Beyond Aristophanes: transition and diversity in Greek comedy*, Atlanta 1995), but we have tried to include as many of the rival poets as possible and as many academic approaches as possible.¹ We have also tried to make the fragmentary plays as accessible as we can by translating virtually all the Greek texts that are discussed by our contributors. (A translation of many of the fragments edited by Kassel and Austin is currently in progress in the United States, under the general editorship of Jeffrey Rusten.) Many of the chapters in this volume began life as papers presented to the conference entitled *The Rivals of Aristophanes*, which was held at the Institute of Classical Studies in London in 1996. We have enriched the volume by commissioning a number of additional chapters. The conference allowed contributors to exchange and develop their views and we believe that the current volume has greatly benefited from that interaction.

Aristophanes should have the last word: ὦ σοφώτατοι θεαταὶ δεῦρο τὸν νοῦν προσέχετε (*Clouds* 575).

Note

¹ Readers may be interested in a work related to the present volume, D. Braund and J. Wilkins (eds.) *Athenaeus and his World*, Exeter 2000.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations are generally those used in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*³, Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon*⁹ and *L'Année philologique*, but we have occasionally printed fuller forms to avoid obscurity.

Chapter 1

ON EDITING COMIC FRAGMENTS FROM LITERARY AND LEXICOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

W.G. Arnott

At a recent conference a speaker observed that the remarkable growth of interest in pre-Socratic philosophy emerging in Germany after the end of the first World War was sparked mainly by the availability for the first time of a palmary edition of the surviving fragments: that produced by Hermann Diels in 1903 (Most 1995). It is to be hoped that the similarly authoritative edition of the comic fragments by Rudolf Kassel and Colin Austin,¹ now on the way to completion, will have a similar effect, and the existence of this volume on the rivals of Aristophanes is one piece of evidence that it will. Those two scholars have provided us with excellent texts of the comic fragments, accurate and full recording of the relevant manuscripts, and a judicious selection of conjectures correctly assigned to their πρώτοί εὑρεταί. Errors of fact and judgment are remarkably few, and although this rightly increases the confidence of users of this edition, some warnings to these latter may still be needed. Each of the excerpted comic fragments has been torn out of its original dramatic context and cited for a non-dramatic purpose that serves the citer.

Here I should like to examine some of the accidents that tend to befall these fragments on their passage from the original play text to the extant manuscripts of those who quote them, and I must commence with an apology. My findings will generally be based on a lifetime's study of the fragments not of an Old Comedy poet, but of Alexis, whose career spanned the periods of later Middle Comedy and New Comedy. Yet virtually all that I shall have to say applies to the book fragments of Old Comedy too. The only significant difference that I have noted is that one citer, Stobaeus, who frequently includes in his anthology fragments from later comedy containing moral and social *gnomai*, very rarely finds equivalent material in Old Comedy. The other citers are common to all periods of comedy. A spot check of the first hundred fragments of Aristophanes and Cratinus in Kassel-Austin reveals that the top three citers for the former are Pollux (27), Photius (20) and Athenaeus (11); for Cratinus they are Photius (23), Pollux (12) and Athenaeus (11). The percentages for the whole of Alexis are Athenaeus 62, the lexicon of the Antiatticist 11, Stobaeus 8,

I

1. The manuscripts of citers such as Athenaeus and those of lexicographers like the Antiatticist present their quoted fragments as if they were written in a prose just like that used by the citers. This has a series of important consequences.

(a) When quotations are short, it is not always possible to identify the original metre, even when serious corruption is not suspected. For example Alexis fr. 170 (cited by the Byzantine paroemiographer Macarius 4.8: ἐρρέτω μέλαιν' Ὀπώρα· πᾶσι γὰρ χαρίζεται) and Menander, *Sikyonioi* fr. 3 Sandbach (cited by Photius s.v. Στράτοφόνῃ· Στράτοφόνῃ, λίτον πότ' εἶχες χλαμύδιον καὶ πᾶϊδ' ἑνὰ) could be either a whole trochaic tetrameter, or the end of one iambic trimeter and the whole of a second. Alexis fr. 209 (Antiatticist 84.1 Bekker: οὐχὶ τῶν μετρίων, ἀλλὰ τῶν βάβαί βάβαί) is usually printed thus as part of a Eupolidean, a metre quite rare in comedy of the period; but if a short lacuna is posited in the quoted text, (οὐχὶ τῶν | μετρίων – –, ἀλλὰ τῶν 'βάβαί βάβαί') it can be confidently reconstituted as part of two iambic trimeters; on such lacunae in comic fragments I shall have more to say below (2b).

(b) Because the extant manuscripts of writers like Athenaeus and lexicographers like the Antiatticist treat all their quotations as if they were continuous prose, it follows that these manuscripts do not indicate where one line of verse ends and the next begins. Furthermore, there is no identification of speakers, and in fragments containing dialogue usually no sign is added to mark where one speech ends and the next begins.

(c) Accuracy in making a citation will obviously vary among citers. Athenaeus appears more careful and reliable than the others, while Pollux and the lexicographers seem to concentrate largely on the accuracy only of that part of the citation that has caused them to make it. Yet every citer is limited by the quality of his own source and of the source manuscript(s) available to him. These normally were not the original dramatic texts, but excerpts already made by some predecessor.

And here even Athenaeus (that is, the complete version in the *codex Marcianus*: see II.1a below) is sometimes at the mercy of imperfect or damaged source material. This can be illustrated by two citations that he makes in different places (9.385f, 12.516d) from a single scene of Alexis' *Pannychis* (frs. 177, 178). Both fragments contain lacunae (fr. 177.11; fr. 178.3, 9, 17-18) which are most satisfactorily explained by an assumption that these lacunae were already present in the source manuscript that Athenaeus was using.

2. Several types of citation error (as opposed to the customary

transcriptional errors of copyists, on which see below) recur commonly in the comic fragments, regardless of how careful or careless a citer is normally.

(a) The citer tends to concentrate on that word or phrase in his citation that explains why he has made the citation. This can be exemplified by Photius s.v. ἀγκύλη, where he cites parts of two iambic trimeters from Alexis (fr. 32: ἀγκύλην της ἐμβάδος | (?) οὐ κάλῳς ἔσφίγξας λυθεῖσάν) to illustrate the use of this noun in the sense of a shoe-fastening. Sense and metre show that the part of the line which mentions the ἀγκύλη is correct, but the rest of the fragment does not scan, probably because of one or more lacunae.

(b)Lacunae are a common feature of comic fragments. The metrical pattern that such fragments form may show precisely the extent and placing of the shorter ones. Here the epitome of Athenaeus (see II.1b below) is a conspicuous offender, as we can see by comparing the texts transmitted by the *Marcianus* in the complete Athenaeus with those of the corresponding versions – often lacunose or in paraphrase – transmitted in the Epitome manuscripts. This makes a need for vigilance all the more pressing when the epitomized version of Athenaeus is not supplemented by the *Marcianus*: e.g. at 2.55c, citing Alexis fr. 268, where the portion of the fragment illustrating the purpose for which it was cited (the presence of the word θέρμοι, lupins) is correctly transmitted, but elsewhere (lines 1 and 7) lacunae are identifiable.

(c) Citations often begin or end (sometimes begin *and* end) in mid-sentence, leaving imperfect syntax and sense at openings and endings. The frequency of this may be shown from the examples found in a run of 80 fragments or so of Alexis: frs. 13 (Pollux 7.20), 36 (Poll. 7.72), 38 (Athenaeus 7.314d), 54 (Ath. 15.686a), 56 (Ath. 10.441d), 77 (Ath. 3.119f), 83 (Ath. 8.294b). See also 2d below.

(d) Citers occasionally tinker with the opening of a fragment in order to make the sense of its first sentence grammatically complete. Unfortunately some of the best modern scholars rival ancient citers in this respect, and I cite one example here as a solemn warning. Stobaeus 3.29.34 cites the opening of Alexis fr. 31 as ὅτι πάντα τὰ ζητούμεν' ἐξευρίσκεται, where the ὅτι most probably indicates that line 1 contains a subordinate clause governed by a *uerbum dicendi aut sentiendi* in the unquoted previous context (cf. 2c above). There is a good parallel for such a handling of a *gnomē* in Plautus *Captiui* 304, *sed uidē? fortuna humana fingit artatque ut lubet*. Yet despite the unanimity here of the Stobaeus manuscripts (SMABr), Meineke removed the ὅτι and conjectured ἅπαντα, which Kassel-Austin print.

(e) Textual errors in citations correspond by and large with those that one expects in manuscripts of the period. In those of the twelfth

to fifteenth centuries that cite comic fragments, the following types of error seem to occur most often (the citer is Athenaeus, except when otherwise indicated, and the fragments are always those of Alexis): *addition or omission of a definite article* (addition: frs. 145.9, 217.1; omission: fr. 88.5: ἄνθρωπος for ἄν-, as commonly); *assimilation of endings* to those of juxtaposed words (fr. 115.14); *confusion of similarly shaped letters*: κ/μ (fr. 24.3), ιτ/π/πτ (frs. 154, 264.5: both cited by Stobaeus); on α/αι see below (II.1a) on Athenaeus; *dittography* (fr. 178.16) and *haplography* (fr. 37.5–6); *etacistic and iotacistic confusions* (etacistic: fr. 158 in the Antiatticist; iotacistic: the *Marcianus* with Κρατία as a play-title at Athenaeus 3.95a, 8.340c, 11.473d, 15.678c); *substitution of glosses* (fr. 132.7, cf. Epitome of Athenaeus at Alexis fr. 268.1–2) or *later forms* (fr. 16.4 in Athenaeus, fr. 195.2 in Clement of Alexandria); *transposition to simplex ordo* (frs. 27.3–4, 131.5); *wrong word-division* (frs. 15.1–2, 7; 177.3–4).

There is nothing surprising here, and so a simple statement with selective exemplification is all that is needed. However, more abundant illustration will be found by anyone consulting the index of my commentary on Alexis (Arnott 1996, 879, s.v. Textual corruption).

II

In the second part of this paper I shall say a few words about the four commonest sources of Old Comedy fragments: Athenaeus, Pollux, Photius and the Antiatticist.

1. ATHENAEUS

Of the 342 fragments of Alexis printed by Kassel-Austin, 212 (= 62%) are cited in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai*, composed around AD 200.³ The subject-matter of this attempt to emulate Plato's *Symposium* (see Athen. 1.1f) on a grand scale inevitably leaves a biased and probably incorrect impression that the gaze of comic poets was focused predominantly on food and drink, together with the people and objects that go with them. When Athenaeus cites extant prose authors such as Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle and Theophrastus, he shows himself to be a careful and accurate excerptor.⁴ Errors that occur are usually the slips of copyists, whether in Athenaeus' own sources or in the textual tradition of *Deipnosophistae*. Cases exist where a reading in Athenaeus' citation is superior to that of the transmitted continuous text. Athenaeus' readings, generally like those in papyri of extant writers, tend not to side with any one family of a cited author's manuscripts. In his interpretation of cited material Athenaeus occasionally deigns to correct an error in a citation (e.g. 14.644b on Alexis fr. 22.3, alleging that the comic poet has confused Paros and

Parium on the Hellespont), or in a source (e.g. 8.336d, correcting Sotion p. 31 Wehrli about the attribution of the Ἀσωποδιδάσκαλος to Alexis (see Arnott 1996, 819–30). He himself occasionally misinterprets a passage (e.g. 9.367f on Alexis fr. 89.3, where he wrongly takes παροψίδων to mean plates on which food is served).

Deipnosophistai survives today in two versions: a damaged copy of the original work, and an epitome taken mainly or partly from that copy before it sustained its damage.⁵

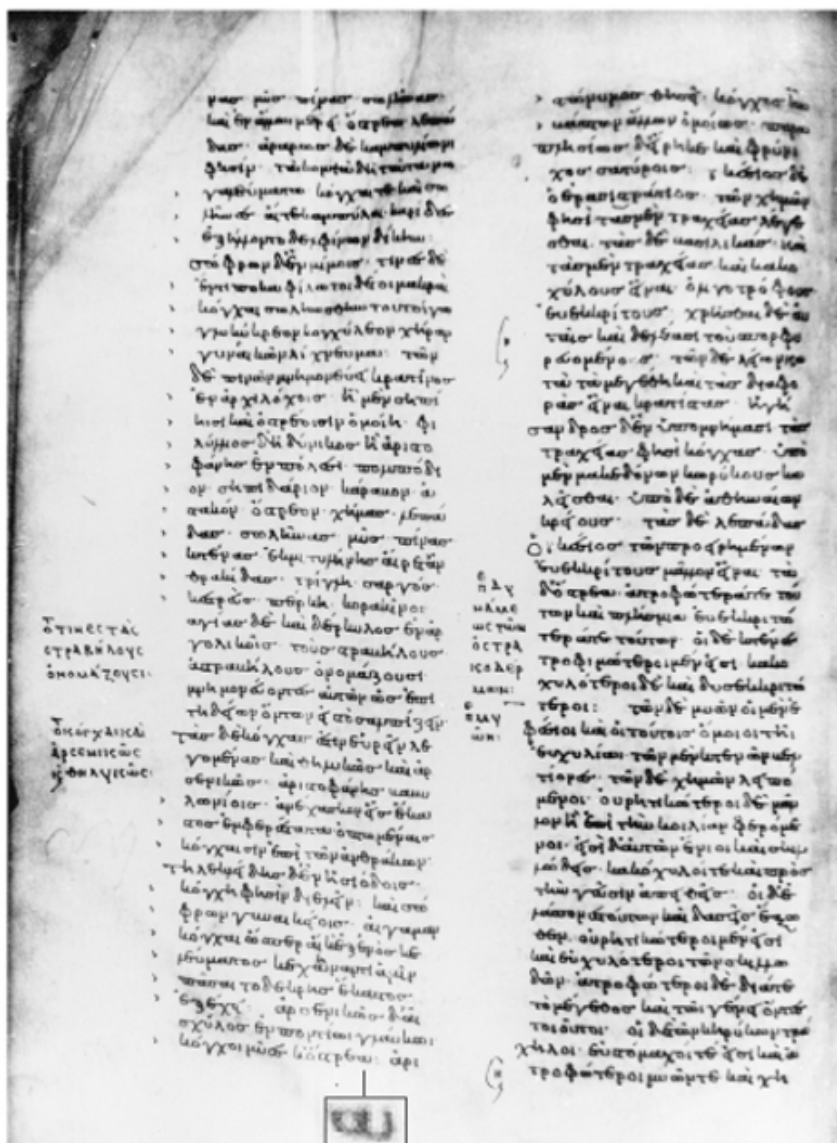


Fig. 1. A page from the codex unicus of Athenaeus Courtesy Biblioteca

(a) For the former we have the *codex Marcianus* = A (*Venetus Marc.* 447; plate I), written along with the Clarke manuscript of Plato and two manuscripts of Folio 9 verso of the *codex Marcianus* (A = *Venetus Marc. Gr. Z* 447): bk 3. 86d–87a in the left column, 87a–d in the right.

Note the citation marks in the margin, the writing of verse as prose, and the characteristic alpha with long rising tail (e.g. the first letter of line 24 in the left column, and the last letter of ὄστρεα in the bottom line): see p. 6.

This passage, on shell-fish, contains a number of citations from early Comedy: Ararus (son of Aristophanes) *Kampylion* fr. 8, Cratinus *Archilochoi* fr. 8, Philyllius (or Eunicus or Aristophanes) *Poleis* fr. 12, Aristophanes *Babylonians* fr. 67 and Telecleides *Hesiodi* fr. 20 in the left column; then, beginning at the end of that column and continuing in the right, Aristonymus *Theseus* fr. 1, followed by Phrynichus *Satyrs* fr. 51.

Aristides by John the Calligrapher probably between AD 895 and 917 (Wilson 1962, 147–8). From it the first two books and the opening of the third (up to 3.73e in Casaubon's pagination), occupying probably between 40 and 55 folios, are lost; there are gaps of a few folios after 214 (11.466de) and of one after 239 (11.502b); and the final three folios (15.699f–702c) are badly mutilated. The surviving text occupies folios 3 to 372; each page has two columns normally of 43 lines, each line taking 15 to 26 letters (mainly 20 to 24).⁶

The large minuscule hand is well described by Kaibel in his edition (1887, I viii) as '*planissima et nitidissima scriptura insignis*'. A notable (but not of course unusual) feature is the form of alpha with an iota-like tail. This inevitably leads to frequent confusion between α and αι (e.g. α miscopied as αι at 6.247d, 7.318e, 8.323f, 10. 419b, 421e; αι miscopied as α at 6.230b, 7.283d, 295c, 313b). This confusion needs to be borne in mind when orthographical points (such as αἰ/αί, Ἀχαίς/Ἀχαίς, Ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας/Θήβαις) come into play.

Citations are often (but not consistently) marked by the sign > affixed in the left-hand margin to each relevant line;⁷ here verse is always written as if it were prose. Word-division, when attempted, is clumsy and careless, and there are many errors. Accents and breathings, however, are written consistently; a brief absence of both is often a sign of serious corruption in a passage (e.g. at 12.552e, Alexis fr. 148). Full stops and raised points are the usual method of punctuation, but occasionally an insertion of dicola (:) into passages of dramatic dialogue raises a problem: do these also indicate punctuation, or are they mechanically copied from earlier manuscripts

which still used dicola to mark a change of speaker? This latter use of dicola has been noted in mediaeval manuscripts of Aristophanes (Andrieu 1954, 210; Lowe 1962), and there are several passages of dialogue cited from Alexis in the *Marcianus* where dicola may be similarly interpreted (e.g. frs. 15.13, 129.2, 4, 12, 20, 140.8, 177.2, 242.4, 249.3, 4).⁸ In other places, however, the dicolon is used simply to mark the end of a section.⁹

All other manuscripts of the unabridged version of Athenaeus¹⁰ are apographs of the *Marcianus*,¹¹ but from time to time they incorporate Renaissance conjectures which have often been attributed by editors to later scholars.

(b) The Epitome of Athenaeus survives complete, and thus provides a welcome if inferior substitute for the full version in those places where the *Marcianus* is lost or mutilated. The practice of its compiler was to omit some citations haphazardly and all titles of cited works (hence the number of *incertarum fabularum fragmenta* for Alexis and other dramatists), and to cut out or paraphrase sections of fragments. Two manuscripts of the Epitome are independent witnesses: E (*Laurentianus* LX, 2), copied by Jacob Questenberg around 1490 in Rome from a lost Vatican manuscript, and C (*Parisinus suppl.* gr. 841), copied by Demetrios Damilas between 1476 and 1506 from a text similar to, if not identical with, the exemplar of E (see especially Aldick 1928; Canart 1977–9, 281–347). Both E and C use abbreviations at word-end which at times are very difficult to decipher.

(c) The relationship between A and the Epitome is still controversial. C.G. Cobet (1845; 1847, 104–9 etc.; cf. Letrouit 1991, 33 n. 2) was the first to claim that the Epitome was based solely on an undamaged *Marcianus*, and that therefore it is textually worthless except where it supplements the *Marcianus*' gaps and mutilations. Cobet pointed to Athenaeus 7.283a, where the error in the Epitome manuscripts (Κράτης) can be explained only as a misreading of A's correct Παγ/κράτης,¹² Maas (1948, 6 = 1973, 521–2; 1952; cf. 1958, 51–2) noted that a scholion which the Epitome mentions as being in his exemplar at 12.525c occurs there in the margin of A. More recently Letrouit (1991) has added two further pieces of evidence linking *Marcianus* and the Epitome: a long list of errors in the Epitome manuscripts which are most satisfactorily explained as wild attempts to mend corruptions in A, and the fact that the pages containing Athenaeus 177a–82b, which are misplaced in A, are similarly misplaced in the Epitome. The combined weight of this evidence seems overwhelming, and Cobet's claim has accordingly convinced good modern scholars.¹³

It faces, however, one serious difficulty. If the *Marcianus* was the

Epitome's only exemplar, those readings where the Epitome is either (i) correct and A corrupt, or (ii) significantly different from A, must be interpreted as the result of Byzantine conjecture. Yet the Epitome's corrections sometimes (e.g. at Alexis fr. 115.5–20, when it is right five times where the *Marcianus* is wrong) seem superior to those made elsewhere by Byzantine scholars (cf. Zuntz 1965, 193–201; Easterling 1957, 58–9; Collard 1969, 158–64), and so it may be wiser to believe that the *Marcianus* was the main but not the only source of the Epitome: in other words, that our text of the Epitome in C and E is a contaminated text.

(d)The main source for Eustathius' citation of comic fragments in his *Homeric Commentaries* was clearly the Epitome,¹⁴ but his text appears in places to have differed from the tradition represented by C and E. How far this is to be explained by the skill of his and other Byzantine conjectures, how far by Eustathius' use of better manuscript(s), remains uncertain (Pappenhoff 1954, 56; van der Valk 1984, lxxix–lxxx, lxxxiv–lxxxv).

(e)Four editions are generally in use. The standard one is still Kaibel (1887–90). His fine scholarship is duly recognised (see e.g. Wilamowitz 1929, 240–3; Dover 1962, 151 n. 3), but his edition of Athenaeus is somewhat marred by errors and omissions in his reports of the *Marcianus* and Epitome manuscripts: thus he misread (admittedly like his predecessors) A at 3.118a (ονείλκε not -γκε: Alexis fr. 15.10) and 14.655f (ἐγγυλότερον not εὐχ-: Alexis fr. 194.3), and did not report one of the two major Epitome manuscripts in those parts of Athenaeus where A was available (he used only C). And it is a minor irritation that his placing of the letters a to f in the Athenaeus page references does not always correctly follow Casaubon, who originated it. See especially Peppink 1936, 1–3; Desrousseaux 1956, liii; Hemmerdinger 1989, 116.

Gulick's Loeb edition (1927–41) is based on Kaibel, and the translation is largely accurate (Harrison 1941, 78; Luck 1989, 247).

For a text of the epitome one has recourse to Peppink's edition (1937–9). It is still of value, despite major flaws: it has no apparatus to record the readings of C and E, nor does it always transcribe accurately what is in the manuscripts (see Maas 1937, 1938; van der Valk 1971, lxxx).

A.M. Desrousseaux, with the help of C. Astruc, began a Budé edition, but only the first volume, containing the first two books, was ever published (1956). It has an informative introduction, but see Erbse 1957.

The lack of totally reliable collations of A and the Epitome manuscripts (C, E) makes it advisable for anyone working on the text of citations in Athenaeus to check all readings against the original

2. POLLUX

Julius Pollux (Bethe 1919; *OCD*³ p. 1209) came, like Athenaeus, from Naucratis, and was an opponent, like the Antiatticist (II.4 below), of the stricter school of Atticism represented by Phrynichus. Between AD 166 and 176 he wrote his *Onomasticon*, a thesaurus of Attic terms, arranged not alphabetically but by topics. The original work is now lost; what we possess is an abridgement, as a scholion prefixed to book 1 in A and other manuscripts shows. In citing comic poets such as Alexis, Pollux sometimes names just the author, sometimes author and play-title (see Bethe 1937, 1 s.v. "Ἀλεξις"). The citations range in length from single words and phrases, as in the Antiatticist (e.g. Alexis frs. 309, 312–15), up to six iambic trimeters (fr. 132.3–8).

(a) All our manuscripts of Pollux seem to descend from a codex of the abridgement once owned by Arethas, Archbishop of Caesarea in the 10th century. They fall into four groups:

- i. M (*Ambrosianus* D 34 sup., 10th or 11th cent.: 1.21–2.78 only);
- ii. F (*Falcoburgianus* = *Parisinus* gr. 2646 15th cent. and S (*Schottianus* = *Salmanticensis* I.2.3, 15th cent.);
- iii. A (*Parisinus* gr. 2650 15th cent.) and V (*Marcianus* 520, 15th cent.: 1.1–151 only); and
- iv. C (*Palatinus Heidelbergensis* 375, 12th cent.), L (*Laurentianus* 56.1, 14th cent.: books 8–10 only) and B (*Tellerianus* = *Parisinus* gr. 2647 13th cent.).

The *editio princeps* (Aldus, Venice 1502) was based on a lost manuscript of the second group and on a contaminated descendant of manuscripts linked to A and B.

(b) E. Bethe's edition (1900–37) is palmary. Particularly helpful is his clear and uncluttered method of recording what portions of the text are omitted by the various manuscripts.

3. PHOTIUS

Photius (c. 820–891 or 897) was the most learned scholar of Byzantium in the ninth century AD (*OCD*³ p. 1175). His lexicon cannot be dated exactly (statements about it made by himself are inconsistent with each other), and it is at least possible that he collected the material as a young man, but revised it into its present form much later. There will continue to be a problem about assessing the quality and accuracy of his quotations of comic fragments so long as the major part of the Zavorda manuscript, containing the whole work complete, remains unpublished.

Three manuscripts are our main source: z, g and b.

z = *Zavordensis* 95 (in the monastery of St Nikanor in Zavorda), the complete text. This codex, written in the 13th or 14th century, covers

406 folios, with two columns on each page. Chr. Theodoridis has published only the first two volumes of an edition (1982, 1998), with an excellent introduction discussing the three main manuscripts, but not evaluating their relative qualities or proneness to error.

g = *Galeanus*, Trinity College, Cambridge O.3.9/5985 (formerly 306), a parchment codex of the 12th century, with considerable gaps in the letters α ε υ κ φ ψ ω, and with the section from ἀδιάκριτος to ἐπώνυμοι totally missing. This was last edited by R. Porson (London 1822) and S.A. Naber (Leiden 1864–5).

b = (formerly *Berolinensis*) *graec. oct.* 22, a fragment of a parchment codex written in the 13th century. It contains the beginning of the lexicon up to ἄπαρνος. During World War II this fragment was taken from Berlin for safety to a variety of places, ending in Poland, where it remains today in the Jagiellonian Library of the University of Krakow. It was well edited by R. Reitzenstein in 1907 (Leipzig and Berlin), with an excellent informative introduction that includes a useful comparison of g and b; it has since been collated with z by Theodoridis (1982, 441–4).¹⁵

Completion of Theodoridis' edition of the lexicon is desperately needed, with both a complete text and full reporting of bgz (and the other smaller fragments: a = *Atheniensis* 1083, S^s = *Sabbaiticus* 137, and m = *Atheniensis Mus. Byz.* 186). Fortunately, K. Tsantsanoglou (1984) has published separately the new literary fragments revealed by z.

4. THE ANTIATTICIST

The so-called Antiatticist lexicon¹⁶ is 'the scanty excerpt of a lexicon of the second century AD, [an epitome] so abbreviated as to be often unintelligible'.¹⁷ Most of its entries consist simply of a headword followed by the name of an author and the work where that word allegedly occurred. Even so, it is clear that the unknown author of the original lexicon was attempting to widen the acceptable range of Attic authors and vocabulary by admitting comic poets of different periods into his magic circle. The precise relationship between this lexicon and those of much stricter Atticists like Phrynichus is disputed, but it seems very probable that sections of Phrynichus' *Eclogae* were composed as a direct attack on the Antiatticist.

The lexicon is preserved in one 10th century manuscript (*Seguerianus* or *Coislinianus* 345, folios 156^r–165^v) written in minuscule and titled simply ἄλλος ἀλφάβητος. It was published by I. Bekker in *Anecdota Graeca* vol. I (Berlin 1814) 75–116, with critical notes in vol. III (1821) 1074–7. The original author may have been careful as well as provocative in his lexicography, but the existing manuscript is deplorably corrupt, and Bekker was not always accurate

in his transcription. The scribal errors are those conventional in a manuscript of this period, with itacistic confusions between η and ι particularly common (for examples see Arnott 1989). Any student or scholar who wishes to cite a reading is advised to obtain a photograph of the manuscript from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Notes

¹Full details in the General . on p. 528.

²See part II of this chapter for information on these authors.

³Athenaeus lived at the end of the second and beginning of the third centuries AD: see Nicole 1887, 27–35; Dittenberger 1903, 1–28; Baldwin 1976, 21–42; Nesselrath 1990, 65–6 n. 3; Hemmerdinger 1989, 112–3; and for all aspects of his work, Braund & Wilkins 2000.

⁴Cf. especially Zepernick's careful study (1921), and see also Collard 1969; Arnott 1982, 355–71 and 1996, 34–41.

⁵See particularly During 1936, 226–70; Hemmerdinger 1989, 113–14; and Letrouit 1991, 33–40. Letrouit shows that eleven uncial references in the margins of the Marcianus to τὸν εἰς λ' ('the version in 30') imply merely an earlier manuscript of Athenaeus where the work was copied onto 30 rolls. Kaibel's assumption (1887, xxi–xxiii) from those references that Athenaeus originally constructed his work in 30 books, which were later abridged to the present 15 in the *Marcianus*, must be rejected.

⁶These figures apply to filled lines of text. Gaps of a space of two or three letters, however, are often inserted to mark the end of a section, paragraph or citation, at times limiting the number of letters in a line to 12.

⁷Cf. Cobet 1845. This letter contains by far the best and fullest description of the *Marcianus*.

⁸For a possibly parallel dicolon in the Epitome manuscripts (CE) see Arnott 1996, 77 (commentary on fr. 9.1–2).

⁹e.g. in dramatic fragments at line-end in Alexis frs. 15.4, 47.4, 124.2 (mid-sentence!), 222.9, Araros fr. 8.2, 3, Epicharmus fr. 35.8.

¹⁰e.g. B (*Laurentianus* 60, 1: second half of the 15th cent.), D (*Parisinus* gr. 3056, books 1–9, copied in 1482 by Ermolao Barbaro from the *Marcianus* in Venice), and P (*Palatinus Heidelbergensis* gr. 47, copied in 1505–06 by Paolo de Canale).

¹¹This was first noted by Schweighaeuser 1801, ci. For the full arguments see Scholl 1869, 160–7; Dindorf 1870, 73–115.

¹²See Peppink 1936, 19; cf. also Maas 1937, 186; Hemmerdinger 1989, 116; Letrouit 1991, 37.

¹³e.g. Erbse 1957 (cf. Maas 1953, 441 n. 1); van der Valk 1971, lxxxii–lxxxiv; Hemmerdinger 1989, 115–16.

¹⁴van der Valk 1984, lxxx–lxxxii and 1986, 400 has effectively scotched the idea that Eustathius was the author of the Epitome.

¹⁵At xxxii–iii (cf. also 441) Theodoridis gives a full account of the manuscript's recent history, which can happily be supplemented with the information that consultation in Krakow of the Berlin codex is now open to any research scholar, and a microfilm of it can be supplied.

¹⁶See especially Sicking 1883; von (de) Borries 1911, xxxv–xxxvi; Latte 1915; Fischer 1974, 39–41; Arnott 1989.

¹⁷Jacoby 1944, 65. On the origin of the name 'Antiatticist' see Sicking 1883, 2.

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Chapter 2

THE RIVALRY BETWEEN ARISTOPHANES AND KRATINOS

Wolfgang Luppe

If we want to know the extent to which the rival comic poets made personal attacks on each other in the contests at the Dionysia and the Lenaia, our main source must be Aristophanes. In this paper I shall try to illustrate the nature of these attacks by looking at two major rivals, Kratinos and Aristophanes himself, his junior by nearly a generation.

There are comparatively few years in which both poets had comedies performed. The overlap begins in 427, the first year in which Aristophanes had a play produced, and continues until at least 423, when Aristophanes and Kratinos competed against each other, the former with *Clouds* and the latter with his *Pytinē*.

It is not possible to give an exact date for the end of the period during which both poets were active, since we do not know of any performances of Kratinos after 423. Aristophanes' *Peace* of 421 includes a joke about the alleged cause of Kratinos' death, which paradoxically indicates that Kratinos was at least still alive at that date. But if we try to identify the years in which we know for certain that Kratinos and Aristophanes were competing against each other, we are dealing with an even shorter period. There are no comedies by Kratinos that can be safely dated to 427 or 426. The hypotheses to Aristophanes' *Akharnians* and *Knights* tell us that Kratinos had works performed both at the Lenaia of 425 and at the Lenaia of 424, and that he came second to Aristophanes on each occasion; so he was clearly a distinguished rival, and one to be reckoned with. However, according to the hypothesis to the *Akharnians*, one of these two plays, the *Kheimazomenoi*, was not to be found in the Library at Alexandria; and not a single fragment survives from the other play, the *Satyr*s, which suggests that this work never reached Alexandria either. It is only from the *Pytinē*, which was performed at the Dionysia of 423, that we can derive any idea of the works produced by Kratinos in these years. Aristophanes makes only a couple of passing references to Kratinos in his earliest surviving play, the *Akharnians* of 425, but he says a great deal more about him in the *Knights*, which was performed at the Lenaia of 424.

These two comedies, Aristophanes' *Knights* of 424 and Kratinos'

Pytinē of 423, will therefore be central to our discussion.

The relevant passage of *Knights* comes from the anapaests of the parabasis, lines 526–36 (TgK–A):

εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος, ὃς πολλῶ ῥεύσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ
διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίῳν ἔρρει, καὶ τῆς στάσεως παρασύρων
ἐφόρει τὰς δρυς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἔχθρους προθελύμους·
ᾄσαι δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐν συμποσίῳ πλὴν "Δωροὶ συκοπέδιλε"
530 καὶ "τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων". οὕτως ἦνθησεν ἐκεῖνος.
νυνὶ δ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ὀρώντες παραληροῦντ' οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε,
ἐκπιπτουσῶν τῶν ἡλέκτρων καὶ τοῦ τόνου οὐκέτ' ἐνότος
τῶν θ' ἁρμονιῶν διαχασκουσῶν· ἀλλὰ γέρων ὦν περιέρρει,
ὥσπερ Κοννάς, στέφανον μὲν ἔχων αὐτὸν δίψῃ δ' ἀπολωλώς,
535 ὃν χρῆν διὰ τὰς προτέρας νίκας πίνειν ἐν τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ
καὶ μὴ ληρεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεᾶσθαι λιπαρὸν παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ.

This passage falls into two sections. The first section consists of exceptionally generous praise of Kratinos' achievements in days gone by, when he had been at the height of his powers. This is followed by a crushing denunciation of the poet as he is now, in his old age. Aristophanes praises the astonishing power of Kratinos' earlier poetry, which, he says, used to surge forward like a mighty torrent, gathering applause from the audience as it flowed along and sweeping away the other contenders. In other words, the people that Kratinos attacked were indeed laid low and made to look ridiculous. Aristophanes also says that Kratinos' poetry became so popular that his lampoons were the only songs that were sung at symposia. Today we might say that they were smash hits, which people sang whenever they had a party. On the strength of his earlier victories, Kratinos deserved to be given the privilege of drinking in the Prytaneion at the expense of the state. But what a contrast nowadays! says Aristophanes: these days he is no more than a drunken, babbling old man, who does not even arouse people's pity: the jewels have fallen from his crown, his lyre-strings have lost their tension, and his songs are cracking with out-of-tune scales. He is portrayed as a drunken old sot wearing the withered laurels of his past glories.

And Aristophanes mocks him with equal brutality elsewhere in the same comedy: at line 400 a member of the chorus exclaims: εἰ σε μὴ μισῶ, γενοίμην ἐν Κρατίνου κῶδιον, 'If I don't hate you, may I become a blanket in the house of Kratinos!', which is generally taken to imply that Kratinos gets so drunk that he is incontinent and wets his bedclothes.

The contrast between these two verdicts on Kratinos is so remarkable that we must stop and take a closer look. I suggest that Aristophanes' two radically different assessments are to be explained as a matter of tactics. Kratinos had an established reputation. He was

a favourite of the public. To deny this would have caused offence, and it would have damaged Aristophanes' own chances of success. In order to remove Kratinos as a serious contender, Aristophanes thought it advisable to begin by agreeing whole-heartedly with the popular verdict on his work, and to show that he shared the views of the general public about him – but only about his earlier achievements, since these could not present any danger to him in that year's competition. But he wanted to make it impossible for Kratinos' reputation to have any influence on this occasion. He achieved this by painting a picture of the poet's present condition which stood in shocking contrast to his previous achievements. He might seem to be paying well-deserved respect and honour to his indisputable achievements, but the more generously he did so, the more he was surely hoping to win support for his disparagement of Kratinos' latest work. And he tries to ensure that in this year's competition, the judges and the public will not be tempted to give him any credit for his earlier achievements. He explains that Kratinos has sunk so low that he does not deserve any kind of pity. Not only does he not *deserve* pity: he even goes so far as to declare outright, as if it were a fact, that he does not *receive* any: νυνί δ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ὀρῶντες παραληροῦντ' οὐκ ἔλαείτε. Thus Aristophanes' double verdict on Kratinos is a deliberate use of tactics in order to bring down a dangerous rival. And these tactics seem to have worked in so far as Aristophanes won first place at the Lenaia of 424, and Kratinos came second.

However, if Kratinos had really sunk to the level of a drunken sot, with no jokes, no wit, no ideas and no energy or panache, then his plays would have provided sufficient proof of it. There would have been no need for his rival to make such a vehement attack on him.

The judges, whose verdict surely reflected public opinion, do not seem to have perceived any such deterioration in the work of Kratinos. The clear evidence for this is that they awarded him second prize in that year's competition, just as they had done in the Lenaia of the previous year, as we have already seen. Perhaps Aristophanes interpreted this second prize as an expression of misplaced pity for the once great poet.

Kratinos, however, was not happy about coming second, although it was a comparatively favourable verdict from the public and the judges, and he responded with a forceful counterblow. As far as we can tell, this counterattack was not a verbal riposte – or at least, not primarily – nor did it take the form of a vitriolic pamphlet. It was a much more grandiose gesture: Kratinos put himself onto the stage as the very figure mocked by Aristophanes, as a decrepit and incapable old drunkard. This won him unanimous acclaim: he was awarded first prize, way ahead of Aristophanes, the rival who had caricatured and

insulted him.

We may know little about this comedy, the *Pytinē*, but one thing is clear: the main character was the poet himself. Totally addicted to alcohol and enfeebled by age, he is no longer capable of begetting any new children by his wife Kōmōidia; in other words, he is incapable of writing any more comedies. He has sunk to such depths that he is quite openly having an affair with the hetaira Methē, Drunkenness, and with pretty boys. A commentator on Aristophanes writes:

ὅπερ μοι δοκεῖ παροξυνθεὶς ἐκείνος, καίτοι τοῦ
ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀποστάς καὶ συγγράφειν, πάλιν γράφει
δράμα, τὴν Πυτίνην, εἰς αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν μέθην,
οἰκονομία τε κεχρημένον τοιαύτη· τὴν Κωμωδίαν ὁ
Κρατίνος ἐπλάσατο αὐτοῦ εἶναι γυναῖκα καὶ
ἀφφασθαι τοῦ συνοικεσίου τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ θέλειν,
καὶ κακώσεως αὐτῷ δακὴν λαγχάνειν, φίλους δὲ
παρατυχόντας τοῦ Κρατίνου δεῖσθαι μηδὲν προπετὲς
ποιῆσαι, καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας ἀνερωτᾶν τὴν αἰτίαν, τὴν δὲ
μέμφεσθαι αὐτῷ ὅτι μὴ κωμωδοίῃ μηκέτι, σχολάζοι δὲ
τῇ Μέθῃ.¹

‘Stung by this, I believe, although he had given up competing [at dramatic festivals] and writing, he wrote another play, the *Pytinē*, against himself and his drunkenness, of which the plot was as follows: Kratinos represented Comedy as his wife; she wanted to divorce him, and was lodging a case against him for ill-treatment; Kratinos’ friends turned up and urged him not to do anything rash, but to ask her why she hated him; she complained that he was no longer involved with Comedy, but was devoting himself to Drunkenness.’ Γυνὴ δ’ ἐκείνου προόερον ἦ, νυν δ’ οὐκέτι, she says: ‘I used to be his wife, but now I no longer am’ (fr. 194). But, with the help of his friends, she manages to persuade Kratinos to pull himself out of these depths of depravity. The Kratinos of this comedy, old, but now regenerated, exhibits such unexpected energy that someone, probably one of his friends, exclaims with astonishment (fr. 198):

ἄναξ “Απολλων, τῶν ἐπῶν
τοῦ ρεύματος,
καναχοῦσι πηγαι
δύδεκάκρουνον <τὸ >
στόμα,
‘Ἰλιός ἐν τῇ φάρυγι. τί ἂν
εἴποιμι’ <ἔτι>;
εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐπιβύσει τις αὐτοῦ
τὸ στόμα,

ἅπαντα ταῦτα κατακλύσει

ποηήμασιν.

Good God, what a flow of
words!
streams splattering, mouth
twelve-spouted,
Ilissos in his gullet. Words fail
me!
If someone doesn't shut his
gob
he'll flood the whole place
with his poetry!

This portrait of Kratinos the fictitious stage character is modelled on Aristophanes' picture of the real Kratinos as he had been in his prime. And it is not only the overall picture that is the same: Kratinos even uses the same words and phrases as Aristophanes. Thus we might almost say that Kratinos is attacking his rival by throwing his own words back at him. By portraying himself in this way, the Kratinos of 423 is telling the audience that he is still just the same Kratinos that Aristophanes had seen and praised in the past. And at the same time, he has also managed to find a way of replying to his rival's insults without actually mentioning his name.

This grandiose act of self-mockery may well have been unique. And, as we have seen, it was effective. It won Kratinos first prize at the Dionysia of 424. Aristophanes had been thoroughly trounced.

We all deplore the fact that so many works of ancient literature have perished, but perhaps I might remark in passing that, in my view, the disappearance of the text of the *Pytinē* is one of the most regrettable of all our losses.

Thus the entire plot of the *Pytinē* constituted a counter-attack on Aristophanes by Kratinos – yet it was a method of attack that did not even require him to mention his name. However, Kratinos did also explicitly criticize Aristophanes by name in this play: he accused him of plagiarizing Eupolis, ὥς τὰ του Εὐπολίδος λέγοντα (fr. 213). There is also another fragment in which he criticizes his poetic style: fr. 342, one and a half anapaestic tetrameters of a parabasis, quoted in the scholia to Plato's *Apology*. It is unfortunate that the scholion does not mention the title of the comedy from which the fragment comes. But the fact that it criticizes Aristophanes is enough to show that it must come from one of the poet's later plays. Indeed, it is possible that it belongs to the *Pytinē* too. If not, then it would be evidence for *another* comedy by Kratinos containing an attack on Aristophanes. But that must remain an open question. The fragment runs as follows:

τίς δέ σύ; κομψός τις ἔροι το θεάτης.
ὑπολεπτολόγος, γυνωμιδιώτης, εὐρύπιδαριστοφανίζων.

Kratinos addresses Aristophanes directly, with the words ‘So who are you, then?’, which he puts into the mouth of an imaginary member of the audience. The reply takes the form of three neologisms. First, ὑπολεπτολόγος, translated by Liddell and Scott as ‘rather too subtle’. But that is not quite right. What he means is something like ‘devoted to subtleties’, ‘a man who quibbles about the meanings of words’.

For the second word I prefer the better attested reading γνωμιδιώτης to γνωμιδιώκτης (as printed by K-A and elsewhere). It is not a compound of -διώκτης, ‘one who pursues’, but is a derivative of the diminutive γνωμίδιον, ‘a composer of little γνώμαι, little maxims’.

These two terms characterize Aristophanes as a writer who deals with petty details, as opposed to the elemental force of Kratinos’ own style. Finally, the third word, εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων, ‘Euripidaristophanizing’, which is, of course, the reason for quoting the fragment. The scholia explain, perhaps rightly, that Kratinos is criticizing Aristophanes on the grounds that he mocks Euripides, yet at the same time he imitates him. But we must be cautious. This is, it seems, only the way that the author of the scholion interprets the word, and he may be wrong. All we really have is this comic verb compounded out of the two names. But if the scholiast is right, his remark may refer in particular to the *Akharnians*, in which Aristophanes makes fun of Euripides’ *Telephos* by quoting from it again and again, in which Euripides himself actually appears on stage (394 ff.), and in which there are also references to the *Hippolytos* and *Oineus*. But there are also many mocking allusions to Euripides in *Knights* – to his *Medea*, *Hippolytos*, *Herakleidai*, *Alkmeon in Psōphis* and *Bellerophon* as well as to *Telephos*. So Aristophanes was already using parodies of Euripides as a basis for his comedies, even at this early date. Εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων may mean that too.

These three derogatory epithets – ὑπολεπτολόγος, γνωμιδιώτης and εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων – are predominantly terms of literary and stylistic criticism, and they are moderated by comparison with Aristophanes’ malicious personal onslaught. Of course, we must not forget that we have only fragments of Kratinos, fragments which have survived more or less by chance. A complete parabasis might give a very different impression. But we do not have a complete section from any of the plays of any of the rivals of Aristophanes. We can only hope that one day a papyrus discovery will enable us to learn more about the attacks on Aristophanes by his rivals.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Hazel Mary Harvey and David Harvey for translating

Note

¹ Scholia VER³Θ on *Knights* 400a = Suda K 2216 (K-A IV 219 T ii, q.v. for textual variants; fr. 193 follows). The ‘pretty boys’ are added from Lucian 29 (*Bis Accusatus*), 28–9; see T iii in K-A.



Fig. 2. Kratinos and Kōmōidia? From T. Panofka, *Archäologische Zeitung* 7 (1849), Taf. IV.

Apulian bell-krater, mid-4th cent. Formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen F3047; lost during World War II. Height 36 cm.

‘A balding man with a wine jar in one hand, and something in the other from which he seems to have taken a bite, is either being apprehended or pushed away by a particularly ugly bare-armed woman’ (Taplin 43). The man wears comic costume, a decorated short-sleeved tunic that reveals a grotesque phallos; the object in his right hand looks very much like a cake. He is generally, perhaps rightly, taken to be a thief or parasite being chased by the owner of the wine and cake, but Taplin has tentatively revived the suggestion of Panofka that it might be a depiction of a scene from Kratinos’ *Pytinē*. This identification raises problems (Taplin 43 n. 34, 44 n. 35): *inter alia*, J.R. Green comments: ‘Note her face rather than mask, and his tunic which is not the sort one finds in the conventional theatre series’. But the artist may have intended to portray the woman too as wearing a mask, and, since Kratinos was an unusual comic character – the dramatist himself – he may have given him a distinctive costume. Taplin gives the picture the non-committal title ‘The Berlin Drinker’,

and describes the conjecture as ‘a long shot ...no more than remotely possible’, but it is certainly tempting.

Bieber M., *Die Denkmaler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, Berlin and Leipzig 1921, 151 with Tafel 86; earlier bibliography at 194.

Panofka T., ‘Komödienscenen auf Thongefässen’, *Archäologische Zeitung* 7 (1849), 33–8 with Tafel IV.

Taplin O., *Comic Angels*, Oxford 1993, 43–4, 45 n. 37, 113; 43 [fig. 8](#).

Chapter 3

CRATINUS' *PYTINE* AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMIC SELF

Ralph M. Rosen

One of the most continually engaging problems in the study of Old Comedy is the deployment of the poet's own voice in his plays. Comic genres across many cultures and periods, of course, have a tendency to encourage the author to pretend that he or she is breaking a fictive illusion and establishing some sort of personal relationship with the audience. Such authors may cajole or abuse their audience, or collude with them against imagined threats from competitors. Often they claim to be revealing actual details of their own autobiography, in an attempt to deceive the audience into thinking that the reality before them – whether it be on a stage, in a text, or on a screen – corresponds to a lived, 'historical' reality. To a certain extent, as has often been pointed out, all literature strives for this effect.¹ But the moment the figure of an author intrudes explicitly into a work, the usual criteria for establishing the line between literary artifice and lived reality break down: suddenly a figure we know to exist in real life, the very individual responsible for the work in front of us, is playing a role within a context we know to be fictive. This tension between an author's autobiographical claims and a work's fictionality can be extremely disorienting for an audience in its attempt to construe literary meaning. If the ruse succeeds, the audience will have no choice but to conclude that the author must have had good reason to 'depart' from the fictionality of the work and communicate a meaning that can somehow be separated from the work itself.

Old Comedy, of course, is famous for teasing its audience in just these ways. Of the various means by which comic dramatists could play out their relationships (or more accurately, the *claim* to a relationship) with an audience, the parabasis was surely the most sustained and overt. The parabasis, after all, was that moment in the play in which the audience could count on catching something of the poet's own voice, even if only obliquely through the mouth of the chorus leader. In the case of Aristophanes, virtually an entire biography, purporting to be historical, has accreted to the poet over the centuries on the basis of his parabases. As responsible scholars we remind ourselves that however autobiographical the parabases may

appear, they still remain poetic creations composed for a dramatic competition, and delivered by fictional characters decked out in masks and costumes. Nevertheless, it is fair to assume that most scholars of Old Comedy, when all is said and done, believe that they have at least a minimal handle on some real details of Aristophanes' life: he was bald, he hated Cleon, and was even prosecuted by him after *Babylonians* in 427, he was angry at the Athenians for rejecting the original version of *Clouds*, and so on.²

Even scholars who are well aware of the pitfalls of unreflective biographical criticism seem to make an exception when it comes to Aristophanes. A footnote in Thomas Hubbard's recent book on the Aristophanic parabasis illustrates this tension well: '[The] sch[olia on] *Ach.* 378 (and *Sch. Vesp.* 1284) speak of a "lawsuit" Cleon brought against the poet; but it is quite clear that this is merely an inference from this text and from the parabasis' (1991, 46 n. 18). But Hubbard then says that, despite the evident fact that the two scholia did not have access to a historical source (they disagree even on who the defendant was – the poet or his producer, Callistratus), it is 'not right to reject the historical reality of this conflict completely... The insistent repetition of this allusion, in both Dicaeopolis' speeches *qua* comic poet and in the poet's parabolic self-defence, indicate that it must have had some basis in reality.' Now, Cleon may very well have taken Aristophanes to court; but, as even Hubbard implies, we will never know this from the text itself, and even Hubbard's compromise solution – that the allusions to a lawsuit must have had 'some basis in reality' – suggests to me, at least, that we should contextualize all Aristophanic self-reference first and foremost as a function of his chosen literary genre.³ If a document surfaced which affirmed that Cleon in fact prosecuted Aristophanes, grateful as we might be for another shred of historical information from the period, it would have little effect on how we understand Aristophanic poetics. The play, after all, will always retain its status as a literary work, and any aspects of it that may be demonstrably 'autobiographical' cannot suddenly transform it into an ingenuous and unmediated narrative of personal history.

The main reason why scholars have always been tempted to extract autobi-ography from Aristophanes is because the subjective 'I' of the comic dramatist (or those said to represent that 'I', such as a chorus leader) is not easily assimilated into a plot that is nearly always so clearly fictional, so *unreal* to begin with. The parabasis itself (when there is one) surely does much to distinguish itself, as a formally self-referential device, from a plot to which it often appears only subtly, if at all, connected.⁴ And when the poet surfaces in the play especially as a voice of satire or personal ridicule, his ultimate

success is best gauged by how well he has convinced an audience that their own reality and the reality of the performed poet are coterminous.

The debate over Aristophanes' autobiographical voice has produced a wide range of opinion and interpretation among scholars over the years,⁵ but even those who want to see the real Aristophanes behind a parabolic 'I' must confront the fact that not once in all the surviving plays does a character by that name actually ever appear. Dicaeopolis in *Acharnians*, who has often been seen as a cipher for the poet, is about as close as we get.⁶ The casual observer might conclude from this that Old Comedy simply did not allow the poet to place himself within his plots, and that any self-reference had to be oblique or mediated by the chorus. Certainly most of Aristophanes' comedies – with their parabases set off from the episodes by means of metrical signals and verbal cues⁷ – are constructed in such a way as to highlight a line between a fictional plot and authorial intrusions. But in fact we do know of a comic play in which a character explicitly represents the poet, and whose very plot is alleged to enact details of the poet's own life, namely the *Pytine* ('Wine Flask') of Cratinus.

Cratinus' play, produced in 423 BC, is surely most famous for having upset Aristophanes when it defeated *Clouds* in competition that year, and the relatively few fragments that survive routinely surface in discussions of Aristophanes' literary rivalries.⁸ *Pytine*, after all, was supposedly composed in reaction to Aristophanes' ribbing of Cratinus in the parabasis of *Knights* (lines 526–36), which appeared the year before in 424. Scholars have of course duly noted that *Pytine* portrays its author embroiled in a feud with a rival,⁹ but virtually no one has fully realized the broad, and what I find to be rather remarkable, implications of the mere existence within Old Comedy of a play in which the *poet himself*, named and incarnated *as himself*, is the main focus, if not the actual protagonist, of the work.¹⁰

In what follows I shall argue that *Pytine* allows us a first-hand glimpse of how a comic poet might go about constructing a specifically *poetic* identity for himself, an identity that may or may not have a basis in autobiographical reality, but which develops primarily in accordance with generic expectations. What distinguishes *Pytine* from our extant Aristophanic corpus is the way in which Cratinus merges the autobiographical pretence with the plot itself: the 'voice of the poet' is no longer sharply demarcated from the fictionalized plot, as it so often is in Aristophanes, and as such it becomes easier for us to see the poet's role in the play as itself a fiction. This fictionalized self in *Pytine*, then, provides us with an excellent example of the way in which a writer of comedy can transform his own biography into comic material. As we shall see, the comic poet effects this not by

dramatizing a transcript of his actual life – however comical it might in fact have been – but by subjecting himself to the same poeticizing treatment that he would accord to any other character in a comic plot.

However disingenuous and stylized a poet's self-presentation might be, he certainly wants to create the *illusion* that his actual autobiography is being played out on the stage. As we saw in the case of Aristophanes, it is often impossible to distinguish historical fact from poetic fiction. With *Pytine*, however, there can be no doubt that at least some of the details of plot and *dramatis personae* are fictional, and that Cratinus crafted the play in accordance with conventions that governed not only plot structure, but, more specifically, the very construction of a comic self. This comic self, as I suggest, is a poetic role not limited to Old Comedy, but can be found in most Greco-Roman comic genres, as well as in many other literatures as well.

Although only twenty-four fragments of *Pytine* have reached us, a reasonably detailed summary of the plot exists in a scholion to Aristophanes *Knights* 400. The lemma discussed by the scholiast is a passing joke about Cratinus in a choral passage of insults against the Paphlagonian in *Knights*:

ὅπερ μοι δοκεῖ παροξυνθεῖς ἐκεῖνος, καίτοι τοῦ ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀποστάς καὶ συγγράφειν, πάλιν γράφει δράμα, τὴν Πυτίνην, εἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν μέθην, οἰκονομία τε κεχρημένον τοιαύτῃ. τὴν Κωμωδίαν ὁ Κρατῖνος ἐπλάσατο αὐτοῦ εἶναι γυναῖκα καὶ ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ συνοικεσίου τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ θέλειν, καὶ κακώσεως αὐτῷ δίκην λαγχάνειν, φίλους δὲ παρατύχοντας τοῦ Κρατῖνου δεῖσθαι μηδὲν προπετὲς ποιῆσαι, καὶ τῆς ἐχθρας ἀνερωτᾶν τὴν αἰτίαν, τὴν δὲ μέμφεσθαι αὐτῷ ὅτι μὴ κωμωδοίῃ μηκέτι, σχολάζοι δὲ τῇ μέθῃ.

(Schol. Ar.
Knights 400 =
Suda κ 2216
= K-A T ii [IV
p. 219])

Stung by this, I believe, although he had given up competing [at dramatic festivals] and writing, he wrote another play, the *Pytine*, against himself and his drunkenness, of which the plot was as follows: Cratinus represented Comedy as his wife; she wanted to divorce him, and was lodging a case against him for ill-treatment; Cratinus' friends turned up and urged him not to do anything rash, but to ask her why she hated him; she complained that he was no longer involved with Comedy, but was devoting himself to drunkenness [or Drunkenness].

From this passage we learn that the play was evidently a partial allegory in which Comedy herself became Cratinus' wife. Quite

possibly, Drunkenness (*Methē*) too is allegorically figured, depending on whether or not one understands *τη μέθη* as a proper name. Most likely, as many have suggested, the ‘friends’ who ‘happen along’ formed the chorus (Runkel 1827; Meineke 1839–57, I.48). *Pytine* was performed in 423 BC, the year after Aristophanes’ *Knights*, and it has long been assumed that Cratinus composed his play in response to the ridicule he suffered in the earlier play. Although the scholiast whom we have just quoted states that *Knights* 400 inspired Cratinus to compose his play, more recent commentators have pointed to the *parabasis* of *Knights*, where Aristophanes accuses his rival of drunkenness and senility (Sidwell 1995, 59–60; Luppe in this volume). In its broader context, this famous passage claims to chide the audience for its fickleness towards comic poets, specifically the way it tends to reject them when they become old. At lines 526–36 the chorus leader adduces Cratinus as an example of the way in which a once vigorous poet has now fallen into obscurity. The implication is supposed to be that Cratinus’ current status is unjustified – the fault of an unappreciative audience – but obviously the joke is on Cratinus, who is accused of mental and physical dissolution, brought on by old age and alcoholism (Sidwell 1995, 58; Luppe):

νυνὶ δ’ ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες παραληροῦντ’ οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε,
ἐκπιπτουσῶν τῶν ἡλέκτρων καὶ τοῦ τόνου οὐκέτ’ ἐνόντος
τῶν θ’ ἁρμονιῶν διαχασκουσῶν· ἀλλὰ γέρων ὦν περιέρρει,
ὥσπερ Κοννάς, στέφανον μὲν ἔχων αὖτον, δίψῃ δ’ ἀπολωλώς,
ὄν χρῆν διὰ τὰς προτέρας νίκας πίνειν ἐν τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ,
καὶ μὴ ληρεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεᾶσθαι λιπαρὸν παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ.

And now you take no pity on him, though you see him drivelling, with his pegs falling out, his tuning gone, and joints gaping; in his old age he wanders about, like Konnas ‘wearing a garland old and sere, and all but dead with thirst’, when in honour of his former victories he ought to be drinking in the Prytaneum [the state dining-hall], and instead of spouting drivel, should be sitting sleek-faced in the audience by the side of Dionysus. (trs. Sommerstein)

As Thomas Hubbard has recently said (1991, 75), ‘When Aristophanes presumes to commiserate and wish for better treatment.. he only calls further attention to Cratinus’ descent into drink.’ Hubbard and others are probably right, then, to conclude that when Cratinus composed *Pytine* the following year (423), he did so in reaction to the drubbing he received in *Knights* the year before.¹¹

The extent to which Cratinus’ *Pytine* was actually autobiographical, however, has not been investigated with much rigour. Despite the fact

that the ridicule of Cratinus in *Knights* occurs in a highly formalized and conventional section of the play, the parabasis (see n. 7 above), and that it forms part of a larger passage dealing with comic history and literary rivals, scholars have routinely assumed that Cratinus was personally offended by the attacks in *Knights*, that he was at least *perceived* by his fellow citizens as an alcoholic, and that *Pytine* represents a genuine apologia by the poet in the face of such perceptions. Malcolm Heath (1990, 151) provides the one admirable exception to this trend: ‘...I think we should be cautious of the sentimental image some have constructed of the burnt-out old poet pulling himself together for one last heroic effort before he died. In reality we know nothing about the end of Cratinus’ career.’ Heath, however, does not address the crucial question that arises from his repudiation of an autobiographical reading of *Pytine*, namely, *why* Aristophanes and Cratinus might have concocted as elaborate and sustained a relationship of rivalry as they did, and, further, *why* Cratinus might have portrayed himself in *Pytine* in the compromised position of a drunk, however ‘reformed’ he might have become by the play’s end.¹²

It seems unlikely that we will ever know whether or not Cratinus was in fact prone to excessive drinking, or whether he had such a reputation beyond that promoted on the comic stage.¹³ But even if it turned out that he did have such a problem, this fact would be of only marginal relevance to the *manner* in which Cratinus dramatized it in the theatre. For when we examine in detail exactly how Cratinus seems to have represented himself in *Pytine*, we shall almost certainly conclude that his primary concern in the play was literary rather than confessional or forensic.

The first indication that *Pytine* has little to do with the poet’s real autobiography emerges when we consider the play as a response to the passage in *Knights*. What was the nature of Cratinus’ defence against Aristophanes’ charges? Although we have very few fragments, the testimonia can augment our inferences about certain details of the play: first of all Cratinus gives himself a wife Kōmōidia, in itself a fascinating move fraught with implication and comic potential. Obviously the choice of such a wife, to begin with, signals that the play is concerned with a version of Cratinus’ literary career. Being married to the woman who allegorizes the entire genre in which one composes is a humorously arrogant stroke, since it implies special privilege and perhaps insight into the essence of the form. Such an attitude of poetic accomplishment and superiority is, of course, familiar enough to us from Aristophanes, who often makes similar claims for himself: one thinks, for example, of the parabases of *Acharnians* and *Clouds*. But Cratinus quickly undermines his own

claims to power and success with another comic topos. His wife Kōmōidia, it turns out, is threatening to sue him for mistreatment (*kakōsis*) and seeking a divorce. Clearly, this scenario is itself a rather half-hearted attempt at a genuine ‘defence’: it essentially admits that Cratinus has been neglecting his poetic duties, and even abandoning the source of his inspiration in favour of drink. The fragments seem to indicate that Kōmōidia herself played a major role in the play, and probably effectively attacked her wayward husband with as much *Schadenfreude* as Aristophanes had done the previous year. Fragments 193 and 194 must surely come from a passage that lays out Kōmōidia’s complaint. Fr. 193 is terribly corrupt, but, like fr. 194, it too contrasts a Cratinus of the good old days with his current state of dissolution:¹⁴

ἀλλ’ ἔπανατρέψαι βούλομαι εἰς† τὸν λόγον·
 πρότερον ἐκεῖνος πρὸς ἑτέραν γυναῖκ’ ἔχων·
 τὸν νοῦν, †κακὰς εἴποι πρὸς ἑτέραν· ἀλλ’
 ἄμα μὲν τὸ γῆρας, ἄμα δέ μοι δοκεῖ –
 †οὐδέποτε· αὐτοῦ πρότερον (fr. 193)

†But I want to return to the story†. Before, when this man doted on another woman, [at least] he †had nothing good† to say about the other woman; but now partly his old age, partly <his drinking? > seems...

γυνὴ δ’ ἐκείνου
 πρότερον ἦ, νῦν
 δ’ οὐκέτι. (fr. 194)

I used to be his
 wife, but not any
 longer now...

Fr. 195 suggests that Cratinus’ drinking was part of the formal accusation:

νῦν δ’ ἦν ἰδὼν Μενδαῖον ἡβῶντ’ ἀρτίως
 οἰνίσκον, ἔπεται κάκολουθεῖ καὶ λέγει
 ‘οἴμ’ ὥς ἀπαλὸς καὶ λευκός, ἄρ’ οἶσει τρία;

But now, if he just sees a little bit of young Mendaean wine, he follows it around and tags after it, and says, ‘Wow! how soft and pale! Will it take three?’

Earlier commentators detected in these fragments the discourse of homosexual courtship, and some have supposed that the poet had left his wife for young boys: ‘Will it/he take three?’ could have a sexual connotation as well as a sympotic one (‘Can it be diluted with three parts of water?’). If fr. 193 were not corrupt, it would surely be able to

illuminate this question.¹⁵ But whether it was women or boys that provided fodder for the joke about Cratinus' infidelity, his most crippling distraction seems to have been wine, as several other fragments corroborate (cf. frs. 196, 197, 199, 201, and 203). Indeed, fragment 199, one of the longest fragments of the play, is spoken by a character (possibly a member of the chorus) scheming to rehabilitate an alcoholic Cratinus:

πῶς τις αὐτόν, πῶς τις ἄν
ἀπὸ τοῦ πότου παύσειε, τοῦ λίαν πότου;
ἐγὼ δ' αὖ συντρίψω γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς χοῆς
καὶ τοὺς καδίσκους συγκεραυνώσω σποδῶν
καὶ τᾶλλα πάντ' ἄγγεῖα τὰ περὶ τὸν πότον,
κούδ' ὁξύβαφον οἰνηρὸν ἔτι κεκτῆσεται

How could anyone – how could anyone get him to stop his drinking? Well, *I* know what to do! I'll smash his pitchers, and pulverize his jugs like a lightning bolt, along with all the other vessels he's got for drinking; from now on, he won't have so much as a wine saucer to use...

At least at this point in the play, rather than building a case to counteract the image of himself as an old drunk, Cratinus is in fact playing up to the whole idea, raffishly appropriating all the negative qualities ascribed to him and refining them into a dramatic narrative with an autobiographical patina.

It is true, of course, that we have only a desperately few fragments of *Pytine*, and we must be cautious at every turn in reconstructing details of the play. Some might respond to my view of Cratinus' self-portrait in the play by supposing that he was presenting a commonly held negative opinion of himself expressly in order to counteract it with a rhetorical *tour de force* somewhere in the play. Many have imagined that the play included such a spirited response that would restore his credibility as a poet, and expose the passage in *Knights* as slanderous. Fragment 198 is often explained as a reaction to a speech of this sort:

ἄναξ Ἀπολλὼν, τῶν ἐπῶν τοῦ ῥεύματος,
καναχοῦσι πηγαί· δωδεκάκρουνον <τὸ> στόμα,
ἴλισός ἐν τῇ φάρυγι. τί ἂν εἴποιμ' ἔτι;
εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐπιβύσει τις αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα,
5 ἅπαντα ταῦτα κατακλύσει ποιήμασιν.

Good God, what a
flow of words!
streams
splattering, mouth

twelve-spouted,
Ilissos in his
gullet. Words fail
me!
If someone doesn't
shut his gob
he'll flood the
whole place with
his poetry!

This passage, however, has such an unusual intertextual provenance that it would probably remain ambiguous even if we were to recover the complete play. Let us take a closer look at these lines. Fr. 198 has been culled from a scholiastic remark on the following lines from Aristophanes *Knights* (526–8):

εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος, ὃς πολλῶ ῥεύσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ
διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίων ἔρρει, καὶ τῆς στάσεως παρασύρων
ἐφόρει τὰς δρυὺς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προθελύμους·

Then he remembered Cratinus, who once, gushing with your lavish applause, used to flow through the broad plains of artlessness, and uproot oaks, plane trees and rivals, sweep them from their places and bear them downstream.

(trs.
Sommerstein)

The image of Cratinus here 'gushing with your lavish applause' reminded the scholiast of the lines now found in fr. 198, which also exploit the metaphor of the rushing stream to characterize Cratinus' style. The scholiast makes the odd claim that *Aristophanes* borrowed the conceit from Cratinus:

δοκεῖ δέ μοι Ἀριστοφάνης ἀφ' ὧν εἶπε Κρατίνος περὶ αὐτοῦ μεγαληγορῶν,
ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τροπὴν εἰληφέναι. ὁ γὰρ Κρατίνος οὕτω πῶς αὐτὸν
ἐπῆνεσεν ἐν τῇ Πυτίνῃ·

It seems to me that Aristophanes himself took the metaphor from the boastful things that Cratinus said about himself; for Cratinus praised himself in *Pytine* something like this...

Pytine was, of course, produced the year *after Knights*, so if the scholiast is correct that Aristophanes was alluding to Cratinus in *Knights* 526, then this must mean that Cratinus' original boasting occurred in a play earlier than *Knights*. There is almost no scholarly comment on this little scholion, probably because it seems like such

an obvious mistake (cf. Edmonds 1957–61, I. 87 note c). That is, the scholiast simply reversed the direction of influence: *first* came the *Knights* passage, *then* *Pytine*. But I am not entirely convinced that the scholiast necessarily implies that the boasting of Cratinus to which Aristophanes alludes was in fact the fragment from *Pytine* he proceeds to quote. The phrasing of the scholion is hardly, after all, unambiguous: he does not actually say that Aristophanes borrowed the river metaphor from *Pytine*; rather he says that Aristophanes adopted it from ‘boastful things that Cratinus said about himself’. These ‘things’ are not explicitly said to come from *Pytine*. The next sentence begins with an explanatory γάρ clause: ‘for Cratinus praised himself in *Pytine* something like this...’ Could it be, then, that the scholiast in fact knew of passages in Cratinus that predated *Knights* and *Pytine* in which Cratinus boasted of himself, and that *Pytine* is here simply cited as another example of Cratinus’ habit of self-praise? In other words, the scholiast might well be saying: ‘When Aristophanes spoke of Cratinus as a rushing stream in *Knights*, he adopted an image that Cratinus had already used in an earlier play or plays – possibly as a kind of *sphragis* or signature conceit. A good example of the trope can be found in *Pytine* as well.’

The possibility that this is actually what the scholion means, while admittedly difficult to confirm, is at least worth pursuing, I think, especially since it might help resolve a nagging problem with fr. 198: why would Cratinus, in an effort to praise himself, employ a metaphor from Aristophanes that originally spoke negatively about him? Indeed, the very relationship between fr. 198 of *Pytine* and the Aristophanic passage in *Knights* to which it allegedly responds needs to be re-examined. Did, in short, the image of the rushing stream found in *Pytine* necessarily allude to *Knights* alone? Or did fr. 198 allude more pointedly to an earlier play by Cratinus in which he used the image? These questions have a direct bearing on whether we should understand fr. 198 in *Pytine* as part of a positive, self-congratulatory defence, or rather as humorous, possibly ironic self-depreciation – i.e., a further appropriation of Aristophanes’ negative characterization of Cratinus for comic purposes.

Related to these questions is a more fundamental one: if Cratinus employed this image in an earlier, now lost, play, as the scholiast suggests, was it there intended as completely positive? That is, did Cratinus really take pride in a style that he himself likened to the uncontrollable rush of a mountain stream? Aristophanes almost certainly regarded the metaphor as a backhanded compliment, not unlike the way in which Horace, in his *Satires*, compared Lucilius’ style to a muddy river (e.g. *Serm.* 1.4.21, 1.10.50): he admired Lucilius’ passion and power, but found his torrential style prolix and

unrefined. The *Knights* passage certainly begins as if it is intended to pay homage to his older contemporary, but when Aristophanes begins to fixate on Cratinus' drinking and old age, it is clear that the whole passage is really Aristophanic braggadocio humorously masquerading as literary history. Does Cratinus' fragment 198, then, allude to this very passage in *Knights*, which was intended as a slam at Cratinus? Several possibilities remain open to us, and even though we are entering into the realm of speculation, I think it is worthwhile for us to lay them out, if only to illustrate the various intertextual strategies that both Aristophanes and Cratinus might have employed.

Kaibel remarks on fragment 198: 'It is uncertain whether these words come from Comoedia or the chorus, in response to Cratinus' defence.'¹⁶ Kaibel's instincts here seem sound: the lines almost certainly comment on some sort of poetic display by Cratinus. But, again, are they positive? abusive? or deliberately ambiguous? If, as the scholiast to *Knights* suggests, the metaphor of the rushing stream derives ultimately from Cratinus himself, who used it positively to describe his vigorous style, one might expect that by recycling it in *Pytine*, he is similarly orchestrating a positive spin on his style. But two factors seem to argue against this possibility. First of all, the passage in *Pytine* (fr. 198) cannot avoid being mediated by its link with the passage in *Knights*, which was so obviously critical of Cratinus; second, the expression εἰ μὴ γάρ ἐπιβύσει τις αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα, 'if someone doesn't shut his gob', seems unlikely to be anything but pejorative. It is possible, therefore, that we have the following intertextual relationships:

(1) An original passage in an unknown play by Cratinus employing the stream metaphor to boast about his own style.

(2) A parody of that passage in Aristophanes' *Knights*, which converts the original context of praise into one of blame (although this blaming emerges from another layer of blame directed at the audience).

(3) When we arrive at Cratinus' *Pytine*, then, we see a parody of Aristophanes' parody of the original Cratinean passage. In *Pytine*, then, Cratinus parodies his own metaphor and distorts its original context of praise, and simultaneously parodies its appearance in Aristophanes.

What is remarkable about all this, is that within a play composed by Cratinus *about* Cratinus, we have a character who is made – again, by Cratinus – to criticize the style of a character *playing* Cratinus by alluding to a passage by his rival, Aristophanes, that *also* criticized Cratinus' style.¹⁷ The irony is made all the more palpable, moreover, by the fact that the very rationale for Cratinus' play is supposed to lie in the poet's desire to detoxify the criticisms of Aristophanes.

Some might legitimately object that we have simply too little of

Pytine to make much of the intertextual implications of fr. 198: even if it does criticize Cratinus, for example, there is a good chance that elsewhere in the play, the character playing Cratinus successfully repudiated that criticism and somehow demonstrated his true artistic distinction. This is entirely possible, and fragment 200 suggests, in fact, that Cratinus was made at some point to ‘come to his senses’ and perhaps repent of his past unsavoury ways:

ἀτὰρ ἐννοοῦμαι δῆτα τὰς μοχθηρίας
τῆς ἡλιθιότητος τῆς ἐμῆς.

σκαλιότητος Bergk ἡπιότητος Cobet alii alia

...and now I’m aware of the wickedness of my foolish behavior...

Yet even if in the end Cratinus transforms himself just as Demos does at the end of *Knights* (cf. line 1355: αἰσχύνομαί τοι ταῖς πρότερον ἁμαρτίαις, ‘You know, I’m really ashamed of my former errors’), nothing can alter the fact that along the way Cratinus will have had himself described on stage by various characters in deliberately unfavorable (and no doubt highly comic) ways: as a kind of vaudeville drunk, a delinquent husband and probably a washed-up poet.

Without a context, of course, it is difficult to say what fr. 200 indicates. It could even have been spoken by a submissive and repentant *Kōmōidia*, after all, after deciding to be more tolerant of her wayward husband. In fact, there remains the distinct possibility that Cratinus ended up defending himself by actually revelling in his inebriated, rakish role. Fragment 203 certainly sounds as if it might have been spoken by a loud and intoxicated poet who insists that his substance abuse must be tolerated in the name of high art:

ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἄν τέκοις σοφόν.

you couldn’t create anything clever if you drank water

Norwood certainly realized that this fragment really might call into question the notion of a repentant poet in the play. ‘In a speech that was probably the culmination of the drama,’ Norwood asserts rather over-zealously, ‘Cratinus explained, or defended, or *glorified* in his new way of life: it contains the famous line: “but if he drinks water he can create nothing wise”.’ This fragment was first attributed to *Pytine* in 1824 by M.H.E. Meier, and even the sternest sceptic must admit that a play about a drunken comic poet is an obvious choice for it to occur. Unfortunately, however, the attribution is not secure: it certainly belongs somewhere in Cratinus, but in fact none of the testimonia specify *Pytine* as its original locus. On the other hand, I think there are good reasons for accepting both that the line belongs to *Pytine*, and

that Cratinus spoke it.

The conceit itself, as Kassel-Austin indicate with copious parallels in their note on this fragment (see also Gudeman 1934, 308), became very popular in Greco-Roman literature, and Cratinus' version of it was always quite well-known. Horace, in fact, opens his *Epistles* 1.19 with a reference to Cratinus:

prisco si credis, Maecenas
docte, Kratino,
nulla placere diu nec vivere
carmina possunt
quae scribuntur aquae
potoribus. ut male sanos
adscripsit Liber Satyris
Faunisque poetas,
vina fere dulces oluerunt mane
Camenae. (1–5)

Learned Maecenas, if you trust Cratinus of old, anything written by people who drink water can't possibly be any good or last very long. When Bacchus enlisted practically mad poets among his satyrs and fauns, the sweet Camenae [Muses] began to smell of wine in the morning.

It is unclear whether Horace draws the detail of *Liber* (i.e. Dionysus) from Cratinus,¹⁸ but the specific association of Dionysus, god of wine, with successful poetry stretches back even further, to Archilochus fr. 120 West:

ὥς Διονύσου ἀνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
οἶδα διθύραμβον οἶνῳ συγκεραυνωθείς ὄρενας

...since I know how to lead off the fine song of lord Dionysus, the dithyramb, when my mind has been thunderstruck with wine

Even in antiquity, Archilochus was thought to be an important literary influence on Cratinus: Cratinus' comedy entitled *Archilochi*, which almost certainly concerned matters of poetic style, certainly suggested as much.¹⁹ It seems likely, therefore, that no matter who spoke fr. 203 in Cratinus, it alluded to the Archilochean fragment, which itself can be construed as a defence of a poet drinking on the job.

In the case of the Archilochus fragment, it seems very likely that the poet refers to *his own* compositional habits. Callimachus at any rate thought as much when he referred to that 'proem of a *wine-struck Archilochus*' in fr. 544 Pfeiffer (τοῦ <~> μεθυπλήγος φροίμιον Ἀρχιλόχου). If Cratinus adopted the conceit with the Archilochean precedent in mind, it seems most appropriate that he would retain its primary force as a *self*-defence; and where other than in *Pytine* would

Cratinus have the best opportunity to portray *himself* as an inspired, if tipsy, poet in need of apologetic rhetoric? If fr. 203 *does* belong in Cratinus' *Pytine*, therefore, and if within that play it was spoken by Cratinus himself as part of a justification of his bibulous tendencies, surely a link with Archilochus would serve to tailor his drinking to his particular style: like Archilochus, in other words, Cratinus adopted a vigorous, antagonistic, sometimes vituperative style – like the rushing stream of fr. 198 – and even Archilochus (so Cratinus may have maintained) could only sustain it by altering his mental state with alcohol.

If Cratinus did remain defiant until the end of the play, asserting that wine was essential for his success as a comic poet, how can we reconcile this attitude with the fact that Kōmōidia (i.e. an allegory for his chosen genre) felt abandoned by a poet-husband given over to drink? What we know of the plot, after all, implies that excessive drinking caused Cratinus to abandon comedy, or at least that it adversely affected the quality of his comedy. If the point of the play is to defend his literary merit, how would the poet end up defending the very vice that was the alleged cause of his demise? Horace's *Epistle* 1.19, cited above, provides a clue to a possible answer. The opening of that poem, as we saw, illustrates the Cratinean idea that good poetry can only come from inebriated poets. But at line 10, Horace complains that once other poets saw him endorsing this conceit, as, for example, in some of his *Odes*, they themselves began to take up drinking, and did so excessively:

hoc simul edixi,
non cessavere
poetae
nocturno certare
mero, putere
diurno.
exiguaeque togae
simulet textore
Catonem,
virtutemne
repraesentet
moresque Catonis?
(10–14)

As soon as I said this, poets couldn't stop their nocturnal drinking competitions, and they smelled like wine all day long. Do you think one can just put on Cato's modest cloak and suddenly have his virtue and moral character?

The poetasters whom Horace chastises here are those who take *literally* what he, at least in part, regarded as a metaphor useful for describing the altered mental state from which great poetry seems to arise. Drinking oneself silly, in other words, might or might not inspire a great poet to compose great poetry, but it will never, according to Horace, turn a mediocre poet into a great one. Cratinus' *Pytine*, then, may very well have ended with the poet making a similar sort of distinction between a great poet like himself, who requires wine for inspiration, and bad poets who end up with nothing to show for their carousing except a hangover. Just as Aristophanes seems to revel in the role of the 'misunderstood poet' (a term I borrow from Hubbard 1991, 88–112), so might Cratinus also have faulted the audience – itself a trope of Old Comedy – for mistaking his high-minded love of wine for vulgar and meaningless boozing. At the end of *Pytine*, then, we might imagine a reconciliation between Cratinus and his estranged wife-cum-genre, Kōmōidia, in which the poet agreed to temper his drinking (without abandoning it), and his wife agreed that Cratinus' 'affair' with Methē was necessary for the continued 'productivity' of their own 'marriage'.

All speculation aside, I return to one incontrovertible and extraordinary fact: however the play ended, Cratinus portrayed himself throughout *Pytine* in a consistently unflattering light. As a so-called 'defence' or 'response' to serious personal attacks by Aristophanes the year before, the play is an obvious failure. But as a play in which the poet ironically exploited the enormous comic potential of an unsympathetic role that his rival (or rivals) had fabricated for him, it was clearly a success – its victory at the City Dionysia shows that at least the Athenians judged it so. In portraying himself in this way, Cratinus was manipulating his own autobiography in a manner entirely consistent with a whole range of comic and satirical traditions, in which the poet's 'I' often self-consciously asserted itself to its audience. Within the Greco-Roman tradition, Cratinus' oppressed, beleaguered and ultimately misunderstood persona was one that was adopted by poets working in a variety of comic genres from Archilochus to Juvenal. It was a complex and often subtle literary trope, usually functioning as a prolonged *captatio benevolentiae*, by means of which the poet enlists the sympathies of the audience in his valiant but comical struggle to assert his cosmic worth. The audience, in its turn, understands that the more abject and maladroit the poet makes himself, the more they laugh; and the harder they laugh, the greater the chance that the lowly poet will rise to the top.²⁰

¹Cf. Gorgias' famous formulation (82 B23 DK) which locates the power of tragedy in its ability to deceive (ἀπατᾶν). For Gorgias, the audience that succumbs to poetic deception is the wiser for it (καὶ ὁ ἀπατηθεὶς σοφώτερος τοῦ μὴ ἀπατηθέντος).

²On the biographical tradition of Aristophanes see Lefkowitz 1981, 104–16; the testimonia, for what they are worth, are now collected in K-A III 2 pp. 1–17. Lefkowitz stresses that virtually all the details of Aristophanes' *vita* derive from his plays, though it is not her purpose to judge the veracity of the details. Just because a biographical item comes only from a text does not, of course, necessarily mean that it is false. Its appearance in a literary context, however, does complicate any attempt to judge its historical 'truth' or 'falsehood'.

³On the alleged quarrel between Cleon and Aristophanes as a literary construction, see Rosen 1988, 59–82; cf. Carawan 1990. To say that the quarrel was a literary construction does not, of course, necessarily imply that the quarrel never existed in real life; but it does imply that any historical reality it may have had is only casually relevant to its function within its dramatic context.

⁴The debate over the precise relationship between the parabasis and the rest of the play is vibrant and long-standing. The relevant bibliography is conveniently collected in Hubbard 1991, 16–40.

⁵Of the many scholars who have addressed this problem, some of the most influential have been Gomme 1938, de Ste. Croix 1975, 355–76 (Appendix XXIX), Halliwell 1984, Heath 1987, Foley 1988 and Hubbard 1991; cf. also Goldhill 1991, 188–201, and Rosen 1988.

⁶For discussion and bibliography, see Hubbard 1991, 45–53. Recent discussions include Bowie 1988, Olson 1991 (esp. 200 n. 1), Parker 1991 and Storey 1995, 388–92.

⁷On the formal aspects of the parabasis see Hubbard 1991, 23–7, with bibliography.

⁸Most recently, Sidwell 1995, discussed at greater length below; see also Luppe, this volume.

⁹Pieters 1946, 151 even suggested that Aristophanes and Eupolis were brought on stage in the play as well as Cratinus.

¹⁰In a discussion of Sidwell 1995, Storey (1996, 687) signals his intention to argue in a future work that Eupolis and Aristophanes figured as *dramatis personae* in Eupolis' *Autolykos*. The phenomenon of explicit self-referentiality may not, therefore, have been unique to *Pytine*, but it was surely infrequent, and so all the more significant when it does occur.

¹¹Norwood (1931, 116) put it perhaps most passionately: 'Aristophanes spoke too soon. This stinging mixture of praise and pity brought the elderly genius to his feet... Next year at the City Dionysia he produced the *Wine-flask* and defeated his ambiguous eulogist with a play that boldly took up the imputations of Aristophanes.'

¹²Sidwell 1995, 65 thinks that the play 'resolve[d] the central issues, Cratinus' drunkenness and his inability to write', and suggests that Cratinus underwent some sort of 'rejuvenation' in the course of the play, analogous to that of Demos in *Knights*. This may well be the case (see p. 32 below), but the fact remains that in order for the poet's tribulations to be dramatized in *Pytine*, much of the play had to portray him in a decidedly unsavoury light.

¹³Sidwell 1995, 63 makes a good case that the allegations of drunkenness against Cratinus can be traced back to caricatures of the poet in a play (or plays) by Eupolis, pre-dating *Knights* and possibly *Acharnians*. All the more reason for us to wonder about Cratinus' motives in *Pytine* for taking upon himself the central features of this caricature.

¹⁴See Luppe 1968, who believes the first line belongs to the scholiast who quotes the fragment.

¹⁵We should remember, of course, that fr. 195 is not assigned to *Pytine* by name in the context from which it is culled (Ath. 1.29d). Runkel 1827, 84 first made the attribution.

¹⁶K-A IV 223 quote Kaibel's unpublished remark: '*audita Cratini defensione incertum Comoediae haec verba fuerint an chori.*' Cf. Norwood 1931, 116–17.

¹⁷There is, perhaps, a certain kinship between my argument and Keith Sidwell's general approach to the mechanisms of poetic rivalry in Old Comedy, advanced in a recent series of articles, esp. 1993 and 1995. Certainly in his article on *Pytine* (1995), he has argued convincingly that the portrait of Cratinus in *Pytine* relied on common perceptions about the poet that predated the passage in *Knights*. On this point my argument corroborates his own. Whether Eupolis was the originator of Cratinus' caricature as a drunk, as Sidwell speculates (1995, 63), remains an open question. Sidwell's notion of 'paracomedy', however – a term he coins to refer to the technique of satirizing rivals 'by presenting his plays *as though by another poet* (65) – seems to me overly schematic. Further, Sidwell seems to understand the rivalries of comic poets to be somewhat more 'serious' affairs, and more rigidly organized, than seems likely. As I suggest in this paper, it would be in the artistic interests of the poet to *revel* in a negative, abject self-portrait, rather than to try to engage in serious and systematic self-defence. Still, Sidwell seems justified in emphasizing the great extent to which comic playwrights played out their rivalries on the stage, whether through reciprocal allusion or parody.

¹⁸As Mayer 1994, 259 notes, the connection between Horace and Cratinus is more than superficial. *Epistle* 19, after all, like Cratinus' *Pytine*, was 'less concerned with inebriation than with independence and self-reliance in the face of criticism.' Cf. Nisbet & Hubbard 1978, 316–7 (on Hor. *Odes* 2.19) on the association between Dionysus and poetic inspiration.

¹⁹On the relationship between Cratinus and Archilochus, see Cratinus T 17 K-A (IV p. 116 = Platonius *Diff. char.* 1 in *Proleg. de Com.* II.6 ed. Koster), and the fragments of Cratinus' *Archilochi* (1–16) with the introductory note in K-A IV 121; for discussion, see Rosen 1988, 37–48.

²⁰The persona of the author as underdog, often in the context of satire and/or transgressive poetics, has been studied profitably in other literary fields. Viewing the posture of beleaguerment frequently adopted by poets of Old Comedy as a type of 'heroic abjection', for example, resolves many traditional questions about why poets might deprecate themselves in their work. As Bernstein 1992, 33 writes: 'In order to fascinate, the Abject Hero must first persuade us that in spite of the obvious unpleasantness – or, more accurately, exactly because of that unpleasantness – conversation with him will yield the benefit of an otherwise unavailable insight into both human nature and the workings of society.' By transforming, in other words, an author's abject stance into something empowering for the author, the audience need not 'explain away' his abjection as if it were an embarrassment. If we understand the dynamics of abjection in Old Comedy, we can spare ourselves anxiety over why, for example, Aristophanes might have highlighted so forcefully in the parabasis to *Clouds* the alleged shortcomings of the first version of the play. Sidwell 1995, 66 is right to claim in this case that the usual explanations of Aristophanic 'irony' require further explanation, but his own solution (that *Clouds* 'is being presented as though by a rival [i.e. Cratinus]') involves an elaborate effort to erase what I would argue to be an essential feature of a comic playwright's persona, namely its continual flirtation with comically exaggerated self-pity and abjection, all in the service of jocular and ironic self-aggrandizement.

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Chapter 4

GNESIPPUS PAIGNIAGRAPHOS: THE COMIC POETS AND THE EROTIC MIME

James Davidson

In book 14, in the course of a discussion of composers of indecent music, Athenaeus refers to one Gnesippus, citing fragments of Chionides, Eupolis, Telecleides and Cratinus (638d–9a). The speaker in Eupolis fr. 148 (from *The Helots*) refers to him in the past tense, which could imply that he had died already,¹ in which case he should be seen as a contemporary of Aristophanes' predecessors. Aristophanes himself does not mention him, and he is thus used as a dating device by Geissler in his *Chronologie* (1925, 24). He can probably, therefore, be given a floruit in the 440s and 430s.

The fragments concerning Gnesippus throw some light on the nature of his poems. Chionides in *Ptochoi* (*Beggars*) has a character talking of some 'things that could not have been sweetened up on nine strings, not by Gnesippus, in Zeus' name, nor even by Cleomenes':

ταῦτ' οὐ μὰ Δία Γνήσιππος οὐδ' ὁ Κλεομένης
ἐν ἐννέ' ἂν χορδαῖς κατεγλυκάνατο. (fr. 4)

Eupolis described them as songs for adulterers: 'It is old-fashioned to sing the songs of Stesichorus, of Alcman and Simonides. Gnesippus is the one to hear. He is the man who invented night-time songs for adulterers, for calling out women, using *iambyke* and harp':

τὰ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος Σιμωνίδου τε
ἀρχαῖον αἰδεῖν, ὃ δὲ Γνήσιππος ἔστ' ἀκούειν.
κεῖνος νυκτερίν' ἦνρε μοιχοῖς αἰείσματ' ἐκκαλεῖσθαι
γυναῖκας ἔχοντας ἱαμβύκην τε καὶ τρίγωνον.
(fr. 148, context unknown)

A character in Cratinus' *Boukoloi* (*Herdsmen*), 'making jokes about his poems (*poiemata*)', makes him a rival of Sophocles: 'He didn't respond to Sophocles' request for a chorus, but gave one to the son of Cleomachus, a man I would not consider commissioning even for the festival of Adonis':

ὅς οὐκ ἔδωκ' αἰτοῦντι Σοφοκλέει χορόν,
τῷ Κλεομάχου δ', ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἤξιουν ἐγὼ
ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς Ἀδώνια. (fr. 17)

The same playwright in the *Horai* (*Seasons*) portrays Gnesippus'

musicians not as *moichoi*, adulterers, but slave-girls: ‘good riddance as well to that producer of tragedies, the son of Cleomachus, him and his chorus of plucker-slaves, who pluck their disgusting tunes/limbs [a pun on the word *mele*] in Lydian fashion’:²

ἴτω δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας
ὁ Κλεομάχου διδάσκαλος
ἔμετὰ τῶν παρατιλτριῶν
ἔχων χορὸν Λυδιστὶ τιλ-
λουσῶν μέλη πονηρά. (fr. 276)

In *Malthakoi* (*Softies*) fr. 104, Cratinus actually seems to have put Gnesippus on stage. The text is corrupt, but one character seems to be addressing the poet and asking a (rhetorical?) question about love. Finally Telecleides claimed in *Sterrhoi* (*Tough Guys*) that Gnesippus περὶ μοιχείας ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ‘dwelt on *moicheia* (illicit sex)’ (fr. 36). This seems a better interpretation of Athenaeus 639a than Gulick’s Loeb translation: ‘was often involved in acts of adultery’, although, as Janet Fairweather has demonstrated (1972, 234–55), the Greeks sometimes had difficulty distinguishing between the life and the works of a poet – a particular difficulty with Gnesippus’ oeuvre, as I will show.

Thanks to these comic fragments Gnesippus has sometimes himself been considered a comic poet (see e.g. Maas 1912), an older rival of Aristophanes, but in this chapter I would like to use him as the vehicle for some speculations about other kinds of dramatic performance in classical Athens, small private productions which might be played out not by Athenian citizens, but by women and even slaves – sometimes even composed by them as well. The relationship between the official public theatre and these private performances will always be difficult to pin down, but they are often placed in ironic juxtaposition, and I will argue that in the *Ecclesiazusae* Aristophanes offered a parody of one of these private dramas. These other rivals of Aristophanes help to throw public theatre into relief. In particular they seem to have used female performers and played with the subjects of sexuality and transgression in a way that makes comedy look safe and conservative.

My starting-point is Athenaeus’ description of Gnesippus as a *paigniagrophos* of the merry muse’ (παιγνιαγράφος τῆς ἱλαρᾶς μουσῆς, 14. 638d). *Paigniagrophos* is translated by Gulick as ‘playful writer’ and by Liddell and Scott, who give no other citations for the term, as ‘writer of playful poetry’, but I want to examine the possibility that in fact Gnesippus is a writer of *paignia*, and that these ‘plays’ are a recognisable literary and social phenomenon from the classical period onwards.

ΠΑΙΓΝΙΟΝ (*paignion*), a game or a playing, and παίζειν (*paizein*), to play, can be used of a wide range of cultural activity. Plato in the *Laws* has a long discussion of the nature of ‘playing’ within his treatment of education (7. 793d–817e), and includes a broad spectrum of *mimēmata* under the rubric of *paizein*, *paignion* and *paidia*, including pyrrhic dances, tragedy and comedy.³ It seems a likely candidate, through Latin coinages like *paegnarii* (slapstick gladiators who only play at fighting), for the source of our word ‘pageant’, a word of unknown etymology, according to the *OED*, which originally referred to one scene or act of a Mystery Play. Modern scholars and translators like Leo (1914, 185 n. 2, 188), Gulick (III p. 447, trs. of Athenaeus 7.322a), Henri Bardon (1952, 190) and Jack Winkler (1990, 80, with note) stress a positively frivolous or jocular element in works with *paignion* in the title, and many such pieces do indeed seem to show these characteristics, but this is not an obvious feature of *paignia enoplia* like the pyrrhic dances, and I wonder if the basic sense is not more simply a lack of earnestness, ‘pretending’ or ‘playing at’ something, or not doing it for real.

Apart from Plato’s broad generalization, *paignion* is also applied to a number of specific works of literature. Gorgias refers to his encomium of Helen as a *paignion* (ch. 21), and Athenaeus (7.322a) has a discussion on the origins of a certain genre of *paignia* that Jacoby (*FGrH* IIIb Kommentar p. 519, on 560 F1) thought he had lifted straight from Apollodorus’ ten-volume commentary *On Epicharmus*: ‘The salpe is a mottled fish. Hence Mnaseas of Locris or Colophon, who composed the work entitled *Paignia*, was nicknamed Salpe by his acquaintances, because of the motley (*poikilon*) nature of his collection. But Nymphodorus of Syracuse in his *Asiatic Voyage* (*FGrH* 572 F5) says that Salpe, the author of *paignia*, was a Lesbian woman. Then again, Alcimus in his *Sikelika* (560 F1) says that Botrys, the inventor of *paignia* similar to those going under the name of Salpe, was born in Sicilian Messene.’ Here already, then, we have some indication that *paignia* are more than just a pretty title, but a specific genre with a named inventor. I have argued elsewhere, however, that this Salpe is very likely the same Salpe whose works are cited as remedies for all kinds of minor ailments by Pliny.⁴ These *paignia* are closest therefore to the spells found in the magical papyri under the title ‘Democritus’ *Paignia*’ (Preisendanz *PGM* 7.167–86). Whether the other authors of *paignia* mentioned here by Athenaeus belonged to this genre is unclear. It depends on how thoroughly Athenaeus or Apollodorus did their homework, relying simply on the titles or reading the works themselves – the work of Mnaseas of Locris is especially difficult to categorize. The reference to ‘*paignia* similar to those going under the name of Salpe’, however, seems quite specific

and Botrys, who wrote *hypomnemata*, is described by Timaeus (FGrH 566 F35) as an *anaischuntographos*, ‘a writer of shameful things’ in the good company of Philaenis, a description which might easily apply to Salpe-style remedies which, according to Pliny, involved spit, urine, menses and boiled ass’s genitals.⁵

The allusions to Gnesippus’ work in Old Comedy clearly imply shamelessness and indecency, but there is no indication of medicine or magic, and his works are described not as *hypomnēmata*, but as ‘songs’. He does not seem to be a *paigniographos* in the school of Botrys, therefore. On the other hand, the reference to ‘Salpe-like *paignia*’ implies the existence of another kind of *paignia* that were quite unlike the work of Salpe. Athenaeus’ discussion at 7.322a may be something of a cul-de-sac, but it is not the end of our journey.

Perhaps, in fact, we should start at the other end of the problem and look at the usage of Athenaeus himself and his contemporaries to try to discover what he might have been thinking of when he described Gnesippus as *paigniographos*. And in fact there is plenty of evidence for another more literary kind of *paignia* better suited to a poet like Gnesippus.

According to Suetonius, for instance, Augustus on his deathbed asked his friends ‘Have I played my part in the farce of life (*mimum vitae*) creditably enough?’, adding the theatrical tag: ‘If the *paignion* pleased you (?), kindly signify | Appreciation with a warm goodbye.’⁶ Liddell and Scott interpret *paignion* here to mean a ‘comic performance’. Plutarch, some decades later, includes a much fuller description of this kind of work, providing the best evidence yet that *paignia* can refer to a specific genre. The eighth question of book 7 of his *Quaestiones Conviviales* asks: ‘What *akroamata* (symptotic entertainments) are most appropriate at dinner?’ Re-enactments of Plato’s dialogues that have become fashionable recently at Rome are rejected. The drunken atmosphere of the symposium is degrading for the good philosopher. Old Comedy is also thrown out as much too fiery and obscure: ‘Each guest will need his own *grammaticus* to explain who is Laespodias in Eupolis, who is Cinesias in Plato, and Lampon in Cratinus. The symposium will turn into a schoolroom’ (712a). One of the guests then makes a speech in praise of Menander, not too boisterous or squalid, and even morally uplifting. Plutarch himself, however, intervenes with some possibilities they have overlooked:

There are certain mimes, he says, some of which they call *hypotheseis* and others they call *paignia*, but in my opinion neither is consonant

with a symposium. The *hypotheseis* because of their length and the difficulties of putting them on, the *paignia* because they are full of buffoonery and scandal, unfit to be seen even by the slaves who carry our shoes, if their masters are men of virtue; although the masses even when women and unbearded boys are reclining with them put on representations of words and deeds that are more unsettling than any drunkenness.

οὐκοῦν, ἔφην ἐγώ, μῖμοί τινές εἰσιν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ὑποθέσεις τοὺς δὲ παίγνια καλοῦσιν· ἀρμόζειν δ' οὐδέτερον οἶμαι συμποσίῳ γένος, τὰς μὲν ὑποθέσεις διὰ τὰ μήκη τῶν δραμάτων καὶ τὸ δυσχορήγητον, τὰ δὲ παίγνια πολλῆς γέμοντα βωμολοχίας καὶ σπερμολογίας οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰ ὑποδήματα κομίζουσι παιδαρίοις, ἂν γε δὴ δεσποτῶν ἢ σωφρονοῦντων, θεάσασθαι προσήκει· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ γυναικῶν συγκατακειμένων καὶ παίδων ἀνῆβων ἐπιδείκνυνται μιμήματα πραγμάτων καὶ λόγων, ἃ πάσης μέθης ταραχωδέστερον τὰς ψυχὰς διατίθουσιν.
(712ef; cf. 853a–4d)

It is sometimes inferred that Plutarch is talking about three separate kinds of mime here, *hypotheseis*, *paignia* and another type of pornographic entertainment, but he does not give this third type a name, and it seems almost indistinguishable from the *paignia*, being mime, readily producible at symposia and sharing their qualities of indecency and vulgarity (see Teodorsson 1996, 121–2 ad loc.). It is more economical, I think, to assume that only one kind of feasible but degenerate mime is being discussed, *paignia*: unlike the other mimes, there are no technical difficulties involved in putting on *paignia* in a sympotic context, but in Plutarch's personal opinion (οἶμαι) they are unsuitable because of their content, mimes which not even the slaves who carry shoes (i.e. the lowest kind of slave, but also the kind of slave likely to be taken to a reclining banquet) should see, if their masters have high moral standards. However he does concede that those without such standards, i.e. 'the masses', do indeed put on such mimes in symposia, not only in front of their lowest slaves, but even in front of women and adolescents.

Plutarch's ideal symposium is no more typical than Plato's famous *aulētris*-free version, and it seems clear that although Plutarch disapproved, *paignia*, like the other entertainments (*akroamata*), were indeed a popular choice at symposia in his time, and this must be the kind of mime Augustus was alluding to in his reference to 'the farce of life', although his irony was probably playing on the genre's reputation for lightness, simplicity and (as we shall see) sweetness rather than indecency. We do have some actual examples of what Plutarch and Augustus had in mind, since Aelian (*Nat. Anim.* 15.19)

describes Theocritus as ‘a composer of shepherd *paignia*. The *Idylls* indeed often take the form of little *mimemata* (representations) of words and deeds, and some are full of *bōmolochia* and *spermologia* (buffoonery and scandal) too. They provide many examples of things that Plutarch might well have disapproved of, but also reveal a sweetness and lightness that makes Augustus’ comparison more explicable. In contrast with the *hypotheses* described by Plutarch, they are also simple enough to be put on in a symposium.⁷ It is interesting that Aelian, a younger contemporary of Athenaeus, applies the term to poetry, for Gnesippus was also clearly a poet. Augustus’ *clausula* seems to be in metre also, and is assigned to comedy by Kock and (hesitantly) by Kassel-Austin. An addendum to this Roman evidence for the use of *paignia* for mimes and παίζω as the verb to play in them is the name of a slave-girl and solo mime-artist owned by one of the Caesars, a *monodiaria* (solo singer) called Paezusa who died at the age of nineteen years and eight months.⁸

Plutarch’s *paignia* have largely escaped detailed analysis, but are briefly referred to in some of the big surveys of literary history. Reich 1903, 418 follows some ancient authors, like Plato, in interpreting it as an umbrella term covering all the simpler mimes, a kind of mime-base out of which more complex works emerge: ‘Das Paegnion umfasst alle mimische Produktion, die unterhalb der Hypothese liegt.’ Von Christ 1928, 336–8 translates the word as *Einzelszene*, and Lesky 1966, 747 suggests ‘solo performances’ (*Solovorträge*). Beare in *OCD*² (p. 688 s.v. *mimus* = *OCD*³ 982) suggested that these ‘slight, often vulgar, performances’ were a kind of popular mime, and Teodorsson 1996, 121–2, the most recent discussion of the passage, observes that while the exact meaning is not known, ‘the *paignia* were probably performed by one or two artists only’.

Both Aelian and Athenaeus and, to a lesser extent, Plutarch were Atticists. Aelian, though hailing from Praeneste, was said to speak Greek like an Athenian from the *mesogeia*. The very worst offence for such purists was to allow their Greek to be contaminated by Latinisms (Swain 1996, 50–1, 83 n. 49). To many eyes *paignion* must have looked suspiciously like a translation of *ludus*, and Atticists will have wanted to make sure of its classical credentials before using it. It is worth trying to discover, then, if this usage of *paignion* can be traced even further back. A promising start is Fragment 1 of the third century comic poet Euphron. It is the speech of a cook narrating a fellow-cook’s ruses to get more meat out of his patrons at sacrificial ceremonies. In the first anecdote the cook pretends that a victim has an organ missing and raises a hullabaloo: ‘“It hasn’t any kidney”, they cried, and those present hung their heads in sorrow at the loss. They sacrificed a second victim, and again I saw you gobbling up the heart

of this second one.’ In the second episode, the cook (*mageiros*) simply lets the spits fall into the fire and put it out, all the while whistling a tune and strumming on two strings (the entrails?). The first episode was a drama, he says, the second a *paignion*. It is not too difficult to see how this could be a reference to exactly the kind of merry mime we have discussed, the whistling and strumming a substitute for the musical accompaniment.⁹ A similar contrast is implied by an epigram of the Hellenistic epigrammist Dioscurides, who wrote of how Aeschylus took Thespis’ discovery, the rustic sylvan *paignia* and the *komos* (revel), and raised it to a higher more finished state (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 411).

Some other works called *paignia* may also be relevant. One is the work of Laevius ‘Melissus’, a neoteric precursor of Catullus writing in the early first century BCE. His work, rather like that of Gnesippus, is described by modern scholars as ‘lyrics’. He wrote *Erotopaegnia*, and although other titles (an *Alcestis*, an *Adonis*, a *Protesilaodamia*, a *Sirenocirca*, a *Centauri*, an *Ino* and a *Helena*) are handed down under his name, it seems probable that these are merely the names of separate pieces within the at least six books of *Erotopaegnia*.¹⁰ About thirty fragments survive, which enable us to get a good picture of their tone and character. Bardon (1952, 190) sees the essence of the work in ‘la transformation galante des héros d’Homère et des Tragiques’ (‘the transformation of the heroes of Homer and the tragic poets into the galant style’); ‘la “naivete” de cespredecesseurs’, he continues, ‘se mue, chez Laevius, en un erotisme de boudoir: il n’y a pas de grandeur dans ses agaceries, mais le mievre a son charme, et une piquante seduction’ (‘the “naivete” of these predecessors is transformed, in Laevius’ works, into a boudoir-style eroticism: there is no grandeur in his alluring poems, but his roguish style has its own charm, and a piquant seductiveness’). They are, at least in part, mimetic rather than narrative in character. In one fragment, for instance, Laodamia is imagining to herself her husband’s adultery (fr. 18 Buechner). In others, Helen addresses Paris (fr. 11) and Hector apostrophizes a wreath woven by Andromache (fr. 4). It is not difficult, I think, to see these pieces too as simple mimes, not too far from Theocritus’ *Idylls*, and despite the mythological content, Bardon is right to see them as having a sensibility quite opposed to tragedy, much lighter in style, and more focussed on eroticism.

We also need to mention the work of Philitas of Cos, an influential poet of the late fourth/early third centuries.¹¹ Philitas too is said to have written a work called *Paignia*, and a fragment survives from the preface explaining that they are meant for sophisticates, not rustics, an ironic reference perhaps to the *paignion*’s reputation as originally a primitive or pastoral form – we might recall at this point that

Gnesippus featured both in Cratinus' *Boukoloi* (*Herdsmen*) and his *Malthakoi* (*Softies*). We cannot say anything more about this work unless we suppose that other titles in Philitas' oeuvre, normally classed separately, actually belong to this collection. This is conventional in the case of Laevius' *Erotopaegnia*, but controversial in the case of Philitas' *Paignia*. If we use Laevius' work as a reference, however, there are a number of pieces in the rest of Philitas' work that might be reassigned: the *Hermes*, for instance, dealt, according to Parthenius, with the love-affair of Odysseus and Polymele, the daughter of Aeolus the keeper of the winds. When he leaves she 'rolls about' in tears with the gifts he has left behind for her, but her father finds out and threatens to punish her. Luckily her brother, who is in love with her too, prevails upon his father to let him marry her and they all live happily ever after. The *Telephus* similarly dealt with the *gamos* of Jason and Medea in the house of Alcinous (Schol. on Apoll. Rhod. 4.1141). Another unassigned fragment seems to concern the story of Hippomenes and Atalanta (fr. 14 Kuchenmüller = 18 Powell). Several of these fragments speak in the first person (fr. 2 K = 7 P; fr. 3 K = fr 6 P), and if they can be reassigned to the *Paignia*, there is a good case for arguing that like Laevius' collection, Philitas' *Paignia* involved prosopopoea and even a little drama instead of or as well as narrative. Certainly they seem to parallel Laevius' combination of a '*transformation galante des héros d'Homère et des Tragiques* with an '*erotisme de boudoir*, and it would not be too difficult to imagine them presented as *Einzelszene* or *Solovortrge*.¹²

The references to *paignia* in Euphron, Dioscurides, Plutarch and Augustus could easily represent a single genre. They are simple little pageants, easy to put on, unsophisticated, full of *bōmolochia* and *spermologia* (buffoonery and scandal), often unsuitable for women and children, lacking in seriousness, quite unlike long *hypotheseis* and serious *dramata* to which they are often implicitly or explicitly opposed. From Aelian we learn that they were rather like Theocritus' *Idylls*. According to Dioscurides they are not only opposed to serious drama but antecedent to it, the background for all theatre, the primitive origins of performance art in Plato's ritual *mimemata*. Philitas, Laevius and perhaps also Theocritus are playing ironically with a genre thought to have arisen in rural simplicity by working it up into something incongruously modern, sophisticated and urbane.

Perhaps at this point we need to discuss a passage in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (700–3), where the women's chorus-leader refers to recently θῆκάτη ποιοῦσα παιγνίαν, 'making a *paignia* for Hecate', for the purpose of which she sends to her neighbours for a hetaera, a 'good and lovely girl'. Only at the end of the sentence does it turn out that the neighbours are the Boeotians and the hetaera is an eel. Liddell &

Scott gloss *paignia* here as ἑορτή (feast), and Henderson (1987, 162 ad loc., followed by Sommerstein 1990, 87), thinks this is ‘a privately organized neighbourhood party’ and sees the ‘hetaera’ as simply a friend; but *paignia* normally means ‘sport’ or ‘game’, and LSJ’s only evidence that it can mean ‘feast’ seems to be this passage with its punchline about the eel. Moreover, the description of the ‘hetaera’ as παῖδα χρηστὴν καὶ γιγνητὴν suggests at first a courtesan rather than an old woman’s old friend. I would not like to push it too far, but it does seem possible that what we have here is in fact a *paignion* in honour of Hecate, like Thespis’ rustic *paignia* and Plato’s ritual *mimēmata*: the *paignia enoplia*, in honour of the Curetes and the Dioscuri, and the *pyrrhikai* which commemorate Athena’s dance after her victory over the Giants (*Laws* 7.796bc).¹³ Such an occasion would include feast and sacrifice too, but *paignion* would refer specifically to some ritual mime. But this is leading us away from our subject. We need to return to Gnesippus the *paigniagraphos*.

It has often been assumed, on the basis of the comic reference to him as τραγωδίας διδάσκαλος (producer of tragedy) by Cratinus (fr. 276, p. 42 above), that Gnesippos was a tragedian, and he has indeed won a place in Snell’s collection of minor tragedians (TGFno. 27).¹⁴ Comic poets, however, are not in the habit of anticipating the ignorance of posterity by giving useful but redundant prosopographical lemmata about their contemporaries, and Gnesippus’ grip on the title of tragedian must be considered rather precarious. His chorus, after all, plays female instruments like the harp and *iambykē* (Eupolis fr. 148, p. 41 above: see West 1992, 70–7, esp. 75; cf. 349), and, according to Cratinus, is composed of ‘depilatory slave-girls plucking their disgusting limbs (*melē*) in Lydian fashion’, which seems a far cry from the city Dionysia, even with allowance for comic acerbity. Moreover, what kind of lyrics are these that are sung, according to Eupolis, ‘at night’? On the other hand, if Gnesippus really was recognisable to Athenaeus as a composer of *paignia-mimes* of the kind known to Augustus and Plutarch, it is easy to see how he might be parodied as a writer of tragedies, an early example of the juxtaposition between high and low, public and private art, which is deployed by Euphron and Dioscurides (p. 46 above) and is implicit in other references to *paignia*. The connection would be even more apposite if, like Laevius, he had used the characters of myth and tragedy. It is not impossible, however, that a poet more famous for love-poetry should be commissioned to write tragedy, and that the speaker is outraged at an actual occasion when Gnesippus was preferred to Sophocles, rather than at some imaginary scenario within the play.

Gnesippus, then, may or may not have been a tragedian, but he

was certainly a composer of erotic poetry for *moichoi*, for various kinds of harp, for a chorus of female pluckers. His poems were performed at night, which probably means at the symposium or in the *kōmos* that followed, by the *mousourgoi* (the ‘pluckers’) or the male guests, although a night festival (*pannychis*) or some kind of street entertainment put on by professionals cannot be ruled out.¹⁵ Athenaeus’ description of Gnesippus as *paigniographos* may not be enough to confirm that *Paignia* was the title he himself applied to his works, but a number of other points of similarity are apparent. Plutarch’s response to *paignia* as indecent, full of *bōmolochia* and *spermologia* (buffoonery and scandal) unsuitable for shoe-carriers, let alone women and boys, is paralleled in the comedians’ description of Gnesippus’ work as *moichikos* (suitable for adulterers), *poneros* (wicked) and unfit even for the Adonia. The ironic juxtaposition with serious drama in Augustus’ death-bed joke and Euphron’s comic fragment is paralleled in Cratinus’ comparison of Gnesippus with Sophocles. If we add Philitas’ *Hermes* and Laevius’ *Erotopaegnia* into the mixture we have specific parallels also for Gnesippus’ concern with *moicheia* (adultery), although in the light of Augustus’ use of the simile it is unlikely that adultery rather than love in general was the characteristic theme.

We know from Xenophon’s *Symposium*, which has a dramatic date of 421 BCE, that the entertainments performed by slave dancers and cithara-boys at banquets might be quite elaborate. After a series of acrobatic feats and dangerous dances, Socrates suggests a ballet depicting the Graces, Horai and Nymphs (*Symp.* 7.5). The Syracusan choreographer obliges with a tableau of Dionysus and Ariadne (9.2–7), which would be recognisable to the Greeks of the Roman empire as a *paignion*. Ariadne appears, dressed as a bride, and takes her place, then the sound of the *aulos* is heard and Dionysus dances towards her, ending up on her lap embracing her and kissing her. The diners hear Dionysus asking Ariadne if she loves him and Ariadne swearing that she does. The little play finishes with the two lovers turning to their bridal couch. The diners are so fired up that they can’t wait to get back to their wives, and those that are unmarried can’t wait to tie the knot. This shows the potential for little dramas or pageants in the symposium, but we should not perhaps think it typical. In place of *bomolochia* and *spermologia*, or Gnesippus’ songs for *moichoi*, Xenophon has substituted a family-values pageant which leaves the guests all fired up for marriage and going home – nothing to disturb Plutarch or Augustus there.¹⁶

Music and sex seem to have enjoyed a very close relationship in Athens. Even the women of the brothels sang songs, according to

Eubulus, as they stood, like a chorus, in a semi-circle (Eubulus frs. 67, 82, Xenarchus fr. 4; cf. Davidson 1997, 80–4, 92–3). Xenophon is merely a reminder that all the performances of the musicians and dancers of the symposium, the harpists, the *odikai* (chanteuses) etc. might take place within some kind of scenario. Sometimes the women themselves might compose. Aristophanes mentions one Charixene (*Eccles.* 943), who is described by the *Etymologicum Magnum* (367.12) as an ‘ancient *auletris* (aulos-player) and composer of musical pieces; some say a writer of songs as well’; Hesychius ε 5413 adds: ‘some say she was a composer of *erotika*. This low drama performed by men and women of low status, showing off their physical attributes to the symposiasts, is the other side of the coin from the comedy and tragedy of the public festivals. We know little about it, but it may be an important thread in the development of more mainstream theatre, much closer perhaps to the degenerate vaudevilles that took place on the Roman stage, and to which perhaps they gave the name *ludi*. Euripides in *Frogs* (1301, 1325–8) is accused by Aeschylus of taking material from ‘whore-songs’ and of composing songs according to the ‘twelve-trick system of Cyrene’, who is commonly identified as a hetaera famous for her sexual skills, but surely, in this context, for her music too.¹⁷ We should also note in this context the famous Hellenistic harpist and hetaera Glauce. Her *paignia* are mentioned by Theocritus, and Hedylus’ epitaph for the *auletes* Theon mentions that he accompanied mimes εν θυμεληοί (amongst the braziers, which usually means among the altars in the orchestra), including Glauce’s ‘*paignia*, drunken with the Muses’. Later stories about a ram, a goose and a dog falling in love with her may reflect the erotic power or the actual content of these mimes. The parallels between Glauce’s *paignia* and what we know of Gnesippus’ *paignia* were noted by Maas 1912, followed by Kassel-Austin.¹⁸ If most *paignia* were indeed performed by hetaeras and composed by them or their ‘managers’, then a further level of self-conscious incongruity can be assumed in the literary *paignia*: the poets are playing not only with a rustic form made urbane, but with a low-brow genre transmogrified into high art.

So far we have only fragments and later descriptions to go on, but Aristophanes, in a fragment from an unknown play (fr. 719 K-A = 699 K) talks of ‘putting on fancy verses and *paignia* all new, straight from the bellows, straight from the moulds’,¹⁹ and I would like to suggest that we do indeed have Aristophanes’ version of one of these *paignia* near the end of *Ecclesiazusae* (877–1111), written perhaps a decade or so before Xenophon’s *Symposium*. Wehrli 1948, 57 (on Clearchus fr. 33) and Gigante 1977 (esp. on ‘Canti popolari locresi’ at 658–62) observed the close association between the song of the girl in this section (900–17) and the excerpt from a Locrian song cited by

Athenaeus in book 15 (697 bc). Locrian songs are discussed by Athenaeus immediately after his references to Gnesippus, as another example of indecent adulterous poetry. This part of the *Ecclesiazusae* has always seemed a bit odd, unusually disconnected from the rest of the play and its characters, with a humour that seems rather savage and bad-tempered.²⁰ Where, moreover, do these free-loving types belong in Athenian society? If we view it as a *paignion*, however, some of the problems disappear. An Old Woman is taking on the romantic lead in the pageant, replacing the usual young girl. She has got all dressed up, and begins to sing to herself, *paizousa* (881), which we might translate ‘as one performing a *paignion*. When the real singer, presumably a hetaera, arrives to start the performance, she finds the Old Woman already waiting, but decides to continue with the show: ‘for even if this is irritating to the audience, nevertheless it has something delightful and comic in it’ (888–9). Like the muse of Gnesippus, hers is clearly a ‘merry muse’ and, like Augustus’ *paignion-players*, she is not afraid of stepping out of character and breaching the boundary of the stage. The old woman asks the *aulos*-player to start playing, and the *paignion* begins. The girl starts to get into her stride with a song based on what was probably a typical scenario for this erotic, moechic genre: a girl left alone in the house is anxious to arrange an assignation before her mother comes back. She finds a role for the Old Woman to play in the drama as a go-between. The Old Woman won’t have any of it and stops the show: ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἂν ποθ’ ὑφαρπάσαιο □ τὰμὰ παίγνια, she complains (921–2), which is translated by Ussher ‘You will never again intercept my darling’, but also perhaps ‘interrupt my *paignia*’.²¹ The boy enters and starts singing, complaining of the situation, as if the necessity of sleeping with the Old Woman was part of the drama. The Old Woman tells him to stop moaning: οὐ γὰρ τὰπὶ Χαριξένης τάδ’ ἐστίν: ‘For this is a different state of affairs from that which prevails (prevailed?) in Charixene’s pieces (time?)’ (943: see Ussher 1973, 207 ad loc.), a clear reference to the sympotic performances of hetaeras and a clue to the context of the entire scene.

If it is accepted that this passage is in fact a *paignion*, the relationship of this episode to the rest of the play can now be seen. It is part of the entertainment for the dinner announced at 834–52, and seen to be in its last stages as the *paignion* comes to an end (1112). The audience referred to in 888 is not a metatheatrical allusion to the Athenians in the Theatre of Dionysus, but denotes the banqueters of the play, by now on to the second table and the drinking, as the servant indicates at 1112. The joke is more sophisticated than is usually appreciated, playing on the juxtaposition of two narrative levels, the sweet sentimental plot of the *paignion* and the revolutionary

reality of the *Ecclesiazusae*. It is not a brutal *reductio ad absurdum*, but a clever parody of a recognisable genre. The principal actors are musiciennes or hetaeras and the roles they assume are generic types. The imposition of the new laws wreaks havoc with romance as the real world breaks in to interrupt this sugary idyll, and the hetaera is deprived of her access to the best-looking men, just as Praxagora predicted (719–24).

I have suggested that the performers were usually drawn from the ranks of the *mousourgoi*, the singing-girls, but it seems possible that the guests themselves might sometimes participate to a greater or lesser extent. Indeed, it is unlikely that there was always an absolute barrier between the songs the guests sang to the music of the *aulētrides* (*aulos*-girls) and the songs performed in pageants by the *mousourgoi*. The choreographer is one of the guests at Xenophon's *Symposium*, and the clown Philip improvises his own parody of the dances (2.21–3). When Socrates asks the choreographer to teach him some dance-steps, he is assumed to be joking, but when he assures them he is serious, even Callias offers to join the class (2.16–20).

In the *Agēn*, the strange *dramation* performed for Alexander (and perhaps written by him) at the Hydaspes to celebrate the Dionysia, Harpalus, who is not present, is called Pallides and Alexander himself seems to be Agēn, thus playing a role in the drama even if he is not actually speaking, singing or dancing. Athenaeus calls it *satyrikon*, but it is clearly not like any satyr play we know, and may have involved satyrs representing members of the court.²² Theocritus, likewise, refers by name to recent poets and/or contemporaries in his poetry, including other writers of *paignia* like Philitas (7.40), Glauce (4.31) and perhaps Aratus (6.2, 7.98). There has been a reaction against earlier interpretations which viewed all his characters as disguised members of a poetic coterie, but it is accepted that he does refer to some contemporaries under pseudonyms, turning Asclepiades into Sicelidas (7.40), for instance, and referring to Ptolemy Philadelphus as Zeus (7.93). In *Idyll* 7 he himself seems to be one of the protagonists, Simichidas (19–21), and it seems probable that real personages lie behind some other participants.²³ If it is accepted that these are indeed sympotic mimes, the parts may have been taken not only by *mousourgoi*, but by the poet and the *sympotai*. This would help to explain Plutarch's description of *paignia* as full of *spermologia*, referring specifically to gossip about known figures, rather than more generally to licentiousness.²⁴

This investigation into Athenaeus' description of Gnesippus as

paigniagraphos, then, has produced a number of conclusions with varying degrees of certainty. There is very good explicit evidence from Augustus onwards for *paignion* as a specific literary form. It could be described as a mime and used metre. It was slight, and could be licentious and clownish. It was not ‘hard to put on’, which probably means it was short, with few characters and little scenery. In form and content it fitted well into the confines of the degenerate symposium. Aelian thought it an appropriate term to describe Theocritus’ *Idylls*.

References to *paignia* in Euphron and Dioscurides and to Glauce’s *paignia* in Theocritus and Hedylus indicate that already by the early third century the term designates something close to its later meaning, and open up the possibility that a number of *paignia* composed by Neoteric and Hellenistic poets and hetaeras belong to this genre. Finally, in the classical period, an unplaced fragment of Aristophanes (which could, therefore, belong to any date between 427 and 388) seems to refer unequivocally to ‘putting on *paignia*’, and Gnesippus, a writer of the 440s or 430s, is described by Athenaeus as *paigniagraphos*. Even if we cannot assume that *Paignia* was the title of his works, we can at least infer that poets of the mid-fifth century were composing lyrical mimes which were recognisable as *paignia* to Athenaeus and probably to his source – in all likelihood, a Hellenistic student of *kōmōidomenoi* (men mocked in comedy).

From these snippets we can perhaps attempt to characterize this genre in more detail. There are indications from Dioscurides and the preface to Philitas’ *Paignia* that it was considered originally a rustic genre, and both Dioscurides and Plato, followed by modern scholars, like Reich (1903), seem to see *paignia* as the common root for all kinds of mimes and mimetic dances. However, there are strong indications from the second half of the fifth century onwards that the genre could be defined more narrowly. The comedians characterize Gnesippus’ works as songs (*melē, aeismata*) with an innovative instrumentation, and he is placed by Eupolis (fr. 148) alongside lyric poets like Alcman, Stesichorus and Simonides, although Cratinus (fr. 17) sees him as a putative rival of Sophocles, and there are references to a strange degenerate chorus of women and to tragedy, which may be ironic allusions to the mimetic form of *paignia*. Chionides (fr. 4) describes Gnesippus’ treatment as ‘sweetening’ (κατεγλυκάνατο), and Athenaeus (14.639a), or his source, describes his muse as ἱλαρός, cheerful, or merry. His subject matter seems to have been love, especially adultery, and Cratinus (fr. 17) thought he was too indecent even for the festival of the Adonia. His songs are described as nocturnal and hence probably belonged either to the symposium or the *kōmos*.²⁵ His preferred instruments, the harp and *iambyke*, were associated with women, which accounts for Cratinus’ punning

reference to *paratiltiriai*, female pluckers, although Eupolis (fr. 148) seems to put these instruments in the effeminate hands of *moichoi*, adulterers, a reference to the characters played in the mime and/or to real *moichoi* who used the songs for their own purposes.²⁶ Such a musical mime is indeed performed by the slave musicians, both men and women, in Xenophon's *Symposium* in a portrayal of the marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne on Naxos.

Some musical hetaeras, like Glaucé and Charixene, and probably also Cyrene, whom Euripides is said to have taken as a model in *Frogs*, composed their own erotic musical pageants. *Paignia* may have been very common in Athens, but they occupied a position that was politically marginal and their performers were usually of low status.

Charixene's poetry is explicitly juxtaposed with the Hag-scene towards the end of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*. There are references to the audience, to an *aulos*-player, to a self-conscious adoption of roles, and the scene resembles Gnesippus' *paignia* both in form and content, being a sung mime with an adulterous scenario, and even allowing a certain amount of Plutarch's *spermologia* and *bōmolochia* (Henderson 1975, 104). It is therefore a spoof *paignion*, and there are even terms, such as *paizousa* and *paignia*, which are usually taken as endearments or references to erotic play in general, but which might refer more specifically to the mime itself.

It is easy to see how Theocritus' *Idylls* might be included in a genre thus characterized, and it seems highly probable that Laevius' *Erotopaegnia* represent a Latin version of *paignia*, using mythological characters, as already in Xenophon's *Symposium*. However, certain works of the arch-wordsmith Philitas could also be placed within his *Paignia* thanks to their content, including the *Hermes*, the *Telephus*, and the fragment relating to Hippomenes and Atalanta. In fact, from the Hellenistic period onwards there is much more evidence for this literary kind of *paignion* as a recognised genre than for any other. The only established rival for the title, the simple magic remedies or tricks ascribed to Salpe and Democritus and originating perhaps in the *hypomnēmata* of Botrys of Messana, were a very different thing altogether, and in prose. Although Gorgias refers to his *Helen* as a *paignion* in the course of that speech (ch. 21), there is little evidence that the term was used for epideictic oratory in general, and the first poet who gives the title *Technopaegnia* to his shape-poems seems to be Ausonius. I suggest that *paizein* and its derivatives are used very often in the specific sense of 'playing at' or 'miming', and further, that we should assume that when poetic works are referred to as *paignia* they are in fact short, sweet, lyrical tableaux, usually on an erotic theme, unless there are indications to the contrary.

If this is allowed, we can go on to speculate further. Apart from sweetness, eroticism and a colourful musical element, there is also evidence for lexical innovation (apparent in Laevius, Aristophanes fr. 719 and probably Philitas) and for instrumental complexity and experimentation (apparent in descriptions of Gnesippus and the twelve-tone hetaera Cyrene). These may be different facets of a certain quality of *opoikilia*, ‘embroideredness’, which is, incidentally, ascribed to the mysterious *Paignia* of Mnaseas of Locris (n. 25). Technical innovations, combined with their positioning in the sympotic world of hetaeras, seem to have given *paignia* an air of urbane sophistication and modernity. This is at odds with their reputed origin as a simple, rustic form, and some writers of *paignia*, notably Philitas and Theocritus, seem to have played on this contradiction. It is a contradiction already inherent in the notion of παίζειν, which can refer both to the innocent naivety of children’s games and to the finesse of not saying what you mean.

We should not go too far in defining the *paignion*, since it was perhaps its informality and lack of fixed rules which recommended it to innovative poets. However, recognition of the genre throws light on a number of lost works and helps us to provide a context for some odd passages like the Hag-scene in the *Ecclesiazusae*, and some novel genres, like Theocritus’ *Idylls*: Simaetha’s song, for instance, begins to look less peculiar in this context. Of the Hellenistic papyrus fragments, the so-called *Alexandrian Erotic Fragment* (Powell 1924, 177–80, *Lyrica Adespota* 1) and the Marissa inscription (id. 184, *Lyrica Adespota* 5), with their erotic themes and lyrical form, seem to conform most obviously to what we know of the genre. It was in many ways an alternative to mainstream classical literature, a subterranean river influencing the development of Hellenistic and Neoteric poetry.²⁷

A number of features make it an interesting genre for literary and social historians. It seems to have been self-consciously opposed to serious drama from an early period, emphasising stillness, lightness and sweetness, and providing space for psychological oscillation within a more or less stable scenario, much more like a picture or a tableau than an action, elaborated in fancy surfaces, rather than in depth or plot. As the fragment of Euphron suggests, compared with *paignia*, which sometimes shared the same characters and situations, tragedy must have seemed more obviously pompous, hysterical and over the top, much more ‘tragic’ in the colloquial sense of the term, while its musical elements must have seemed more severe and monochrome. Comedy, on the other hand, will have appeared both more rude and more restricted. *Paignia*, perhaps, provide a missing link in Greek culture, the popular sentimental erotic.

This brings us to sexuality. I have argued recently that the

discourse of Greek sexuality is elaborated above all in seduction, despite the ready availability of slaves and foreigners. Hetaeras played hard to get, more like adulterous women than common prostitutes, and sex-manuals, like those of Philaenis, offered advice on flattery to ‘the tempter’ (Davidson 1997, 120–36, 199–205). It would be very interesting if *moicheia* was a major theme of sympotic performances. Probably without masks, and using real women and boys, some of whom may have been available at the end of the evening, playing out erotic dramas in the erotic context of the symposium, the unreal *paignia* had a more direct relationship than mainstream dramas with the present reality, and could have a powerfully direct erotic effect, as Xenophon’s *Symposium* shows. *Paignia* provide a very close link between literature and Greek sexuality, between the sex-lives of gods and heroes and the sex-lives of modern men, representing both an eroticization of the heroic world and a romanticization of sex. A recurring theme in *paignia*, apparent both in Xenophon’s symposium, in Theocritus’ works and in accounts of Gnesippus’ work, is the combination of indecency and sweetness. *Paignia* presented sexual themes in a form that was attractive and seductive, retaining and amplifying the power of Eros, a treatment that stands in stark contrast to the normal comic portrayal of sex as a gross bodily function. The comic poets clearly did not get on with Gnesippus and his ilk. Comic obscenity is often seen as transgressive and carnivalesque, but from this perspective it begins to look like an attempt to puncture the dangerous power of desire with bathos, coarseness and a less complicitous kind of laughter.

Instead of concluding, perhaps I might be allowed to return to Augustus’ death-bed joke, opening up another can of possibilities. Outside the democraticpolis, the symposium provided a useful environment for dynasts to forge bonds of loyalty and make displays of power.²⁸ There are indications that these power-banquets were embellished with the same range of entertainments as the private versions. Demosthenes (2.19) tells us that Philip’s court was full of men who got drunk and performed dances that the good orator cannot bring himself to mention, and that the king loved the kind of *thaumatopoiōi* (conjurers and the like) who were driven out of Athens as too indecent, men like Callias the *dēmosios* (executioner?) and other ‘*mimoi geloiōn* (comedians) and poets of shameful songs’. Tragedy had already been modified to flatter tyrants and kings, in the form of Aeschylus’ *Women of Aetna* for Hiero of Syracuse, Euripides’ *Arcesilaus* for Arcesilaus of Macedon and Theodectes’ *Mausolus*, and at court symposia there must have been irresistible pressure for the *paignion*, intrinsically a more saccharine form, to allow some comparison with

the host or the guests of honour. Encomia already had a place at the symposium, and Theocritus' *Idylls*, especially 7, 14 and 15, show how easily *paignia* could be turned to flattery. These are perhaps the kind of *paignia* Polybius is referring to in his account of the interregnum in Alexandria at the end of the third century BCE. The general Tlepolemus learnt of the universal praise he enjoyed and the toasts that were poured out in his name in symposia, and it went to his head. He learnt also of the flattering graffiti and the '*paignia* being sung' in his honour throughout the city 'by means of the *akroamata* (i.e the entertainers at dinner)'.²⁹

If we allow that the banqueters themselves joined in the *paignia*, such flattery need not be so indirect. In the sixth century, outside the symposium, Pisistratus had got a girl to dress up as Athena to welcome him back into Athens (Hdt. 1.60: see Sinos 1993), and in the fourth, Cotys of Thrace, according to Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F31), put on a banquet at which he awaited the goddess Athena in a bridal chamber. Theopompus considered this behaviour sacrilegious madness, precisely because no one, perhaps, had been hired to play the goddess's part. We should mention that according to Xenophon (*Anab.* 7.3.21–33), Cotys' predecessor Seuthes also performed a mimetic war-dance at a banquet before bringing on *gelotopoi*. His family had a special relationship with Athena, apparently (7.3.39). Among the flattering guests on that occasion, incidentally, was 'one Gnesippus, an Athenian' (7.3.28). I have already looked at the probability that Alexander represented Agēn in the *dramation* performed at the Hydaspes river, and similar occasions may explain the reports that he was seen at banquets dressed as Hermes, Zeus Ammon, Hercules or even Artemis.³⁰ If the lowest of the low could pretend to be Dionysus and Ariadne, could not a king be allowed a little fancy-dress, to place himself in the scenario, if not actually to perform in it? To those who objected, he might say that of course he didn't think he was all of those gods. He was helping to celebrate them.

The tradition of dressing up was continued by his successors. Velleius Paterculus (2.83.1–2) illustrates the sycophancy and venality of Munatius Plancus at the court of Cleopatra by referring to an occasion at a banquet where he had painted his naked body blue and got dressed up as the sea-god Glaucus, dancing on all fours with a fishy tail and a headdress of reeds. It is not too difficult to see how the dance could have flattered the Queen of Alexandria. Cleopatra, herself, arrived to meet Antony in Tarsus dressed up like a picture of Aphrodite surrounded by little Erotes, Nereids and Graces, and a rumour spread that Aphrodite had come in *kōmos* (revelry) to Dionysus, for the good of Asia (Plut. *Ant.* 26). This refers of course to

Antony himself, who had been welcomed in Ephesus in 41 BCE by women dressed as maenads and men dressed as satyrs and Pans, being hailed as Dionysus, bringer of joy, gentle and kind, the whole city full of *auloi*, syrinxes and harps. Already at Philippi he had had a *mimos* and a *gelōtopoios* (jester) in attendance at his symposia (*sympotai*), and now his court was frequented by ‘a *thiasos* of Asian *akroamata*, a band of Asian entertainers: citharodes (singers to the *kithara*), *choraulai* (*aulos*-players accompanying a chorus) and the dancer Metrodorus, with all their excessive flirtatiousness (*lamuria*) and buffoonery (*bōmolochia*) (Plut. *Brutus* 46.6–9, *Ant.* 24). Towards the end of his reign he appeared before the Alexandrian public reclining on a couch as Dionysus (Cassius Dio 50.5, Vell. Pat. 2.82.4). Dynasts surrounded themselves with musicians and entertainers, not to escape from the rigours of office, or merely to show off their wealth, but to represent their power.³¹

Plancus getting dressed up as Glaucus does not, of course, imply divine cult, and we should, perhaps, begin to look at those images of Alexander wearing the horns of Ammon-Ra on the Alexander Sarcophagus and on the coins of Lysimachus in the same way that we read representations of Elizabeth I as Diana or the Faerie Queen.³² Role-playing was perhaps extremely common at symposia, and the Hellenistic culture of flattery was not, perhaps, more earnest than the pageantry of the early modern court.

Of course Augustus himself did not eschew such mummery. Like Antony, his dinner parties were often enlivened with entertainments provided by musicians, actors and even *triviales ex Circo ludios*, common players from the Circus (Suet. *Aug.* 74), among them, perhaps, poor Paezusa, the *monodiaria* (p. 45 above). At one dinner at about the time of the war with Sextus Pompey, he had staged a pageant at which all the guests were dressed as the twelve Olympians, he himself playing the part of Apollo. The event was notorious, and was attacked in Antony’s letters and in a popular lampoon which is quoted by Suetonius: *impia dum Phoebi Caesar mendacia ludit...*, ‘while Caesar plays the impious shams of Phoebus...’ (*Aug.* 70). At about the same time Virgil was writing his own *Bucolica* in the manner of Theocritus’ ‘shepherd *paignia*’. The *Eclogues*, like the *Idylls*, contain numerous often obscure allusions to contemporaries and much flattery of Octavian. In the strangest of all, the fourth, the poet (Tityrus/Virgil) notes that he was advised to turn to pastoral themes by Apollo. I hope I have shown that it is not ludicrous to suggest that this may have been Octavian himself, present at a sympotic performance dressed as Apollo. One thing, at least, seems certain: Augustus’ ironic reflection that his reign had been like a sympotic mime contains deep resonances, and is part of a long tradition in which power and pageant

had enjoyed a close association.³³

Gnesippus was not so much a rival of Aristophanes, then, but a dim reminder of a private theatre which from an early date rivalled the dramatic production of the *polis* and stood in contradistinction to it. Its performers were often women, slaves and prostitutes, its subject-matter sweet and often licentious. It was still very popular in the banquets of *hoi polloi* in the time of Plutarch. At the same time, however, in the courts of Alexander and his successors, the sympotic mime moved from the margins of literary history to centre-stage, reflecting and amplifying the power of kings.

Acknowledgement

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Notes

¹As perhaps does the Chionides fragment.

²Kassel-Austin propose that the punning allusion to ‘plucking songs’ implies either spoiling (*disperdere*, Meineke) or tearing to pieces like a critic (*lacerare*), but given Chionides’ and Eupolis’ emphasis on Gnesippus’ use of stringed instruments, it is surely much better to see a reference to harps, as LSJ s.v. *τίλλω* suggests; cf. ψάλλω.

³See esp. 7.796b: *mimēmata* like the *paignia enoplia* in honour of the Curetes and the Dioscuri, or re-enactments of Athena’s pyrrhic dance (cf. Xen. *Symp.* 2.11–13); 803c: ‘...man has been devised as god’s *paignion* and therefore all of us must fall in with our role and spend life παίζοντα ὅτι καλλίστας παιδιάς..., playing the finest *paidiai*’; 803e: ‘We should pass our lives performing certain *paidiai*: sacrificing, singing, and dancing’; 816e–7a: ‘All the *paignia* that are concerned with laughter, to which the name comedy is universally given, may be taken as regulated in this way by our law with its accompanying explanation; but as for the so-called serious [sc. *paignia*] of our tragedians...’ LSJ cite this passage for *paignion* = ‘comic performance’, but it is only the qualification *περὶ γέλωτα* that defines it as comic. Plato allows a direct link between the war-dance mimes of the Greek world and the *paenarii* of the Roman games.

⁴See Davidson 1995. David Bain’s useful though somewhat ungracious commentary (1998) accepts the link between Democritus’ and Salpe’s *paignia*, but disputes my interpretation of the title in a medico-magical context, arguing that the primary reference is to tricks.

⁵*Paignia* are also ascribed to Thrasyarchus (Suda s.v.), but it is impossible to say if they were like Salpe’s *paignia*, or Gnesippus’.

⁶Suet. *Aug.* 99 = *Adespota* fr. 925 K-A (trs. after Robert Graves): *ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse, adiecit et clausulam*: ἐπεὶ ἴδετ' ἀποχαιῶν κα<λ>ὼς τὸ παίγνιον < ν > □ δότε κρότον καὶ πάντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προπέμψατε. Cassius Dio (56.30) has the same story, saying he asked for applause ‘like the *gelotopoi* (jesters) at the end of some mime’ making a joke about human life.

⁷For mimes at symposia, see Beare in *OCD*³ s.v. *mime*, *Greek* (p. 982) and Green 1995; for Rome, see Jones 1991 and Wiseman 1985, 44–5. Peter Wiseman has suggested privately that Cicero *De Fin.* 2.23, Degraffi *ILLRP* 803.12 and Statius *Silvae*

1.6.67–71 may also be relevant (cf. Wiseman 2000).

⁸CILVI 10132 = Bonaria 1955 no. 1249, pp. 160 and 189; cf. Scaliger's reading *ludiae* ('girls who perform ludi?') in the after-dinner entertainment at Statius *Silvae* 1.6.67–71. Cf. Wiseman 2000, 275 n. 73 and 278.

⁹The combination of *aulos* and harp was perhaps typical of the genre, just as Glauce the harpist had Theon the *auletes* to accompany her mimes, cf. Ephippus fr. 7: 'Indeed, my young man, the music of *auloi* and the music of the lyre get together in our *paignia*. When you can suit the mood to the company, that's when you produce the very greatest pleasure.'

¹⁰For Laevius see most recently Courtney in *OCD*³ s.v. (p. 812) with bibliography; also Wheeler 1934, 74. I have cited the fragments according to Buechner's 1982 Teubner edition of the *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum*. Reynolds 1946, 77–8 sees the adultery mime as an invention of the Romans, and traces it back as far as Laberius' *Compitalia*.

¹¹For Philitas, see now Cameron 1991 and Williams' entry in *OCD*³ (p. 1164, with recent bibliography). Some other writers of the Hellenistic period also wrote *paignia*, including Crates of Thebes, a Cynic philosopher who wrote serio-comic poetic parodies of Solon and Homer, and Aratus, although not much can be said about their contribution to the genre.

¹²Nesselrath 1990, 205–7, esp. n. 90, notes Philitas' similarities with Euripides but 'in *anderer Konstellation und mit happy end*' (in a different context and with a happy ending).

¹³Many women's festivals might have need of female musicians, and female musicians were generally classed with hetaeras: thus the women who celebrate the Tauropolia in honour of Artemis employ the services of the hetaera Habrotonon, Menander *Epitrep.* 477. It seems that part of this festival involved a simulated sacrifice of a girl (Eur. *Iph.T.* 1450–61), and Pamphile in *Epitrepontes* (if we accept Capps' emendation in line 477, as Sandbach does in his *OCT*) is described as 'joining in their play' (συνέπαιζεν) – not 'games', I would suggest, but some kind of ritual acting out: cf. Men. *Phasma* 95 for choruses at another women's festival. It is not difficult to see, with Plato, how all kinds of rituals, not just those in honour of Dionysus, could be seen as play-acting. This is a potentially huge and amorphous topic (cf. Reich 1903, 498 ff.), but it is interesting that the verb is sometimes found in a ritual context: cf. the language of the processional hymn in *Frogs* 323–35, with Easterling 1985, 39. Παραπαίζων was an epithet of Dionysus and one of the Lemnian gods (Follet 1974, 32–4), which I would now argue does not necessarily imply a burlesque element in the cult, and could be translated simply 'he who joins in the performance', as opposed to the *paignion* for Hecate in *Lysistrata*.

¹⁴For the confusion over Gnesippus' identity see K-A on Cratinus fr. 17.

¹⁵On *kōmos* and serenades, see Copley 1956, 1–27; Bowra 1958; and Cummings forthcoming. In Xenophon's *Symposium* (2.13) Antisthenes, pursuing the same line of thinking that persuaded Plato to approve of *paignia enoplia* (*Laws* 7.796bc), suggests that the Syracusan should get the Athenians to pay to see his girl dancing a sword dance. Is he being facetious, or were such paid-for performances commonplace?

¹⁶The entertainment at Xenophon's symposium is discussed by Jory 1995. Socrates' helpful suggestion for a ballet on the subject of the Graces, and Xenophon's own reconstruction of a respectable *paignion* mean that we cannot assume that Thrasymachus' *paignia* (D-K A1) were of the Democritean/Salpean or even Gorgian variety, if such a thing existed.

¹⁷As West 1992, 354 indicates; cf. Pherecrates fr. 155, with Dobrov and Urios-Aparisi 1995 and Hall in this volume.

¹⁸For Glauce see Gow 1950 on Theocritus 4.31, Hedylus 10 (Gow-Page 1965), Aelian *Nat. Anim.* 5.29, Kassel-Austin on Chionides fr. 4. The epigram on Theon

suggests that *paignia* could be presented on stage.

¹⁹The use of the active rather than a middle form of ἐπιδείκνυμι seems to preclude the sense 'showing off'. It is the usual verb for putting on shows of this kind, and is used by Plutarch for putting on *paignia* (*Mor.* 712e; cf. *Xen. Symp.* 2.2, 13). Kassel-Austin's suggestion ad loc. (III.2, p. 367) that this is a reference to sophistic display-pieces like Gorgias' *Helen*, which was described by its author as a *paignion*, is therefore probably mistaken.

²⁰The main discussion of the passage is Bowra 1958. For a select bibliography, see Ussher 1973, xxxii n. 1; cf. Henderson 1975, 100, 103–4; Said 1979, 55–61 = 1996, 305–13; Flashar 1967, 157–8 = 1996, 315–6.

²¹See Ussher 1973, 204 ad loc. These lines are generally assigned to the Hag, but Bergk, followed by B.B. Rogers, gives them to the girl.

²²Ath. 13.595e–6b, cf. Bosworth 1988, 149. A play with satyrs will have been quite appropriate for a festival of Dionysus. There must be a possibility that Athenaeus is using the term in its Roman sense to mean simply 'satirical', an egregious error for an Atticist, but an understandable one.

²³On the vexed question of the identification of Theocritus' bucolic characters, see Gow 1950, 127–9, Williams 1971, and Dover 1971, 146–8.

²⁴Antony's *mimos* Volumnius, captured at Philippi, is referred to as one of his *sympotai* (Plut. *Brutus* 46.6–9). Nicknames had long been a feature of sympotic communities, see Ath. 6.242a, cf. 13.584f; Gow 1965, index sv. nicknames (p. 160). *Parasitōi* in particular were given tags, like Lark, Pod, and Ham-cleaver. Anaxandrides fr. 35 gives a few examples of the epithets with which parasites insulted each other. If one of their number has gone out dressed up (*lampros*) he is called Ololys (effeminate), too much unguent and he is called Zōmos (meat stew), etc. Particularly mysterious in the context of a group of *parasitōi* are the last three examples: '...if someone παίζων (as part of a game, in jest?) has stolen a lamb from a shepherd, he is called Atreus; if a ram, Phrixus; if a fleece, Jason.'

²⁵For non-theatrical contexts for dramas in Italy, see Green 1995 and Wiseman 2000. There are some indications that, like other mimes, the *paignion* may have been a Western Greek form in origin, although the evidence is far from conclusive: (1) It is a Syracusan who is responsible for the pageant in Xenophon's *Symposium*. (2) The songs known as *Lokrika* have many similarities with the 'Hag-scene' in *Ecclesiazusae* and what we know of Gnesippus' works. Moreover, a certain 'Locrian or Colophonian' called Mnaseas wrote *paignia* of a ποικίλον (embroidered) character (Ath. 7.321e; cf. Oldfather 1926, 1283). The connection between Mnaseas' *Paignia* and the Locrian poetry is made by Oldfather, but treated sceptically by Gigante 1977, 658–62. The main objection is that it must assume an error on the part of Athenaeus or his source who associates him with Salpe. (3) Chionides fr. 4 puts Gnesippus alongside another composer of *erotika*, one Cleomenes, who may be identified with the dithyrambist Cleomenes of Rhegium (Page *PMG* 838) who wrote a *Meleager* (Ath. 9.402a; cf. K-A on Chionides fr. 4) 4). Jacoby (*FGrH* III B Text 518–19, on 560 F1) thought Athenaeus' discussion of Salpe's *paignia* was probably lifted from Apollodorus' commentary *On Epicharmus*; and the writers who discuss *paignia* and its origins are both Sicilians, Alcimus in his *Sikelika* and Nymphodorus of Syracuse, although Botrys of Messina, described as the inventor of *paignia*, seems to have written a very different kind of work, more like magic or medicine. His 'shameless' oeuvre is described as *hypomnēmata* by Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F35) and as 'similar to those going under the name of Salpe' by Athenaeus or his source, on which see Davidson 1995.

²⁶The comic fragments cited in this paragraph are all printed at the beginning of this chapter.

²⁷Reynolds 1946 indeed traces the influence of the adultery mime throughout

Latin literature from the first century BCE. The *paignion* gives us several centuries of development before that.

²⁸See Davidson 1997, 286–8. Lycurgus (in Ath. 11.476d = Baiter-Sauppe fr. 18) claimed that Philip pledged those he most favoured with a drinking-horn.

²⁹Polyb. 6.21,12. *Akroamata* is used by Polybius, as by Plutarch *Quest.Conv.* 7.8 (cf. *Lucull.* 40.1), to refer to sympotic entertainment: see Polyb. 4.20.10, Pelling 1988 on Plut. *Ant.* 24.2, Cic. *ad Att.* 14.1, *Pro Sest.* 54, *In Verr.* 2.4.22. Other closely-related court- entertainments allowed scope also for insulting enemies. At the Hydaspes, Alexander watched a ‘satyric *dramation* which attacked the miscreant Harpalus (Ath. 13.595e–6b), and Antony’s mimes and *gelōtopoioi* (jesters) could not stop their mockeries even in the enemy camp, for which they were executed (Plut. *Brutus* 45. 6–9).

³⁰Ephippus *FGrH* 126 F5; Bosworth 1988, 287; cf. Karabas dressed up as Herod Agrippa ‘as in the theatrical mimes’, Philo *In Flaccum* 36 ff.

³¹The comments of the Macedonians on Alexander’s successors, especially Demetrius, look rather pointed in this respect. They had merely ‘represented Alexander’s gravity and pomp, like actors on a stage’ (Plut. *Dem.* 41.3–5).

³²For masques at the English court, see Ewbank 1989, with bibliography at 320.

³³For the battle of images between Octavian and Antony see Zanker 1988, 44–65, with bibliography at 347–8. For the *Eclogues*’ hidden references see Ross 1975, 25 and Knox 1986, 11–26.

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Chapter 5

WE DIDN'T KNOW WHETHER TO LAUGH OR CRY: THE CASE OF KARKINOS

S. Douglas Olson

At Aristophanes *Peace* 782–95, the Chorus, having asked the Muse to ‘thrust away wars’ and dance with them (lines 775–81), go on to request a second, seemingly related favour:

ἦν δέ σε Καρκίνος ἐλθὼν	
ἀντιβολῇ μετὰ τῶν παί-	
δων χορεύσαι,	
μήθ' ὑπάκουε μήτ' ἔλ-	785
θης συνέριθος αὐτοῖς·	
ἀλλὰ νόμιζε πάντας	
ὄρτυγας οἰκογενεῖς, γυλιαύχενας ὀρχηστὰς	788–9
νανοφυεῖς, σφυράδων ἀποκνίσματα, μηχανοδίφας,	790–1
καὶ γὰρ ἔφασχ' ὁ πατὴρ ὃ παρ' ἐλπίδας	792–3
εἶχε τὸ δράμα γαλῆν τῆς ἐσπέρας ἀπάγξαι.	795

But if Karkinos
comes
and asks you to
dance

in the company
of his sons,
pay him no
attention and
lend them no
support.

No: consider
them all

house-bred quail;
neckless, dwarfish
dancers; snippets
of goat-shit;
searchers after
devices.

For their father

admitted that, as
for the play
he unexpectedly
got, a weasel
throttled it last
night.

There is a great deal about this passage which is and will perhaps always remain obscure. What is nonetheless clear is that Karkinos and his sons are – as befits the theme of this book – conceived specifically as rivals of the Chorus of *Peace* and, by extension, of the poet himself: the Muse can choose to dance with none or all of them, but Aristophanes and his characters would much prefer that she give them her exclusive attention and reject Karkinos and his family as nasty, misshapen rubbish.¹ In an intriguing recent article, Kenneth S. Rothwell has argued that Karkinos wrote not tragedies, as has generally been supposed, but comedies, and may thus have competed directly against Aristophanes in Athens' dramatic festivals, a possibility which would seemingly help explain the very hostile tone in the reference to him and his sons in *Peace* (Rothwell 1994). This chapter will consist of three parts: a review of what is known about Karkinos and his family; an outline of Rothwell's hypothesis and a response to it, in which I will argue in support of the traditional position that Karkinos wrote tragedies; and some thoughts about what that conclusion might mean for our understanding both of *Peace* itself and of the phenomenon of 'poetic rivalry' in late fifth-century Athens.

1. Karkinos and his family

Karkinos son of Xenotimos of the deme Thorikos (PA 8254; *TrGF* 21) was a trierarch sometime in the mid-fifth century (Raubitschek DAA no. 127) and was thus wealthy enough to be a member of the liturgical class,² and served as a general in 432/1 BC (Thuc. 2.23.2; *IG* i³ 365.36, 38, 39).³ That he received the nickname θαλάττιος (attested at *Wasps* 1518/19 and Plato Com. fr. 143) as a result of having won a substantial naval victory, as MacDowell on *Wasps* 1501 (1971, 326–7) suggests, is possible, although the fact that crabs (καρκίνοι) live in the sea means that the evidence cannot necessarily be pushed so far. *Peace* 782–95, the passage with which we started, makes it tolerably clear that Karkinos was a dramatic poet of some sort, and his name was accordingly restored (KA[PKINOS ΕΛΙΔΑΣΚΕ]) by Lipsius in the catalogue of tragic victors at the City Dionysia at *IG* ii² 2318.81. No fragments of his plays are preserved, although we do have one alleged title, to which I will return in Section II.

Karkinos is generally said to have had three sons (*Wasps* 1498–

1513 with Σ [scholia to the manuscripts] ^{vr} 1502c; Σ^{RVT} *Peace* 783). Pherekrates fr. 15 (μά τὸν Δία τοῦ τρεῖς τὲ ἐκεῖνοί εἰσιν οἱ τέσσαρες†) implies that there were four, but is corrupt and probably conceals a now-unrecoverable joke (thus Davies 1971, 285).

One son was named Xenotimos (PA 11269) after his grandfather, and is known from inscriptional evidence to have dedicated a ἵππικὸς κεκρύφαλος and ἐχῆνια (all apparently parts of a horse's bit and bridle) to Artemis Brauronia some time before 398/7 BC (IG ii² 1388.74; 1400.61–2; 1455.25–7; 1459.1–2). Isocrates also notes in passing that he was entrusted by Satyros I of Bosporos (who died in 389/8) with a letter for the Athenians, which would seem to imply a certain degree of social prominence in the early fourth century (Isoc 17.52).

A second son was Xenokles (PA 11222; *TrGF* 33), a tragic poet (*Thesm.* 169, 440–3; *Frogs* 86) who was victorious over Euripides in 415 BC with *Oedipus*, *Lykaon* and *Bacchai*, plus the satyr play *Athamas* (Aelian *VH* 2.8). A single fragment of his poetry (F 2), from either *Tlepolemos* (Σ^{Rs} *Clouds* 1264b) or *Likymnios* (Σ^{RVENp} *Clouds* 1264, citing Euphronios fr. 99 Strecker) is parodied at *Clouds* 1264–5 and probably ran ὦ σκληρὲ δαῖμον, ὦ τύχαι χρυσάμπυγες | ... ὦ Παλλὰς ὥς μ' ἀπώλεσας ('O harsh divinity, O gold-filleted fates, ... O Pallas, how you have ruined me!'). Plato the comic poet calls Xenokles ὁ δωδεκαμήχανος ('the man who knows a dozen tricks', fr. 143; cf. Σ_R *Thesm.* 441); that he was also called 'Datis' (i.e. 'the man who speaks Greek like a barbarian'), at least by his enemies, on account of certain ill-received linguistic innovations, is a possible but scarcely necessary conclusion from *Peace* 289–91 and Σ_{RV} 289b.⁴

Xenokles' son Karkinos II was also a tragic poet (PA 8255; *TrGF* 70), who won eleven times at the City Dionysia (IG ii² 2325.9; cf. Suda κ 394; IG ii² 1594.3–4) and spent part of his career in Sicily with Dionysios II of Syracuse (Polykritos of Mende *FGrH* 559 F1). He in turn may have been the father of another tragedian, Xenokles II (PA 11223; *TrGF* 268), who is mentioned by the scholia to *Frogs* 86 but of whom nothing further is known.

The name of Karkinos' third son is variously reported (Demotimos in Σ^{EΘMA} *Clouds* 1261a; Xenarchos in Σ^{RVT} *Peace* 783; Xenokleitos in Σ *Frogs* 86) and was apparently obscure already in antiquity. All three sons were dramatic dancers and were apparently well-known for their whirling dances (*Peace* 864 τῶν Καρκίνου στροβίλων, 'Karkinos' tops'; cf. *Wasps* 1517, 1531; Roos 1951, 205–6) and physically quite tiny (*Peace* 790/1; Pherekr. fr. 15: μικροί, 'small'), and Aristophanes at least pretends to bring them all onstage for a great balletic competition with the drunken old hero Philokleon at the end of *Wasps* (1497–1537 with MacDowell 1971, 326–7 on 1501).

2. Rothwell's hypothesis

As should be clear from section I, we know a number of basic facts about Karkinos' public life and family, but almost nothing of his poetry. The scholia to three manuscripts (Σ_{RVT}) of *Peace* 778, followed by Snell and the consensus of modern scholarly opinion, call him a τραγωδίας ποιητής ('tragic poet'), and at *Clouds* 1260–1 Strepsiades mockingly attributes the lamentation ὦ μοί μοι, 'woe, woe is me!' (actually spoken by an injured creditor) to 'one of the δαίμονες (divinities) of Karkinos', which would also seem to suggest tragedy. As Halliwell in particular has shown, however, much of the biographical information contained in the *scholia vetera* is most economically explained as simple invention on the ancient commentators' part,⁵ and the fact that Σ_{RVNp} *Clouds* 1264–5 identify the verses as borrowed from a play by Xenokles strongly suggests that the mention of Karkinos' δαίμονες in 1260–1 is intended as a reference to his sons rather than to his dramatic creatures (thus Dover 1968, 242–3 ad loc., followed by Rothwell 1994, 242–3). We thus seem to have no solid, reliable information about the genre in which Karkinos composed, particularly since, as Rothwell (241–2) points out, his presence in the tragic victors' list is merely a conjecture and ΚΑ[[~]ΙΣΤΡΑΤΣ (*TrGF* 38) or the name of some other, otherwise unknown poet might just as easily be restored. Were we not *a priori* convinced that Karkinos must have been a tragic author, in fact, the obvious implication of the Chorus' attack upon him and his sons in *Peace* 782–95 would appear to be that he composed comedies, so that he and Aristophanes (or 'the poet of *Peace*') could be 'real dramatic rivals'.

Rothwell develops this thesis by calling attention to the claim of Σ_{RVT} *Peace* 795 that Karkinos' allegedly murdered play was entitled ΜΥΕΣ, *Mice*. Weasels were tolerated in Greek households, despite their quasi-proverbial thievishness, precisely because they viciously and enthusiastically hunt down small rodents and other, similar pests,⁶ after all, and this must then (as Rothwell would have it) be the point of Aristophanes' joke: 'Karkinos' much-anticipated *Mice* will never be performed, ladies and gentlemen, because – a weasel killed it last night!'. As Rothwell points out, the title *Mice* can scarcely be attached to anything other than a comedy, and the obvious conclusion would seem to be that Karkinos was not a tragic poet at all. Indeed, Rothwell (244–5) suggests that his name could easily be worked into the surviving lists of comic poets victorious at the Dionysia, either at *IG* ii² 2325.50 in place of Kratinos (restored by Capps 1899, 396) or at *IG* ii² 2325.60 in place of Kantharos (restored by Capps 1907, 199). That Karkinos' sons are to be imagined as capable of dancing both in tragedies (as the end of *Wasps* makes clear they did) and comedies (i.e. in their father's plays, as in *Peace*) is not treated by Rothwell as

any particular difficulty, and it might well be that the two genres were not so completely different and separate in this period, at least in this one, relatively limited respect.

Absolute certainty cannot be attained in a case of this sort, and it is thus not impossible that Rothwell's thesis is correct and that Karkinos I was a comic poet. All the same, the evidence that he in fact wrote tragedies is considerably more compelling than Rothwell suggests, and the traditional view ought probably to be retained. As noted above, Rothwell's case for making Karkinos a tragic poet consists of two basic pieces of evidence: the title which Σ_{RVT} *Peace* 795 give for his allegedly lost play, and the fact that his name can be fitted into the comic victors' lists. Neither point stands up to closer inspection. The title *Mice*, first of all, was dismissed long ago by van Leeuwen (followed by Snell in *TrGF*) as sheer invention on the part of an industrious commentator,⁷ and while Rothwell (243) insists that 'this does not seem to me to be an obvious inference from the text', it is difficult to see why it should not be. Indeed, the chain of argument is very easy to reconstruct: Aristophanes says that the play in question was killed by a weasel during the night (*Peace* 792–5); weasels kill mice at night (as Σ_{VT} *Peace* 795–6 expressly observe); therefore Karkinos' play must have been entitled *Mice*. While it is not inconceivable that the Σ_{RVT} had access to a special source of information, therefore, this may just as easily be a straightforward deduction from the text itself and is no substantial basis for arguing about the genre in which Karkinos composed.

As for the lists of comic victors, the likelihood that $\text{JNO}\Sigma\text{III}$ at *IG* ii² 2325.50 ought to be restored as $\text{KAPKINO}\Sigma$ rather than $\text{KPATINO}\Sigma$ is extremely remote, for – as Rothwell fails to note – the individual in question there won six victories at the City Dionysia, and it is difficult to believe that not a single fragment would have been preserved of a contemporary of Aristophanes who took first place so many times. Even more important, we know from the *Suda* (κ 2344) that Kratinos won nine victories overall, and from *IG* ii² 2325.121 that three of those victories were at the Lenaia, which leaves six victories for the City Dionysia and makes it virtually certain that it is his name which ought to be restored in II² 2325.50.⁸ As for Kantharos, Rothwell's second candidate for displacement, we know almost nothing about the details of his chronology, although Capps' restoration (1907, 199) of his name at *IG* ii² 2325.60 (where the stone has KA[]) would seem to be supported by $\text{KAN}\Theta\text{A[]}\text{PO}\Sigma \text{E}\Delta[\text{I}]\Delta\text{A}\Sigma\text{KE}$ (Öllacher 1916, 116) in the comic victors' list for 422 BC at *IG* ii² 2318.115 – which Rothwell again ignores – and Sommerstein has added the intriguing suggestion that line 1 of *Peace*, $\alpha\lambda\prime \alpha\lambda\epsilon \mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\alpha\nu \omega\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\varsigma \tau\tilde{\omega} \kappa\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$ ('Hand me a barley-cake for the dung-beetle/Kantharos') might easily be

understood as a glancing allusion to that victory and thus as further evidence that it occurred.⁹

My initial point should by now be clear: our one piece of explicit ancient evidence for the sort of plays Karkinos wrote – Σ_{RVT} *Peace* 778 – identifies him as a tragic poet; there is no credible evidence to support the conclusion that he wrote comedies instead; he will not fit into the comic victors' lists at the points where Rothwell suggests he might, and the fact that he might be added elsewhere to fill a lacuna is true but lacks any positive force as an argument; and the simplest conclusion would seem to be that he was, in fact, a tragedian. A more cautious approach might be to maintain that we simply do not know enough about Karkinos to offer a firm judgment as to the genre in which he composed. In fact, one piece of previously overlooked evidence suggests that there is a substantial positive reason for believing that, if Karkinos wrote anything at all, it was tragedies, and that reason has to do with what we know about his family and the peculiarities of other theatrical families in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

At the end of Aristophanes' *Wasps*, Philokleon challenges any modern τραγωδοί – here apparently to be understood as 'performers in tragedy'¹⁰ – who dare to face him to a dancing-contest, and it is Karkinos' sons who come on stage to compete (*Wasps* 1476–1537). Σ_{RVT} of *Peace* 783 also say that Karkinos' sons were τραγικοὶ χορευταί, 'tragic dancers', and (as noted earlier) at least one of them, Xenokles, was a tragic playwright, as was Xenokles' son and perhaps his grandson as well. As Sutton has shown,¹¹ the professions of tragic and comic poet appear to have run in certain Athenian families in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Thus Aeschylus' sons Euphorion (*TrGF* 12) and Euaeon (*TrGF* 13), as well as his nephew Philokles (*TrGF* 24), his great-nephew Morsimos (*TrGF* 29), and Morsimos' son Astydamos I (*TrGF* 59) and grandson Astydamos II (*TrGF* 60),¹² were tragic poets, as were Phrynichos' (*TrGF* 3) son Polyphresmon (*TrGF* 7), Pratinas' (*TrGF* 4) son Aristias (*TrGF* 9), Sophocles' son Iophon (*TrGF* 22) and grandson Sophocles II (*TrGF* 62), and Euripides' nephew Euripides II (*TrGF* 17). So too among the comic poets, Aristophanes' sons Philippos, Nikostratos and Araros all wrote comedies in their own right (Ar. T[est.] 1 K-A; Araros T 1 K-A = Suda α 3737), as did Alexis' nephew Menander and his son Stephanos (Alexis T 1 K-A = Suda α 1138),¹³ while Hermippos and Myrtilos were brothers (Hermippos T 1a–b = Suda ε 3044, μ 1460), Philonides was the father of Nikochares (Philonides T 1 K-A = Suda φ 450; Nikoch. T 1 K-A = Suda ν 407), and Damon was the father of Philemon I (Philem. T 1 K-A = Suda φ 327) and grandfather of Philemon Junior (Philem. Jun. T 1 K-A = Suda φ 329). Why this should be so is not altogether clear, but

presumably has to do both with the way in which trades of all sorts were passed on from one generation to the next – the easiest way to acquire any craft was to learn it from one’s father, or from an uncle or an older brother – and with the fact that, as Aristophanes himself makes clear at *Knights* 512–7, theatrical production in particular was an extremely complicated business best learned step by step, meaning that the best and probably one of the few ways to do so must have been to belong to a family which knew all the tricks and afforded a talented young man the opportunity to work his way gradually up the professional ladder.¹⁴ The more important point of this observation for the argument of this chapter is that, as far as we know – and we know a surprisingly large amount about this aspect of ancient Athenian life – tragedians are never the fathers of authors of (or even actors in) comedies, or in any other way related to them, and *vice versa*. While this can perhaps not be treated as an absolute social law, therefore, the pattern is clear enough to deserve serious consideration in the case in question here. If Karkinos’ son and, apparently, his grandson and perhaps even his great-grandson as well, were tragic poets, so too, almost certainly, was Karkinos himself, particularly since his sons as a group seem to have been well-known tragic dancers.¹⁵

3. Some implications

Rothwell’s most basic point, which is that we know very little about the career and in particular the poetry of Karkinos I, is thus well taken. As I hope to have shown, however, the evidence as a whole still supports the conclusion that Karkinos was a tragic rather than a comic poet. That conclusion in turn raises intriguing questions about the parabasis ode in Aristophanes’ *Peace* – and, indeed, for our understanding of the social and literary background to Athenian drama from the classical period generally – for, as I noted in the introduction to this chapter, Karkinos and his sons are presented quite specifically in lines 782–95 as rivals for the affections of the dramatic Muse. We know who Aristophanes was competing against at the City Dionysia in 421 BC: Eupolis with *Kolakes* (‘Flatterers’: see Carey in this volume, pp. 423–5), which took first place, and Leukon with *Phrateres* (‘Phratry-members’), which took third.¹⁶ There is a fair amount of talk in the parabasis of *Peace* (739–51) about the rubbish put on stage by ‘other comic poets’ (left unnamed), and identify at least one discreet attack on Eupolis in particular at 762–3, in Aristophanes’ claim not to have been led by his previous successes to make the rounds of the wrestling-schools in hopes of picking up boys: this is apparently a response to Eupolis’ boast in his *Autolykos* that he had done precisely that (Σ_{VF} *Wasps* 1025b, citing Eupolis fr. 65). What is surprising is that – with the exception of the possible allusion to Kantharos in verse 1

and a mention of Kratinos' drunkenness at 700–3 (neither particularly hostile in any case) – Aristophanes nowhere in this play attacks other comedians, who one would think were his natural and proper 'rivals', by name, but reserves his most obvious barbs for authors of tragedies. Thus in Trygaios' answers to the brief series of questions posed by the goddess Peace about events in Athens during her absence, Sophocles is aggressively put down as a money-grubber (695–9), in virtually the only hostile remark we have preserved about him anywhere (see Olson 1998, 210–11 ad loc.), while the parabasis-song with which I began this chapter concludes with an attack on two more tragedians, Morsimos and Melanthios (or perhaps Morsimos, Melanthios, and Melanthios' mysterious brother), upon whom the Muse is asked to spit with abundant phlegm and great ostentation and to dance instead with Aristophanes' chorus (801–17).¹⁷ What all this means is once again not altogether clear, but we seem to be seeing a distinct emphasis on rivalry not between individuals composing within an individual dramatic genre, but between the two major genres themselves; one thinks immediately of the Chorus' catty remarks in *Birds* (785–9) about how anyone with wings could easily escape a boring tragedy, have lunch, and be back in time for the day's comedy to begin. Although Karkinos is not a comic poet, therefore, he is still very clearly a 'rival of Aristophanes', and that fact requires us to think somewhat more carefully than we might otherwise have been inclined to do about what 'poetic rivalry' meant in late fifth-century Athens.

Notes

¹ The basic point of the comparison of Karkinos' sons to quail (*Coturnix vulgaris*) must be that both are relatively small creatures (cf. p. 67 below); the addition of the adjective perhaps reflects a belief that domesticated varieties of the bird were less aggressive than those taken from the wild, and thus worthless for fighting (Pollux 9.108), like Karkinos' sons in a play. γυλιαύχενας ('with a neck like a γύλιος ') is presumably a reference to the shape of a soldier's pack, γύλιος (cf. *Peace* 527–8; Kritias 88 B 34 D–K; Philem. fr. 35; Hesych. γ 988 Latte; Harpokr. p. 82.11–2 Dind.), which is unknown, although 'without a neck' (Σ [scholia] to the manuscripts VT of *Peace* 789a) seems more likely in this context than 'long-necked' (ΣRV on 789b; ΣVT on 789c). Roos 1951, 205–9 suggested a derivation from the obscure animal-name γύλιος, the hyrax (?) (Sophron fr. 73 Kaibel ap. ΣRV on *Peace* 527). Dwarves (νῆνοι) are not merely small but disfigured (cf. Arist. *Part. Anim.* 686b3–5; Dasen 1993, 163–248), and were also thought to be less intelligent than other people (Arist. *Part. Anim.* 686b26, cf. *Mem.* 453a31–b4) and to have oversized genitals (Arist. *Hist. Anim.* 577b27–8; Theophr. fr. 339 Fort.), either of which may be a subsidiary point here. μηχανοδίφας may be intended as a reference either to the brothers' collective fondness for choreographic invention (cf. *Wasps* 1516–30) or to Xenokles' love of theatrical devices (thus ΣRV 782a, citing Plato Com. fr. 143) and linguistic innovations (cf. p. 67), with the characterization extended to other members of the family.

² Note also the reference to Karkinos' sons as κομήται (i.e. knights at the very least: cf. Ar. *Knights* 578–80) in Pherekr. fr. 15, as well as the dedication of horse-

trappings made by Xenotimos (below). For the trierarchy and the expense it involved, see Ar. *Knights* 912–8; [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.13; Lys. 21.2; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 61.1 with Rhodes 1981 ad loc. (680–2); Gabrielsen 1994, esp. 43–102.

³Most of the information which follows can also be found in different forms in Snell, *TrGF* I 128–31; Davies 1971, 283–5; and Sutton 1987, 17–8. Cf. Platnauer 1964, 136–7 on Ar. *Peace* 791–5 and MacDowell 1971, 326–7 on Ar. *Wasps* 1501.

⁴τινὲς Δάτιν λέγουσι τὸν τραγικὸν κακῶς ὑπονοοῦντες ἐκείνος γὰρ υἱὸς ἦν Καρκίνου, οὗτος δ' ὑπαρχος Πέρσων ('Some say that Datis is the tragedian, which is a bad conjecture. For he was a son of Karkinos, but the man referred to here is the Persian commander'). I follow van Leeuwen 1888, 435–8 in believing that the mysterious Datis (*TrGF* 34) is to be identified with Xenokles I, if with anyone. For Datis the Persian commander against the Greeks in 490 BC, remembered for sending threatening messages to Athens after the sack of Eretria, cf. Hdt. 6.94.2; Plato *Laws* 698c–d; Diod. Sic. 10.27.1–2; Raubitschek in Schauenburg 1957, 235–6; Lewis 1990.

⁵Halliwell 1984, 83–7; cf. in general Lefkowitz 1981 and Fairweather 1974.

⁶For the weasel as a common house-animal, if not necessarily a pet, see Arist. *Hist. Anim.* 609b28–30 with Benton 1969 and Lloyd-Jones 1975, 76–81. For its thievishness, cf. Semon. fr. 7.50–6 West²; Ar. *Wasps* 363–4, *Peace* 1150–2 and *Thesm.* 558–9; Plut. *Mor.* 519d; Lucian *Pisc.* 34; Keller 1909, 164–71. The choice of verb reflects the weasel's tendency to seize its victim by the throat.

⁷van Leeuwen 1906, 126 on 793–6: 'Vesani hominis notula δρᾶμα ἐποίησε τοὺς Μῦσας non est digna quae refellatur, nedum in commentarios recipiatur' ('The brief note by some crazy person stating that "He wrote a play called *The Mice*" is not worth refutation, let alone mention in commentaries').

⁸That 'we have no external evidence for a victory by Cratinus in the 450s' (Rothwell 1994, 245) is beside the point, given that we have little firm evidence about the chronology of comic performances in that period at all, and Ar. *Knights* 526–35 adequately establishes Cratinus' dominance in the 'older generation' of poets before Aristophanes (cf. *Peace* 700–3).

⁹Sommerstein 1987, 136 ad loc. For Kantharos' traditional place in the comic victors' lists, see Geissler 1925, 2, 6–7.

¹⁰For the significance of the term τραγωδός in the fifth century, see Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 127–9.

¹¹Sutton 1987, 9–26, esp. 10, with the additions and corrections of Slater 1989, 80 n. 25.

¹²Ar. *Peace* 802–8 – the significance of which has been debated since antiquity (Σντ) – can be interpreted to mean that Morsimos and Melanthios (*TrGF* 23) were brothers, in which case Melanthios would also belong to the family of Aeschylus. If they were not brothers, and if Melanthios' brother (*Peace* 807–8) is instead another unidentified tragedian, we have evidence for an additional fifth-century family containing several tragic poets. Morsimos and Melanthios are mentioned together again in a comic fragment preserved in Satyros' *Life of Euripides* (POxy. 1176 fr. 39 col. xv. 33–9). See now Olson 1998, 228–9 ad loc.

¹³Alternatively, Stephanos is said to be the son of the comic poet Antiphanes (Alexis T 1 K-A = Suda α 2735).

¹⁴Thus Sutton 1987, 9–10. For Aristophanes' early career, see esp. Halliwell 1980, 33–45 with Gilula 1989.

¹⁵Aristophanes' joke about the weasel's murder of Karkinos' play must accordingly mean only that it disappeared abruptly when his back was turned, perhaps with the implication that it never existed at all: cf. Sommerstein 1987, 171 on *Peace* 792–6. If Diog. Laert. 2.63 is not simply corrupt (which it probably is), Polykritos of Mende may have thought that Karkinos II was a comic poet (*FGrH* 559 F1), but the remote possibility that that error reflects confusion with Karkinos I

(thus Rothwell 1994, 244) can scarcely be taken to outweigh the evidence outlined above. Rothwell 1994, 244 also notes that the Suda κ 394, 396 never says unambiguously that Karkinos I was a tragic poet, but the more important point is that the Suda never hints at any connection between him or any of his namesakes and descendants and comedy.

¹⁶Thus Hypothesis III to *Peace*, with the crucial section preserved only in V and there in a corrupt form which probably contains a confused ancient interpolation. Cf. Slater 1988, who discusses this portion of the Hypothesis at considerable length but inconclusively. Numerous fragments of Eupolis' *Kolakes* are preserved (frs. 156–90), as are five small fragments of Leukon's *Phrateres* (frs. 1–5).

¹⁷Melanthios was mocked in all three comedies at the City Dionysia in 421 (cf. Eupolis fr. 178; Leukon fr. 3), and it is accordingly tempting to speculate that he (along with Karkinos and Sophocles?) staged a set of tragedies there.

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Chapter 6

HERMIPPUS AND HIS CATALOGUE OF GOODS (fr. 63)

Dwora Gilula

The career of Hermippus

‘He seems to have been unimportant as a playwright’: thus Norwood summed up Hermippus, in one of his characteristically sweeping statements. Yet he praised his surviving fragments as shimmering ‘with a sensuous and delicate charm rarely to be discerned in Attic literature’ (1931, 22).

If the surviving fragments are so enchanting, what ground is there for judging Hermippus unimportant? Surely not simply because he is not one of the troika named by Horace (Sat. 1.4.1) and Quintilian (10.1.55). Aristophanes himself deemed him important enough for an attack in the *Clouds* (551–9), side by side with Eupolis and Phrynichus, and thus immortalized him.¹ Thanks to Aristophanes, even if no fragments of Hermippus or other information about him had survived, his name and vocation would still have been known to us. Aristophanes’ assault certainly makes it clear, at any rate, that Hermippus was one of his more formidable rivals.

Luckily we have enough information about Hermippus, now collected in K-A V 561–2, to make Norwood’s assessment of him as ‘unimportant’ look questionable. He won at least one victory at the City Dionysia: his name appears in the list of victors at the Dionysia after that of Pherecrates and before ???[, whom some scholars judge to be Aristophanes and others Aristomenes (K-A T 4; Gilula 1989, 332–8). Unfortunately, since only the first three letters of Hermippus’ name are intact, we do not know the number of his victories. Only one victory can therefore be safely ascribed to him, though some scholars are inclined to credit him with a second one (Capps 1907, 195). It is certain that he won four victories at the Lenaia: in the list of victors (K-A T 5) his name, again following that of Pherecrates, is succeeded by the figure 4, indicating four victories. Nor was he idle: according to the *Suda* he composed forty plays.² Surely a victory at the Dionysia, four victories at the Lenaia and an output of forty comedies, of which ten titles are known, speak against an assessment of a playwright as unimportant. Coming from a theatrical family – he was more successful than his brother Myrtilus, who won a single victory at the

Lenaia – Hermippus most probably had expertise and experience of the stage (Sutton 1987, 19). Nor was play-writing his sole accomplishment: in addition to comedies he also wrote parodies and *iamboi* (K-A T 7–8).³ So it would be reasonable to prefer a more generous evaluation, such as Storey's: 'Hermippus was one of the major figures in the history of comedy before Eupolis and Aristophanes' (1990, 10 n. 28; cf. Russo 1994, 19). Which brings us to the dating of his career.

Capps' dating of Hermippus' first victory at the Dionysia to 436–5 has been universally accepted ever since he published part of *IG ii*² 2318 in 1943. Pickard-Cambridge endorsed his computations and assumptions, everybody followed suit, and earlier chronologies were corrected accordingly.⁴ Capps' measurements of the stones are to be respected, but his conclusions should not be followed blindly. True, checking involves a lot of drudgery, but it is extremely salutary, for it illuminates how little is certain, and how flimsy are the grounds upon which that little is based. Ghiron-Bistagne (1976, 23) has performed a very valuable service in demonstrating graphically how little that little is, and how great the amount of conjecture on which it rests. The entire question of the Fasti and the victors' lists requires re-examination. Meanwhile, it is best to emphasize again that 436/5 is not a date that has the status of an objective fact. The upper limit for Hermippus' first victory, even according to Capps himself, could be 437/6, and the possibility of a lower date is not to be excluded.⁵

Hermippus was a typical playwright of Old Comedy in taking on political issues and making personal attacks on prominent individuals. He assailed Pericles, among others, and perhaps not only on the stage. According to Plutarch (*Pericles* 32.1 = K-A T 2), Hermippus prosecuted Aspasia for *asebeia*, and accused her of procuring free women for Pericles as well. Scholarly opinion is divided on the question of the historicity of this prosecution. Many believe that Plutarch's description of Pericles 'shedding copious tears at the trial' and thus moving the jurors to acquit Aspasia (32.3) is not evidence for an actual trial, but is derived from a scene in one of Hermippus' comedies.⁶ Others argue that the fact that Hermippus was a comic poet does not necessarily imply that his prosecution of Aspasia cannot have taken place in the real world. He could have pursued his goals for political reasons off the stage as well as on it.⁷ Those who believe that the trial was a real one consider a date between 438 and 436, the first few years of Pericles' and Aspasia's affair, the most appropriate context for it.⁸ The arguments for the dating of an actual trial apply also to the historical circumstances that would have favoured a production of a comedy containing a fictional trial of Aspasia. If indeed it was a scene in a comedy, there are thus grounds for positing

a date as early as 438 for its production. Perhaps it was this that launched Hermippus' theatrical career, several years before his first City victory. The play need not have been performed at the City Dionysia: there is much to be said for a debut at the Lenaia, which, if successful, might have led to a performance at the City Dionysia.⁹

The date of Hermippus' first Lenaian victory is not established, though it is now usually assigned to 430, chiefly because his *Moirai* (in which he refers to Pericles as the 'King of Satyrs' who refuses to give battle) has been assigned to that year.¹⁰ Since none of his comedies can be securely dated, there is no general agreement on the span of his career. Geissler (1925, 47 n. 2) originally limited it to fifteen years, from 430 to 415, because he dated Hermippus' first City victory to shortly before 426. But when, following Capps, he corrected that date to 435 in the *Nachtrag* to the second edition of his book (1969, ix), he failed to follow through the consequences of that correction and push back the beginning of Hermippus' career accordingly. As for the end of his career, Geissler simply mentions Mensching's prolongation of Hermippus' activity to 410 in his *Nachtrag* (Mensching 1964). Mensching is correct in stating that fifteen years is not enough time for the production of forty comedies. He therefore assumes that Hermippus' debut preceded his first victory, and dates it to 439–8. Allowing that there may have been years in which Hermippus offered two comedies, Mensching extends his creative career to 410, since, if we assume that he competed only once each year, it would be necessary to extend his career at least to the end of the fifth century, if not beyond it, a possibility that Mensching rejects without giving any reasons.¹¹

It is arbitrary, to say the least, to bring Hermippus' career to an end in 410. Two of his four Lenaian victories must be placed after 426, and there is no reason to assume that they could not have been staged after 410 (Gilula 1989, 334). In some years Hermippus may have competed twice, but there is no need to assume that he competed every year at every festival, just in order to limit the extent of his creative period. I see no evidence, and no clear reason, for considering 410 as a cut-off date. The span of Hermippus' career could have been forty years, from c. 438 to the end of the fifth century, or even beyond it. This makes him a somewhat older rival of Aristophanes, and at the same time a long-standing one.

The catalogue of goods (fr. 63)

A catalogue may be defined as a passage presenting a sequence of several items of the same kind or sort, such as places or personal names or the like. There seem to be two kinds of catalogues: one a string of bare items that it would be more appropriate to call a list,

and the other a catalogue proper in which the items are accompanied by some additional descriptive material, elaboration or comment (Minchin 1996, 3–4). Lists and catalogues are not a Greek invention: they are known from other, and older, literatures and cultures; nor are they an exclusive feature of comedy, though comedy writers were very fond of them. Some strict souls require a minimum of four items for a passage to qualify as a catalogue. A list, if it is to create a plausible impression, needs to be somewhat longer than that.¹²

Hermippus fr. 63 is a catalogue proper which lists chiefly, but not exclusively, names of places with their typical products that Athens imports. It is much more than a *Speisenkatalog* (Nesselrath 1990, 271–7, esp. 274). It glorifies the prosperity of Athens, a city on which all routes converge, which attracts commerce and is rich in all the precious products of every land, the place to which all the goods of the world make their way and in which everything can easily be obtained simultaneously. The commercial relations of Athens with a wide range of distant countries, and the variety of products imported, imply that luxury has become a way of life, thanks to seafaring and to Athens' central position at the head of an empire. This is a familiar element of the *laudes Athenarum* found in other contemporary sources. Thus Thucydides says of Athens: 'Because of the greatness of our city, the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us' (2.38 trs. Brunt), and pseudo-Xenophon writes that 'whatever the delicacy in Sicily, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Lydia, Pontus, the Peloponnese, or anywhere else – all these have been brought together into one place by virtue of naval power' (*Ath. Pol.* 2.7 trs. Bowersock; cf. 2.11–12). We may describe fr. 63 as a comic version of what had already become a familiar topos:¹³

- ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
 ἐξ οὗ ναυκληρεῖ Διόνυσος ἐπ' οἶνοπα πόντον,
 ὅσσ' ἀγάθ' ἀνθρώποις δεῦρ' ἤγαγε νηὶ μελαίνι.
 ἐκ μὲν Κυρήνης καυλὸν καὶ δέρμα βόειον,
 5 ἐκ δ' Ἑλλησπόντου σκόμβρους καὶ πάντα ταρίχη,
 ἐκ δ' αὖ Ἰταλίας¹⁴ χόνδρον καὶ πλευρὰ βόεια
 καὶ παρὰ Σιτάλκου ψώραν Λακεδαιμονίοισι,
 καὶ παρὰ Περδίκκου ψεῦδη ναυσὶν πάνυ πόλλαις,
 αἱ δὲ Συράκουσαι σῦς καὶ τυρὸν παρέχουσαι
 * * *
 10 καὶ Κερκυραίους ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἐξολέσειε
 ναῦσιν ἐπὶ γλαφυραῖς, ὅτι ἴδιχα θυμὸν ἔχουσι.
 ταῦτα μὲν ἐντεῦθεν· ἐκ δ' Αἰγύπτου τὰ κρεμαστὰ
 ἰστία καὶ βίβλους, ἀπὸ δ' αὖ Συρίας λιβανωτῶν.
 ἡ δὲ καλὴ Κρήτη κυπάριττον τοῖσι θεοῖσι,
 15 ἡ Λιβύη δ' ἐλέφαντα πολὺν παρέχει κατὰ πρᾶσιν,
 ἡ Ῥόδος ἀσταφίδας <τε> καὶ ἰσχάδας ἡδυνεῖρους.
 αὐτὰρ ἀπ' Εὐβοίας ἀπίους καὶ ἴφια μῆλα,
 ἀνδράποδ' ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἀπὸ δ' Ἀρκαδίας ἐπικούρους.
 αἱ Παγασαὶ δούλους καὶ στιγματίας παρέχουσι.
 20 τὰς δὲ Διὸς βαλάνους καὶ ἀμύγδαλα σιγαλόεντα
 Παφλαγόνες παρέχουσι· τὰ γάρ <τ'> ἀναθήματα δαιτός.
 † Φοινίκη δ' αὖ † καρπὸν ποίνικος καὶ σεμίδαλιν,
 Καρχηδὼν δάπιδας καὶ ποικίλα προσκεφάλαια.

14

Now tell me, Muses who have your dwellings on Olympus, of all the good things Dionysus brought here in his black ship from the time when he sailed the wine-dark sea as a merchant. From Cyrene silphium stalks and ox-hides, [line 5] from the Hellespont mackerel and all varieties of salt fish, from Italy fine flour and ox ribs, and from Sitalces an itch to plague the Spartans and from Perdiccas lies in a great fleet of ships. Syracuse, providing pigs and cheese... [lacuna] [10] And may Poseidon destroy the Corcyreans in their hollow ships because their loyalties are divided. That's what comes from those places, then. And from Egypt rigged sails and papyrus, and from Syria frankincense. Fair Crete provides cypress for the gods [15] and Libya much ivory for sale, and Rhodes dried grapes and dried figs that bring sweet dreams. And again, from Euboea pears and fat apples; slaves from Phrygia, mercenaries from Arcadia. Pagasai provides slaves and branded runaways, [20] while the Paphlagonians provide chestnuts and shiny almonds, which are the delights of the feast. Phoenicia provides the fruit of the palm and fine flour, Carthage rugs and multi-coloured head-cushions. (trs.

Hermippus strings together the names of seventeen places with their characteristic goods (Cyrene, the Hellespont, Italy, Syracuse, Corcyra, Egypt, Syria, Crete, Libya, Rhodes, Euboea, Phrygia, Arcadia, Pagasai, Paphlagonia, Phoenicia, Carthage) and two personal names (Sitalces and Perdiccas). Since it is a comic catalogue, not all the goods are ‘goods’: some of them are what we might rather call ‘bads’. The goods are goods imported to Athens, the ‘bads’ are listed so as to make political jibes at Athens’ enemies. Luckily some of them provide us with a basis for a tentative dating of the fragment. The play must pre-date 424, the year of Sitalces’ death (Thuc. 4.101.5), since Sitalces, king of the Odrysian Thracians and an ally of Athens in the early years of the war, is referred to as still alive (line 7). Line 7 (‘From Sitalces an itch to plague the Spartans’) holds a surprise. Initially the listener thinks the itch (ψώραν) is being imported to Athens, like all the goods preceding it, but the line ends unexpectedly with ἀκεδαμονίοισι. It is the only item of ‘goods’ in the catalogue whose recipients are explicitly stated to be other than Athenians, though Athens is still the beneficiary. Hence the following line (8) is ambiguous: ‘from Perdiccas lies in a great fleet of ships’. Perdiccas’ lies can be exported to Sparta just as well as to Athens. The mention of Perdiccas’ unreliability is not much of a help for the dating of the fragment, because he changed sides several times and was still reigning in 414 (Thuc. 7.9).¹⁵ However, the reference to the double-dealing of the Corcyreans (lines 10–11) helps to establish the upper date more precisely. Stasis broke out at Corcyra in the summer of 427 and ended in the summer of 425. If very recent events are referred to, the fragment could be dated to 426, the year of Aristophanes’ *Babylonians* (Thuc. 3.71.2), but 425, the year of the *Acharnians*, is also possible and should not be ruled out.¹⁶

Imports supplied the citizens of Athens with two main types of essential goods: grain and salt fish for general consumption, and raw materials for production, especially shipbuilding. She imported large quantities of grain from Pontus, Egypt and Sicily, and timber from Macedonia. Along with necessities, ships also carried small quantities of dainties and luxury articles for the pleasure of the well-off.¹⁷ Most of the articles enumerated in our fragment – apart from salt fish and mackerel from the Hellespont (line 5), hides from Cyrene (line 4) and some materials for the building of war-ships, such as sailcloth and raw material (papyrus) from Egypt for ropes (lines 11–12) – are luxury articles. Timber for shipbuilding is probably hinted at in line 8. Since Macedonia was the main source of timber, ‘lies in many ships’ is most probably a substitution for ‘timber in many ships’, a joke that operates by frustrating expectation.¹⁸ Cypress wood from Crete for the building

of temples and palaces (line 14), and ivory from Libya are luxury items. Some finished products are included in the catalogue, such as carpets and cushions from Carthage, used for reclining at dinner (line 23), but the luxury articles are chiefly foods and dainties. They reflect the gastronomic revolution that the Athenians underwent towards the end of the fifth century, when the rural diet based on essentially local products was enriched with an abundance of imported foods (Gallo 1989, 213–30), which were certainly available to those who could afford them, though perhaps beyond the means of the many. There is silphium from Cyrene, used chiefly to spice meats (line 4),¹⁹ but also other dishes: fine flour²⁰ and dried and smoked beef from Italy (line 6; there is no need to correct Italy to Thessaly: see n. 14 above); pork and bacon (livestock was very rarely subjected to sea transport²¹) and hard cheeses from Sicily (line 9; soft cheeses were readily available in Athens in the cheese market (Lys. 13.6)), pears and apples (not sheep)²² from Euboea (line 17), nuts and almonds from Paphlagonia (lines 20–21), palm-dates and fine wheat-flour from Phoenicia (line 22). Even foods available in Athens, for which she was famous abroad, such as dried figs, deeply desired even by the Persian king (Athen. 14.652b–c), are listed as imported from Rhodes (line 16), testifying to satiety with local products and a quest for diversity. Anything and everything for a party was imported, including incense from Syria (line 13).

The inclusion of slaves among the commodities readily available in Athens should perhaps not surprise us. Phrygia was a source of slaves (line 18), and Pagasai, a harbour town and an important trade centre, almost monopolized the trade in them (line 19) – the branded slaves (tattooed for misbehaviour or for running away: cf. e.g. *Frogs* 1509–11 with Sommerstein 1996, 297 ad loc.) available there are of course a joke. The mention of mercenaries from Arcadia (line 18) is somewhat problematic. Arcadian would-be mercenaries are first mentioned by Herodotus in the context of 480, after Thermopylae (8.26), and about the same time an Arcadian *condottiere* was employed by the Deinomenids in Sicily (Paus. 5.27.1–7). There is no evidence that such mercenaries were employed by Athens in the 420s, when the catalogue was composed, though they were used by other Greek states at that time. We should perhaps assume that deals for hiring mercenaries were frequently negotiated in Athens, with or without the Athenians acting as go-betweens.²³

As we have seen, our fragment is a parody of a topos glorifying Athens, not necessarily a distortion of one single known text. The comic effect is achieved by the insertion of political jibes in the guise of imports, enhanced by the use of Homeric style in the treatment of a mundane subject. Our fragment can also be termed a parody, even if

we accept a restrictive definition of parody as ‘an epic poem in hexameters imitating Homer’.²⁴ Again, it is not a distortion of any one original text, but rather an echo of Homeric epic in general through the use of the hexameter and the accumulation of Homeric linguistic features and formulae – sometimes in the same position in the hexameter line as in Homer – and by the highlighting of double meanings of Homeric phrases such as ἴφια μῆλα (‘fat apples’, line 17), which in *Iliad* 5.556 and elsewhere in Homer is always used in the sense of ‘fat sheep’), or using ἀναθήματα δαιτός, ‘ornaments of a feast’, (line 21) of nuts and almonds instead of singing and dancing as in Homer (Scherrans 1893, 12–14; Ribbeck 1861, 18).

The first line, the invocation to the Muses, taken verbatim from the beginning of the Homeric catalogue of ships (*Iliad* 2.484), is certainly meant to indicate a link with Homer, not only formally but also in terms of content, for there are other Homeric catalogues preceded by an invocation to the Muses.²⁵ Homer’s catalogues, of course, concern ships and warriors, not ships carrying imported goods. But why is it Dionysus who brings the goods? There have been several attempts to solve this riddle, none of them satisfactory. Dionysus is shown on several vases riding on a ship-chariot, a ship mounted on wheels, in a procession. These have been interpreted as representing Dionysus being brought to Athens for a festival (καταγώγια), the ship-chariot signifying his arrival by sea, most probably for the Anthesteria (Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 12–13 with figs. 11–13). The well-known cup by Exekias, Munich 2044 (ABV 146.21 = Pickard-Cambridge 1988, fig. 14), also shows this arrival by sea, according to Simon (1983, 93–4).²⁶ Slater, who discusses the metaphor of a symposium as a ship at sea (1976), emphasizes the feeling of sailing as resembling the drunken feeling induced by wine, a drunkenness which in its turn creates illusions of wealth and grandeur. According to him, the wealth that is imagined is specifically the wealth imported to Athens by Dionysus by sea in his ship every year for a festival, a ship full of goodies, and our fragment of Hermippus ‘testifies to a connection of some sort between Dionysus as god of drunkenness, the bringer of illusion, and Dionysus the importer of good things’ (1976, 164). What sort of connection Slater does not state. There are no goods visible in the ship-chariots on the vases nor in the ship on Exekias’ cup. There is not a hint in our text that the goods are illusory (and not all of them are goods: see p. 79 above). They are real goods and their enumeration has a purpose: to use a topos not only to deflate self-importance, but also to attack Athens’ enemies. The best, and certainly the most sincere, explanation is still that of Kock (ad loc.), who confessed that he simply did not know what Hermippus’ reference to Dionysus meant.²⁷

There is no doubt that our fragment is a parody. But is it a passage from a comedy composed in the style and form of the parodic genre, or a separate parodic poem, whole or fragmentary?

According to Polemo (fr. 45 Preller, cited by Athenaeus 15.699a), Hermippus wrote parodies. Meineke (1826, 30–2) was probably the first to object to the view of earlier scholars (*Fabricius aliique*) that Polemo was referring to a distinct genre, that is, to the genre of parodies that Hermippus published in a single book (*Hermippus parodias proprie dictas singulari volumine complexus ediderit*) and that our fragment is an example of that genre. He proposed to regard it as a parody that occurred within a comedy, and not as a separate work (see K-A T 7 (V 562)). But the opinion of Fabricius and other predecessors of Meineke should not be so lightly dismissed.

Athenaeus does not mention the title of any comedy when he cites our fragment (1.27e–28a). However, the quotation comes from the Epitome, where the titles of plays are regularly omitted (Arnott, 2000), so no conclusions can safely be drawn from this. The attribution of the entire fragment to a comedy called *Phormophoroi* (a correction of *Phormoroi*) rests on Hesychius (δ 1922), who quotes line 20 (minus δέ) to illustrate the phrase Διὸς βάλλανοι, ‘chestnuts’ (literally, ‘acorns of Zeus’: see LSJ⁹ s.v. διοσβάλλανος). We know from Athenaeus that Hermippus wrote a comedy called *Phormophoroi* (ἐν Φορμοφόροις δράματι, 17.700d = fr. 62), and it may very well be that line 20 appeared in that work. But that does not preclude its being repeated elsewhere, and to attribute all 23 lines of our fragment to *Phormophoroi* on the basis of the quotation of one line is a rather hazardous procedure. Apart from fr. 63, only two fragmentary one-liners (frs. 61 and 62) and a few isolated words (frs. 64–67) from the *Phormophoroi* are preserved. They tell us very little about the character of the work.

It is arguable, then, that our fragment does not come from a comedy but belongs to the parodic genre. Or we might consider a modified version of this view, that it was first conceived as an independent parodic work and later incorporated into a comedy. These possibilities at least merit a hearing. Certainly the fragment displays the characteristics of this genre, with its invocation to the Muse and the other Homeric features. Hegemon, who initiated the genre at Athens (see *OCD*³ s.v.), was in the city at precisely the date assigned to Hermippus’ fragment, 426/5: he emigrated from Thasos between 430 and 425. The possibility that Hermippus started composing parodies under the influence of Hegemon is thus certainly worth consideration. Supporting evidence for considering our fragment as an example of the parodic genre is Matro’s poem, *The Attic Banquet*, composed near the end of the fourth century, which has

clear affinities with Hermippus' fragment, and is perhaps modelled on it. It begins with an invocation to the Muse, it has all the features of a Homeric parody, it contains a catalogue of fish written on the lines of the Homeric catalogue of ships, and it even includes one of Hermippus' jokes, the 'fat apples' of line 17 (*Suppl. Hell.* 534.112: see Degani 1995 and Glei 1992, with extensive bibliography).

Finally, a few words on the performance of lists and catalogues. Reading them is not always a pleasure, but there must have been a pleasure in listening to them, of the kind that we can experience ourselves when we hear a virtuoso performance of a comparable modern text. Such texts do not require intense concentration: they please more by accumulation and by aesthetic elements than by content. A fine example from Old Comedy is the enumeration of peddlers in Nicophon's Ἐγχειρογάστορες (*Hand-to-Mouth-Toilers*, fr. 10):

μεμβραδοπώλαις, ἀνθρακοπώλαις,
ἰσχαδοπώλαις, διφθεροπώλαις,
ἀλφίτοπώλαις, μυστριοπώλαις,
βιβλιοπώλαις, κοσκινοπώλαις,
ἐγκριδοπώλαις, σπερματοπώλαις

Anchovy-peddlers, charcoal-peddlers, | dried-fig-
peddlers, hide-peddlers, | barley- peddlers, spoon-
peddlers, | book-peddlers, sieve-peddlers, | sweet-cake-
peddlers, seed-peddlers.

A later example is the astonishingly long mega-list of foods in Anaxandrides' *Protesilaos* (fr. 42, esp. 36–66).

The success of such lists and catalogues depends very much on their performance, which requires special skills of delivery and a strategy of memorization that differs from that required for mastering a narrative or a reasoned argument for a speech in the assembly or a law court.²⁸ Since the items are not linked in a logical sequence, they are connected by other, linguistic methods: anaphorae, for example, like that of ἐκ in lines 4–6, or the more elaborate knitting together of lines 7–8, interconnected by an anaphora (καὶ παρὰ) followed by a personal name and a noun beginning with the letter ψ. The adoption of mock-heroic Homeric linguistic features constitutes another method of organization. Perhaps the names of the places mentioned are arranged according to some sort of an imaginary cognitive map which somehow links them together. For example, if we disregard the personal names Sitalces and Perdiccas, the place-names Cyrene, the Hellespont, Italy, Sicily, Corcyra, Egypt and Syria form a rough circle. Then we have a smaller circle formed by Crete, Libya, Rhodes and Euboea.²⁹ Phrygia and Arcadia are linked by a glance from east to

west, as are Pagasai and Paphlagonia, Phoenicia and Carthage. The latter recalls the instruction of Demosthenes to the Sausage-Seller in the *Knights* (173–4) to cast his eye from Caria to Carthage – in other words, over the entire world from east to west.

The mode of delivery of lists and catalogues is different from that of texts that present a narrative or a logical sequence. When the performer has to transmit content, information and emotion, the delivery supports the text and is to some extent secondary to it. In lists and catalogues the delivery is important in itself, and there must be a change of style, perhaps a change of pace, and a sharp focus on the performer and his skills, as in the case of the performance of a modern list, that of fifty-seven Russian composers belted out by Danny Kaye in one of his movies.³⁰ It was a long list delivered at a devilish pace, a sort of a choking *pnigos*. It evoked admiration and appreciation of memory, voice quality, diversity and sheer physical endurance. It did not matter what the order of the names was, as long as they sounded Russian and there was some sort of rhythm in the way that they were strung together, and even some sort of a rhyme. Of course the audience admired the author, but they admired the performer much more.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to David Harvey for his suggestions, which considerably improved this chapter.

Notes

¹Sidwell (1993, 368) calls it ‘an insulting reference’.

²Perhaps the information preserved in the *Suda* that Hermippus had only one eye may be read as implying that he was creative in spite of his predicament. But we cannot tell whether this tradition is reliable, or a misunderstanding of some joke in a comedy (e.g. about the Cyclops): see n. 6 below.

³The *iamboi* provided Rosen with a cornerstone for his book (1988, 9–12). There is no evidence that the *iamboi* are the parodies mentioned by Polemo (quoted by Athen. 15.669a).

⁴Capps 1943, 11; Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 85 n. 9. Geissler, following Capps, corrected his earlier dating of the victory (‘kurz vor 426’, 1925, 11) to 435 in the second edition of his book (1969, Nachtrag ix).

⁵See Capps 1943, 3: the victories recorded in the second column ‘would be eleven or twelve years later’ sc. than those in the first column, which is dated to 448/7. Consequently the victory of Hermippus would be either in 437/6 or 436/5. It cannot be earlier, since Pherocrates’ first victory was in 438/7 (this is incidentally the only firmly established date, based on an admirable conjecture of Dobree which Capps had previously rejected).

⁶See, for example, Dover 1975, 28 = 1988, 138: ‘...traditions about personages in the late fifth century might be ultimately derived from uncritical reading, or unscrupulous use of comedy. Hermippos may have said something in a parabasis comparable in character with the boasts of Aristophanes in Ach. 633 ff. and *Clouds*

549 ff., describing ridicule and vilification uttered within a play as if it were action taken in real life.'

⁷For various views see Montuori 1981, 92 ('The attack probably was on stage, as Aristophanes attacked Socrates'); Ostwald 1986, 195; Stadter 1989, lxviii (on Hermippus), 297–8 (on the prosecution of Aspasia), with the literature cited there; more recently, Carey 1994, 80–1 and Henry 1995, 24–6, 135–6 nn. 22–3 with bibliography. Plutarch (32.5) cites Aeschines Socraticus as his source for the trial, but he may not have found Hermippus' name (32.1) in the same context.

⁸See, for example, Frost 1964, 396–8; Mansfeld 1980, 32 n. 130, 77–80; Stadter 1989, 298.

⁹Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 539; Luppe 1971, 93; Gilula 1990, 101–2.

¹⁰Bibliography in K-A V 579. See also, for example, Dover 1968, 171 on *Clouds* 557 (still mistaken on the date of a City victory); Storey 1990, 10 implies that it was before 429, since he dates Phrynichos' victory to 429; Capps 1907, 188 opted for 433. For the dating of *Moirae* see, among others, Schwarze 1971, 104–5; the assumption that *Moirae* was influenced by Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* is rightly rejected by Luppe (1966, 182).

¹¹Mensing 1964, 40 and n. 9; see also Nesselrath 1995, 12, who says that it is scarcely possible to prolong his activity beyond 410.

¹²See, for example, the list of stringed instruments, Anaxilas fr. 15; of ancient dice- throws, Eubulus fr. 57; of fish and dessert, Ephippus frs. 12, 13. Lists and catalogues of food abound and form a distinct category: for particularly long ones, see Mnesimachus fr. 4 and Anaxandrides fr. 42 with Gilula 1995, 143–56.

¹³Cf. Ar. *Knights* 168–78, where the limits of desire are Caria and Carthage: see Loraux 1981, 86–9 and Schmitz 1988, 116–25.

¹⁴Retaining the reading of the MSS. K-A (whose text is otherwise followed here) prefer to accept Kock's emendation Θεσσαλίας on the grounds that the χόνδρος of Thessaly is praised elsewhere (see their apparatus); it also avoids hiatus.

¹⁵'Lies' perhaps instead of 'timber' (Gomme I 201–3 on Thuc. 1.57.2, and n. 18 below); but the date of the treaty in which Perdiccas guaranteed that he would export timber for oars only to Athens (*IG* i³ 89.31; see Meiggs 1982, 119, 126, and 1972, 428–30) has no bearing on the dating of the fragment. Timber was already being imported from Macedonia before the treaty, which secured not the import itself, but that it should be exported exclusively to Athens.

¹⁶See Gomme II 362 on Thuc. 3.71.2; Zelle 1892, 19.

¹⁷Michell 1957, 233–6; Erxleben 1975, 365–98. Greek states mainly sought to secure imports; there were no export policies: Hasebroek 1933: vii, 97–150 etc.; Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977, 6–7, 113.

¹⁸For the use of this timber in ship-building see e.g. Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 5.1.7; 5.7.1, 5; Plut. *Mor.* 676a (= *Table Talk* 5.3).

¹⁹On silphium in general see Steier 1927 and Chamoux 1953, 246–63; for its use as a spice see Arndt 1993 and Dalby 1993, with further bibliography in Solomon 1995, 128 n.7. It was also used for other purposes, chiefly medicinal: popular account in Riddle et al. 1994, with bibliography on p. 70.

²⁰Not 'salt' as Ostwald (1992, 312) translates χόνδρος; see LSJ s.v. For the type of grain see Fantasia 1994, 151–68.

²¹Livestock normally moved by land, and for short distances only (generally within the territory of the polis): see Hodkinson 1988. Exceptions prove the rule. Livestock were imported from Euboea (Thuc. 7.28.1, cf. 8.96.2), but the Athenians had transferred their own stock there (2.14.1 with Hornblower 1991, 259 ad loc.) and the distance was minimal. Demosthenes (19.265) represents the marine transport of cattle, sheep and horses as outrageous. The single cows sent to the Great Panathenaea (ML 46 = *IG* i³ 34.41–3; ML 69 = *IG* i³ 71.55–8; cf. ML 49 = *IG* i³

46.11–13) hardly belong in this context.

²²The association of μήλα with pears is enough to show that the word must mean ‘apples’ here. Yet Hasebroek 1933, 90, among others, understands ἴφια μήλα to mean ‘fat sheep’ as in Homer, and elsewhere (92–3) he refers to wool as an important export (not import) from Athens; see, however, Hopper 1979, 98, who assigns a less central role to wool among Athenian exports; Hodkinson 1988, 64–5. The evidence on wool in general is collected by Orth 1924 (Euboea is discussed in col. 608: only one allusion, and a Hellenistic one at that; Attica in col. 609); cf. Orth 1921. Cf. also p. 81 below.

²³Parke 1933, 14 n. 1; and see now Bettali 1995, 92–9, 115–17. For later examples of the use of Arcadian mercenaries by Athens see Thuc. 6.22 (415), 7.19.4 (413) and 7.57.9 (413).

²⁴Householder 1944, 3. The other fragment of Hermippus that might fit Householder’s definition is fr. 77, which some scholars connect with fr. 63: see Silk 1993, 477–504.

²⁵*Iliad* 11.218–47 (Agamemnon’s victims: the first line of our Hermippus fragment is taken verbatim from line 218); 14.508–22 (victims of the Greeks). On the invocation of Muses for catalogues see Kleingunther 1933, 143–51 (‘*Heuremata kataloge*’) Murray 1981; West 1985, 1–11 (genealogies: non-Greek comparanda at 11–30).

²⁶See also Simon 1981, XXIV/73, and p. 86; eadem 1985, 281–8; *LIMC* (1986) 489, nos. 788–90.

²⁷Upon which Zielinski (1931, 95) triumphantly declared that *he* did. But his interpretation, that Dionysus is the source of the imperial maritime power of Athens and that he appeared in the play as a personification of the Athenian people, has little to commend it. Equally unacceptable is Edmonds’ explanation, that these are goods which Athens gets in exchange for her wine. See K-A on Aristophanes’ Διόνυσος ναυαγὸς for other comedies connected with Dionysus.

²⁸See Plato *Hipp. Maj.* 285b. For the creation, organization and performance of catalogues see Minchin 1996, 3–20. Nesselrath 1990, 215 compares the virtuosity needed to deliver a catalogue such as Anaxandrides fr. 42 with that of a singer of ‘Bravour-Arien der Italienischen Barockoper’.

²⁹Cf. Maurer 1995, 74 n. 28: ‘Thucydidean catalogues seem often...to proceed geographically in a counterclockwise spiral.’

³⁰The song ‘Tschaikowsky’ was first performed by Kaye in *Lady in the Dark*, a Broadway musical of 1941 starring Gertrude Lawrence: see Alpert 1991, 136.

Bibliography

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1991

Arndt A.

1993

Arnott W.G.

2000

Austin M.M. & Vidal-Naquet P

1977

Bettalli M.

Broad

‘Silph
moder
Totne

‘Ather
D. Bra

Econo

1995	<i>I Mer</i>
Capps E.	
1907	‘Epigr 99.
1943	‘A nev 12, 1-
Carey C.	
1994	‘Comi <i>Ritual</i> <i>Lewis,</i>
Chamoux F.	
1953	<i>Cyren</i>
Dalby A.	
1993	‘Silph <i>Spicin</i> <i>Proc.</i> 72.
Degani E.	
1995	‘Probl J. Wil 413–2
Dobrov G.W. (ed.)	
1995	<i>Beyon</i>
Dover K.J.	
1975	‘The f Repri
Dover K.J. (ed.)	
1968	<i>Aristo</i>
Erxleben E.	
1975	‘Das V 5 und
Fantasia U.	
1994	‘Ιταλ. ‘Ιστορ
Frost F.J.	
1964	‘Peric war’,
Gallo L.	
1989	‘Alim in O.
Geissler P.	
1925	<i>Chron</i> Dubli
Ghiron-Bistagne P.	

1976	<i>Recherches</i>
Gilula D.	
1989	‘A case
1990	‘POxy
1995	‘Food
	Mnes
Glei R.	
1992	‘Aristo
	Beisp
Gomme A.W. and others	
1945–70	<i>A His</i>
	and II
Hasebroek J.	
1933	<i>Trade</i>
	MacG
Henry M.M.	
1995	<i>Prison</i>
	Oxfon
Hodkinson S.	
1988	‘Anim
	<i>Econo</i>
	14)
Hopper R.J.	
1979	<i>Trade</i>
Hornblower, S.	
1991	<i>A Com</i>
Householder F.W.	
1944	‘Παρο
Jones C.P.	
1987	‘Stigm
	139–5
Kleingunther A.	
1933	<i>Πρωτ</i>
Loroux N.	
1981	<i>LInven</i>
Luppe W.	
1966	‘Die F
Mansfeld J.	
1980	‘The c
	trial,
	17–95
Maurer K.	
1995	<i>Interp</i>
	150)

Meiggs R.	
1972	<i>The A</i>
1982	<i>Trees</i>
Meineke A.	
1826	<i>Quaes</i>
Mensching E.	
1964	‘Zur F
Michell H.	
1957	<i>The E</i>
Minchin E.	
1996	‘The p Wor-
ML = R. Meiggs & D.M. Lewis	
1969	<i>A Sele</i> adder
Montuori M.	
1981	‘De A
Murray P.	
1981	‘Poeti
Nesselrath H.-G.	
1990	<i>Der at</i>
1995	‘Myth Come 1–27.
Norwood G.	
1931	<i>Greek</i>
Orth F.	
1921	‘Schar
1924	‘Lana
Ostwald M.	
1986	<i>From</i>
1992	‘Ather 69.
Parke H.W.	
1933	<i>Greek</i>
Pickard-Cambridge A.W.	
1988	<i>The D</i> Lewis
Ribbeck O.	
1891	<i>De usu</i>
Riddle J.M., Estes J.W. & Russell J.C.	
1994	‘Ever 29–35
Rosen R.M.	

1988	<i>Old C</i>
Russo C.F. (trs. K. Wren)	
1994	<i>Aristo</i>
Scherrans W.	
1893	<i>De po</i>
Schmitz W.	
1988	<i>Wirts</i> <i>Athen</i>
Schwarze J.	
1971	<i>Die Be</i> <i>histor</i>
Sidwell K.	
1993	‘Auth 365–8
Silk M.S.	
1993	‘Arist Come
Simon E.	
1981	<i>Die gr</i>
1983	<i>Festiv</i>
1985	<i>Die G</i>
Slater W.J.	
1976	‘Symp
Solomon J.	
1995	‘The A in Ant
Sommerstein A.H. (ed.)	
1996	<i>Aristo</i>
Stadter P.A.	
1989	<i>A Com</i>
Steier A.	
1927	‘Silph
Storey I.C.	
1990	‘Datin
West M.L.	
1985	<i>The H</i>
Zelle J.	
1892	<i>De con</i> <i>tempo</i>
Zielinski Th.	
1931	<i>Iresion</i>

Chapter 7

PHRYNICHOS AND HIS MUSES

David Harvey

1. Portrait?

He looks out at us: his face is round, like the sun, an impression given by the flame-like leaves of his garland of ivy and the curls of his thick dark hair. His beard, too, is thick and dark, his moustache wispy rather than full. As well as an ivy garland he wears a woollen head-band, a fillet. The eyes are almond-shaped, set far apart; eyebrows thin, but very wide and gently arching; they merge into the parallel lines of the nose. The ears are hardly visible, though the teeth are. A somewhat self- satisfied smile plays on his lips. His head, with its thick neck, seems rather large for his body. He is of average height – no taller, at any rate, than his companions. These companions wear richly-decorated costumes; he wears a plain himation with scalloped edge over a spangled tunic. The fingers emerge from its lightly-sketched folds: they too are lightly sketched, more like a modern cartoon than ‘fine art’. The upper part of the body leans quite sharply to our left, the artist’s device for drawing attention to the structure in the centre of the picture. The self- satisfied smile is not surprising, for he has won a prize at a festival His name is written to the right of his head: Phrynichos ([Fig 3](#))



Fig. 3. Phrynichos

Courtesy Dept. of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities, National Museum, Copenhagen. Inv. 13817 (ARV² 1145.35) Detail from a bell-krater by the Kleophon Painter, c. 425 BC. Height of krater 47 cm

We are looking at a detail of a red-figure krater attributed to the Kleophon Painter, dated c. 425 and now in the National Museum in Copenhagen.¹ The scene shows six figures, all named: from left to right, two singers, Ipenikos (?Epinikos) and Pleistias; then Phrynichos and an aulete, Amphilochos; then two singers, Theomedes and Chremes. The arrangement is symmetrical. Phrynichos and Amphilochos flank the central structure, with two singers at each side.² Like Phrynichos, all four singers have their mouths open, but they all wear richly decorated himatia over plain tunics, unlike Phrynichos and the aulete, who wear plain himatia over decorated tunics. The object in the centre is a pole – some call it a ‘maypole’ – which is decorated with several thick masses of ivy (three are visible) which merge and run, not so thickly, half-way up. It is generally agreed that this represents a victorious dithyrambic chorus.³ On what occasion? Friis Johansen and others thought it was the Anthesteria, but most scholars reject that view on the grounds that we hear nothing of any dithyrambic competitions at that festival. Some take it to be the Dionysia.⁴

The inscription leaves no doubt that the dithyrambic poet is Phrynichos: but is it Phrynichos the comic poet? The vase is dated c.

425, which fits very nicely with the dates of the dramatist, whose first play was produced in 429.⁵ But doubts have been expressed, most notably by David Lewis in DFA: 'his [Johansen's] identification of "Phrynichos" with the late fifth-century comic poet raises problems that cannot be gone into here'. Almost certainly Lewis had in mind what we might call the problem of the multiple Phrynichoi.⁶

Leaving aside Phrynichos the tragic poet, who died c. 470,⁷ we know of seven persons called Phrynichos who were active in Athens towards the end of the fifth century. These Phrynichoi raise a number of problems, most of which fortunately need not concern us here. The seven men are usefully listed by Storey 1985, 328.⁸ Three can be ignored, because there is nothing to connect them with the stage: Storey's Phrynichos (ii), the oligarch of 411 (Thuc. 8 *passim*; PA 15011); (iv) the father of a *grammateus* of the boule (PA 15000); (v) a man whose daughter was the subject of a speech attributed to Lysias (PA 15001) who could easily be identical with any of his homonyms;⁹ and (vi) a war casualty (SEG 19.42a. V 7). Storey's (iii), Phrynichos Chorokleous, a tragic actor (schol. *Birds* 750), is best dismissed as a fiction or as a comic name for the tragedian, 'son of Choric Fame'.¹⁰

This leaves two serious candidates: the comic poet, and Storey's (vii), Phrynichos ὁ ὀρχησάμενος ('the former dancer'), denounced in 415 by Diokleides (p. 98 below) for mutilating Herms (Andok.1.47, PA 15007).

Molitor has argued (1984) that Phrynichos ὁ ὀρχησάμενος is the man shown on our krater. I quote his description: 'The central figure and apparently the leader of the chorus is...labeled "Phrynichos"... The name...was uncommon enough to suggest that the dancer represented on the vase is to be identified with the dancer mentioned by Andocides.. .[who] could be identified some twenty years later simply as "the former dancer" ' (254).

There are several reasons for rejecting this argument:¹¹

(i) The figure labelled Phrynichos on the vase is clearly distinguished from the others: he is frontal, they are in profile; his himation is plain, theirs decorated. Above all, he and the aulete are the central figures around whom the others stand. He is thus unlikely to be one of the dancers, even the leader of the chorus.

(ii) The verb ὀρχεῖσθαι is used of solo dancing; what we have here is a χορός, a group dance (Fitton 1973, 258–9). The two are quite distinct, and the figure labelled Phrynichos is not an ὀρχηστής.

(iii) As Sommerstein 1987, 190 points out, we should not miss the force of the aorist in ὀρχησάμενος (which need not be emended: see Sommerstein *contra* Storey and others). He is not 'the former dancer', but someone who, to paraphrase Sommerstein, had on some *particular* occasion distinguished himself in solo dance. 'Had he been the leader

of an outstanding chorus of ὁ ὀρχιστάι at the Panathenaia?’ asks Sommerstein (190). No: Phrynichos ὁ ὀρχησάμενος should be ‘the man who danced *solo* on one memorable occasion’.¹²

None of this strictly disqualifies Phrynichos ὁ ὀρχησάμενος as the subject of the vase-painting, but it severely undermines his claims. Certainty is impossible, but in my view Phrynichos the comic poet is by far the strongest candidate.

As we have seen, the poet is celebrating a dithyrambic victory. Is it likely that a comic dramatist would write dithyrambs?¹³ Johansen seems unduly concerned by this question (1963, 11), but there is no problem. According to Hesychius (π 4455), Kratinos introduced a dithyramb into his *Boukoloi* (fr. 20). Unfortunately the text is corrupt, but however it is interpreted,¹⁴ the association of the poet with dithyrambs is secure. Aristophanes parodied the dithyrambic style and made fun of its composers, and his own lyrics show his familiarity with the style.¹⁵ Middle Comedy is full of passages that caricature the mannerisms of the dithyrambic style, as Nesselrath has shown. Such parodies occur in no fewer than 37 early fourth-century plays.¹⁶ We know that Anaxandrides wrote dithyrambs (K-A T 2 (II 236) = Chamaileon ap. Ath. 9.374a), a fact casually mentioned by our source in passing, and thus clearly not exceptional. Phrynichos fits very well indeed into this general context.¹⁷

We have images of few comic poets. If the vase does depict the dramatist, he joins a select company.

For **Kratinos** there is the ‘Berlin Drinker’, an Apulian vase-painting of the mid-fourth century which may perhaps represent the *Pytinē* (Fig. 2 above). But an Apulian artist working in the mid-fourth century would not have had the faintest notion of what Kratinos looked like – and besides, the figure is wearing a mask. The degree to which masks in fifth-century comedy were portrait-masks is controversial (DFA 218–9; Dover 1967; Olson 1999; cf. Revermann 1997), but even if the mask of Kratinos in the original production of *Pytinē* did resemble the dramatist, we can hardly expect the identifying details to have crossed the Ionian sea and remained stable for three-quarters of a century.

One thing we know about **Aristophanes’** appearance is that he was pre- maturely bald. In the *Peace*, written when he was hardly thirty, he refers to himself as ἀνδρός τό μέτωπον ἔχοντος (774), ‘the man with the [high] forehead’ and as ὁ φαλακρός (771–4; so too Eupolis fr. 89 (*Baptai*)), ‘bald on the crown’ (LSJ). He is already φαιδρός λάμποντι μετώπῳ (‘bright with a shining forehead’) in *Knights* 550 (cf. Olson 1998, 224).¹⁸ In *Peace* he does not even mention his name, so he must have expected the audience to identify him from this characteristic alone. Two sculpted heads have been

thought to represent the poet (Richter 1965, 141). One, the ‘pseudo-Seneca’, should certainly be rejected,¹⁹ and even if the other (Richter 1965, figs. 787–93; 1984, figs. 59–60; Schefold 1997, 356–7, 534) was intended to represent Aristophanes, it cannot be a true likeness, since the hair is not receding very much and he is not bald on top, though he does have a high forehead. An idealised portrayal, perhaps, but not a realistic one.

To these we may now add **Eupolis**. The recently discovered herm (ch. 10 below) is of Roman date, and art-historians have not yet given an opinion on the probable date of the original. It raises the question whether any tradition about Eupolis’ features survived from the fifth century, or whether the sculptor simply produced what he thought was a plausible image. Gisela Richter was optimistic on this question, and believed that posthumous portraits may have been based on informal sketches and little terracotta portraits made from life (1959, esp. 39–41; 1965, 18–20; 1984, 25–7). This, however, is very much a minority view (see e.g. Cook 1966, 228).

Finally there is the grave stele from Kerameikos, now in Lyme Park, Stockport, perhaps best known from the photograph in Dover’s *Aristophanic Comedy*.²⁰ This shows a seated figure holding a papyrus scroll and contemplating a comic mask; another mask hangs on the wall. Webster dated it about 380, and thought it might possibly represent Aristophanes. But such an early date is now almost universally rejected, and most scholars would prefer to assign it to the mid-fourth century, somewhere around 350.²¹ In that case, the monument will represent a Middle Comedian, whom we might call the **Anonymus Stockportensis**.

A pretty dodgy lot, then: one mask, a couple of implausible Aristophaneses, a Roman Eupolis and an anonymous Middle Comedian. Phrynichos alone enjoys the distinction of a contemporary image.

But is it a realistic portrait, a lifelike image that would enable us to recognize the man? Art-historians usually, and rightly, discuss the origins of portraiture in Greece in terms of the emergence of individualized ‘realistic’ images as opposed to idealized ones;²² but portraiture raises questions far more complex than that, and involves much more than the simple dichotomy ‘idealized/realistic’. The personal style of the artist and the conventions he has been taught make an enormous difference. Those wide eyebrows that we noticed at the start, for example, are a stylistic habit of the Kleophon Painter, not a personal characteristic of Phrynichos, as we can see from the selection of faces from his vases printed across page 63 of Boardman 1989, or if we simply look at the other figures on this vase.²³ Other complicating factors include the lack of shading in red-figure, the fact

that a sketch may sometimes look more ‘lifelike’ than a more painstaking depiction, the problems of frontality (Korshak 1987, Moignard 2000), the difficulties of rendering a smile, the lack of movement in any painting, and above all, the part played by the viewer, the things that he unconsciously ‘reads into’ the image on the basis of his own expectations and knowledge. All these matters require a far lengthier discussion than can be attempted here.²⁴ But it is probably safe to say that the basic data of the picture are reliable – details such as the curly dark hair and beard. It would, I think, be very surprising if Phrynichos had been an exceptionally tall, thin, beardless character, or prematurely bald (like Aristophanes) or white-haired. The likeness is probably close enough to have enabled Phrynichos’ contemporaries to look at the picture and say ‘Yes, that’s him’, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος, like the people in Aristotle’s *Poetics* (1448b17), but not the other way round: if we were to go round Athens with the Kleophon Painter’s krater in our hand, it would not enable us to pick out Phrynichos from all the other dark-bearded men.

2. Family?

According to the scholiast on *Frogs* 13 (= K-A T 8), Phrynichos was the son of Eunomides: ἔστι δέ πατὴρ Εὐνομίδου. There is no reason to doubt this statement. The scholiast has cited Didymos as his authority for the previous sentence, and it is generally agreed that this information comes from the same source (see n. 75 below). Eunomides is a name of some interest. It is quite exceptionally rare: indeed, this is the only attested fifth-century Athenian example of it.²⁵

The concept of *eunomia* has been much studied.²⁶ The classic account is the detailed and perceptive discussion by Ostwald, who defines it²⁷ as ‘the condition of a well-ordered society, a condition which implies not only the prevalence of good laws and good government within the state, but also the good functioning of the social organism as a whole’ (1969, 62–3; cf. Andrewes 1938, 89). Modern scholars have often associated *eunomia* and its verb *eunomeisthai* with Sparta, but Ostwald (75–82) argues that ‘εὐνομία does not directly refer to the Spartan or any other constitution’ (75). In particular it is not the name of the Spartan constitution (Andrewes 1938, 91), and in Ostwald’s view Herodotus 2.124.1 (Egypt before Rhampsinitos) and 1.97.3 (Deiokes of Media) ‘suffice to prove that the Greeks of the fifth century would associate εὐνομία no more closely with Sparta.. than with any other state’ (80, cf. 82; for the Herodotean passages see 73–4).

Eunomia was certainly not associated exclusively with Sparta, but it is worth looking at the other states to which the term is applied. Ostwald’s two exotic examples from Herodotos are both monarchic:

Egyptian Pharaohs (2.124.1) and the king of Media (1.97.3: 'Let us choose a king: then our country will enjoy *eunomia*'). In the early fifth century Pindar connects *eunomia* with Corinth (*Ol.* 13.6–10), Opous (*Ol.* 9.14–16), Aigina (*Isth.* 5.21–2; so too Bacchyl. 13.186–9), Aitna (*Nem.* 9.29–30) and Thebes (*Paian* 1.9–10) (see Grossman 1950, 34; Ostwald 1969, 71–3). There is a striking similarity in the political character of all these states. Details may elude us, but the general picture is clear enough. Corinth was an oligarchy; Opous was governed by an aristocracy of 'a hundred houses' and an assembly of 1000; Aigina was an aristocratic oligarchy; Aitna was founded by the tyrant Hieron in 475 and presumably remained under his watchful eye; and Thebes was yet another oligarchy, even if at times a fairly liberal one.²⁸ Later in the century, in 411, *eunomia* was still an 'acceptable label' for oligarchy (Thuc. 8.64.5).²⁹

As for Sparta, there are two pieces of evidence from the seventh century, Tyrtaios' poem *Eunomia* (frs. 1–4 West) and Alkman fr. 64 Page *PMG*. The spurious king Eunomos (Hdt. 8.131.2) is generally overlooked in this context, but a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos* (1.8: 'Simonides says that Lykourgos was not the son of Eunomos, but his brother') shows that his name must have been inserted into the king-lists before the time of Simonides (late 6th/early 5th cent.).³⁰ Two well-known passages, Herodotus 1.65.2 (with 66.1) and Thuc. 1.18.1,³¹ make it clear that *eunomia* continued to be associated with Sparta throughout the fifth century. *Eunomia*, then, is always associated with non-democratic regimes – monarchies, aristocracies, oligarchies. But by far the most powerful oligarchy in Greece in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, when Eunomides was born and given his name, was Sparta. We cannot get away from the fact that the concept was strongly (though not exclusively) associated with Sparta and its whole way of life from the seventh century onwards.

We cannot calculate the date of Eunomides' birth with any degree of precision. Phrynichos' first play was produced in 429 (n. 5 above): if, like Aristophanes,³² he was a young man at that time, of about 20, and his father was only 20 when he was born, this will give us c. 470 as the latest possible date. A late start for Phrynichos' career and an elderly father would take us back into the sixth century. A reasonable guess – no more than that – might be that his father was in his thirties,³³ and Phrynichos quite young at the outset of his career.³⁴ That would give us a date in the 480s for the birth of Eunomides. Now, as Cartledge says (1990b, 45), 'the habit of politically motivated nomenclature was deeply ingrained in the Athenian... upper classes'. Ideological examples include Demokrates, Demos and Philodemos, while Themistokles' children Asia, Hellas and Italia, and Kimon's sons Lakedaimonios, Eleios and Thettalos are what we might call

geopolitical examples. Our most plausible date for the birth of Eunomides fits gratifyingly into the same period as that of all these babies, between the 480s and c. 460.³⁵ Kimon was already active in politics by the 480s (Hdt. 6.136.3; Plut. *Kimon* 5.2–3), pursuing a policy of co-operation with Sparta (Hill 1951, 348 = II.1.13). Any family who looked so favourably on Sparta that they were prepared to give a child the name Eunomides might reasonably be called Kimonian. An earlier date for Eunomides' birth would make the term 'Kimonian' a little anachronistic, but would not otherwise affect the argument.

This hypothesis is hazardous in several ways. Athenian families were not monolithic in their political sympathies, and we must always allow for a 'conversion' of the kind that the historian Thucydides seems to have undergone.³⁶ Nevertheless, it is plausible, and it would bring Phrynichos' family into line with what is known of the politics of other Old Comedians. Lavish praise is bestowed on Kimon by Metrobios the *grammateus* in Kratinos fr. 1 (*Archilochoi*): ἀνδρὶ θεῷ καὶ φιλοξενωτάτῳ □ καὶ πάντ' ἀρίστῳ τῶν Πανελλήνων ἱπρώτῳ (πρόμῳ, Muretus), 'a marvellous man and most hospitable and in every way the best leader(?) of all the Greeks'.³⁷ We do not know the context, but it seems unlikely that these lines would have been contradicted by another speaker. Similarly, despite doubts, difficulties and controversy, Aristophanes' Kimonian sympathies are now generally well established. Olson, following de Ste. Croix, writes: 'Aristophanes' political opinions seem generally to coincide with what might be called the traditional Kimonian democratic program: peaceful coexistence with Sparta, hopes for a shared hegemony over the Greek world, and a distinctly paternalistic attitude towards the *dēmos* (1993, 147).³⁸

Things are not quite as simple as that, of course. *Eunomia* was at home in Athens, too: Solon sang its praises (fr. 4 West), and he may have been the first to politicize the concept.³⁹ Not that he connected it with any particular type of constitution, but he brought *eunomia* into the context of the polis, and used the word to characterize 'a human community which is ruled by moderation, unity and order' (Ehrenberg 1946, 84–6; Ostwald 1969, 65–9). Thus Phrynichos' family, by bestowing the name Eunomides on one of its babies, might have wished to indicate its support, not for Kimonian, but for Solonian ideals. Our ignorance of Eunomides' date of birth again complicates matters. If he were born before Kleisthenes' reforms of 508/7, his name might imply loyalty to Solonian or Peisistratid values (cf. Hdt. 1.59.6, *Ath. Pol.* 16.2). But if he were born after that date, *isonomia* would have replaced *eunomia* as the new political catchword,⁴⁰ and the name Eunomides would indicate adherence to old-fashioned pre-

Kleisthenic values. Whatever the truth of the matter, it is still a name with a strongly conservative ring, and if it had overtones both of Sparta and of Athens in her less radical days, that is a still better reason to call it Kimonian.⁴¹

Phrynichos, which must mean ‘toad-like’, is an odd name,⁴² and it is difficult to resist speculating whether the poet was related to any of the other Phrynichoi discussed on pp. 92–3 above – in particular, the Phrynichos who took a leading part in the oligarchic revolution of 411 after a long career as a democrat (Andrewes 1981, 59–60, 116). His deme was Deiradiotai (Plut. *Alcib.* 25.6) and that of the comedian is unknown, but even if they came from different demes, they could still have been related: a marriage at any date could have linked them, since women change demes invisibly when they wed (Pomeroy 1997, 80–2, 127). But there is no evidence, and we are in the dark.

For good measure I append a list of the nineteen⁴³ individuals named, generally mockingly, by Phrynichos. No clear political bias emerges (cf. Sommerstein 1996b, 333–5), but it would be foolish to draw any sweeping conclusions from our fragmentary evidence. We have only some 88 lines and 47 isolated words from the poet: if we had all eleven plays, two whole volumes of Oxford Classical Text, we would be on safer ground. The list includes three men from the very richest class: a pentekosiomedimnos (Teleas), a trierarch (Lykeas) and Nikias. Two men, Diopeithes and Peisandros, might be described as political opportunists. The playwright’s namesake Phrynichos the oligarch is conspicuously absent. No doubt this is due to the chances of survival, though jokes about him might have rebounded embarrassingly onto the comic poet, especially if they were related, however distantly.

It is striking that no fewer than eleven of the nineteen are also mentioned in *Birds*: Diopeithes, Exekestides, Kleombrotos(?), Laispodias, Meidias, Meton, Nikias, Peisandros, Syrakosios, Teleas and Timon. Even odder is the fact that there is one favourable and one adverse comment about Nikias in *Birds* and in Phrynichos, each pair on the same topic. In *Birds* 362–3 Peisetairos is praised for acting στρατηγικῶς and surpassing Nikias with his μηχαναίς; in Phrynichos fr. 23 someone is praised for outdoing Nikias in the number of his στρατηγίας and εὐρήμασιν. This comes from his *Monotropos*, produced in 414 (K-A T ii–iii (p. 403)), the same year as *Birds*. *Birds* 639 gives us the comic compound μελλονικιᾶν (to ‘procrastiNikiate’); Phrynichos fr. 62 speaks of ‘not advancing timidly(?) like Nikias’.⁴⁴ Perhaps, as Bergk believed, this too comes from *Monotropos*. No doubt these were the characteristics of Nikias’ behaviour that were most commented on in the gossip of the time (see also p.111 below).

The list of PhrynichokSmSidoumenoi that follows sets out briefly

(i) the nature of the joke in Phrynichos; (ii) references to jokes about the man elsewhere ('not elsewhere in comedy' is shorthand for 'not elsewhere in surviving plays and fragments'); (iii) bibliography (Dunbar = Dunbar 1995; Sommerstein = Sommerstein 1996b, together with the category into which the author helpfully divides *kômōidoumenoi*); (iv) further biographical information. The reader should refer to K-A in every case.

Chairestratos, fr. 15 (*Komasts*): point of joke unclear; not elsewhere in comedy. Sommerstein 350 (trade): potter.

Diokleides, fr. 61 (not known which play): named as informer; not elsewhere in comedy. PA 3973, PAA 331975, Sommerstein 347 (prosecutor): informer on Hermokopids, executed for false testimony (Andok. 1.37–67).

Diopieithes, fr. 9 (*Kronos*): religious joke; mocked elsewhere as religious fanatic and thief, a little mad. PA 4308 (? = 4309: Sommerstein 340 n. 97), PAA 363105, Dunbar 549–50, Sommerstein 340, 343 (politically prominent), Connor 1963 (opportunist, rather than oligarch): religious conservative; allegedly prosecuted Anaxagoras.

Exekestides, fr. 21 (*Monotropos*): mocked for 'foreign birth', as elsewhere. PAA 388087, Dunbar 137–8, Sommerstein 352 (citizenship scandal), MacDowell 1993, 364–5. One of the four 'great monkeys' of fr. 21, also described as ἀνωμάλους, defined as 'capricious' by LSJ, but here perhaps rather a 'mixed assortment/bunch of monkeys' (so too Dunbar 189).

Hierokleides, fr. 18 (*Komasts*): *kolax* and thief; elsewhere only Hermippos fr. 39, same joke. Sommerstein 347 (minor public official); perhaps the same as Hierokles (see K-A on Hermippos 39).

Kleombrotos, fr. 55 (*Tragōidoi*): 'son of Partridge' (see K-A); not elsewhere in comedy. Dunbar 473, Sommerstein 346 (assembly speaker).

Konnos, a whole play (*Konnos*): the fragments (6–8) contain no jokes about him; on Ameipsias' *Konnos* see Carey in this volume pp. 420–3. PA 8697, Sommerstein 350 (musician).

Laispodias, fr. 17 (*Komasts*): bellicose; mocked elsewhere for odd hairy legs. PA 8963, Dunbar 716–7, Sommerstein 338, 344 (politically prominent); note Plut. Mor. 712a. General 414/3; envoy of the 400 in 411.

Lampros, fr. 74 (not known which play): mocked as a water-drinker (see Davidson 1997, 155–7), whimpering hypersophist, withered

corpse of the Muses, fever of nightingales, hymn of Hades; not elsewhere in comedy. Sophocles' music master, *Vita Soph.* 3.

Lykeas, fr. 21 (*Monotropos*): *nothos*, one of the four monkeys; not elsewhere in comedy. *PA* 9190, Sommerstein 352 (bastard). Trierarch, Davies 1971, 344–5.

Meidias, frs. 4 (*Epialtes*): rogue (κόβαλος) and boastful beggar (πτωχαλαζών), and fr. 43 (*Poastriai*): keen on fighting-cocks; elsewhere variegated vices: embezzler, sykophant, πονηρός. *PA* 9714, Dunbar 643, Sommerstein 328 n. 8, 347 (minor public official); cf. K-A on Plato fr. 116.

Meton, fr. 22 (*Monotropos*): responsible for water-supply (not a hostile comment); elsewhere engineer, astronomer. *PA* 10093, Dunbar 550–1, Sommerstein 350 (profession).

Nikias, frs. 23 (*Monotropos*): number of stratagems and devices (favourable), and fr. 62 (not known which play): advancing timidly; references elsewhere largely favourable (cf. Sommerstein 334). *PA* 10808, Dunbar 276, 414, Sommerstein 338, 345 (politically prominent): the well-known general and politician. See comment above (p. 98).

Peisandros, fr. 21 (*Monotropos*): coward, one of the four monkeys; elsewhere large, coarse, avaricious glutton: on Plato's *Peisandros* see Sommerstein in this volume, pp.439–40. *PA* 11770, Dunbar 712–3, Sommerstein 338, 345 (politically prominent), investigator (ζητητής) of Herms and Mysteries affair in 415, apparently a democrat (Andok. 1.36), but oligarch in 411 (Thuc. 8. 49–56, 63–8 with Andrewes 1981: see his index s.v., p. 479).

Philoxenos, fr. 49 (Satyrs): male prostitute; elsewhere effeminate, καταπύγων (standard joke against politicians: see Sommerstein in this volume, p. 441 with n. 29). *PA* 14707, Sommerstein 338, 345 (politically prominent?: but the politician may be a homonym).

Syrakosios, fr. 27 (*Monotropos*): joke obscure, perhaps a pun (de Boo 1998); elsewhere mocked for raucous voice. *PA* 13041, Dunbar 238–9, 643, Sommerstein 342, 346 (politically prominent): alleged, perhaps wrongly, to have moved decree restricting targets of comedy.

Teleas, fr. 21 (*Monotropos*): *kolax*, one of the four monkeys; elsewhere variegated vices: gluttony, embezzlement, deceit, passive homosexuality, cowardice. *PA* 13500, Dunbar 189, Sommerstein 328 n. 8, 347 (minor public official). Secretary to treasurers of Athena, therefore a pentekosiomedimnos: Thompson 1970, 436.

Teukros, fr. 61 (not known which play): named as informer on

Hermokopids; not elsewhere in comedy. Andok. 1.15–67; metic.

Timon, fr. 19 (*Monotropos*): typical of the solitary life, as elsewhere. PA 13845, Dunbar 708–9, Armstrong 1987, Ruffell in this volume, p. 502 n. 95.

3. Muses I

Meineke (1839, I.157) conjectured that the outline of the plot of Phrynichos' *Muses* was as follows: 'videntur.. nescio qui (Sophocles fortasse et Euripides) de poesios principatu inter se concertasse, Musis litem dirimentibus': 'apparently some characters (perhaps Sophocles and Euripides) were arguing about which of them was the supreme poet, and the Muses settled the dispute'. This reconstruction has been widely accepted.⁴⁵

Meineke's words are reprinted in K-A VII 409, and his view is reported again on the next page, in the comment on Phrynichos fragment 33. In printing Meineke's Latin, Kassel and Austin are simply saying, I take it, 'This is the reconstruction proposed by Meineke', although many readers may well take them as implying 'This is the reconstruction proposed by Meineke, and we endorse it'. In my view, however, it cannot be right. Rogers argued against it a century ago, Dover argued against it again in 1993; here comes a third attack.

Meineke's reconstruction rests on fragment 33:

ἰδοῦ, δέχου τὴν ψῆφον· ὁ καδίσκος δέ σοι
ὁ μὲν ἀπολύων οὗτος, ὁ δ' ἀπολλύς ὁδὶ.

Here, take the voting-pebble. This urn, you see, is for acquittal, and that one for condemnation.

There is a pun, which cannot be easily translated: 'guilt-free' and 'guilty', perhaps.

As Rogers said (1902, xxxviii), 'the very fragment which Meineke adduces in support of his theory is really decisive against it'. 'Is it not clear', he asked, 'that this is a case of a prisoner on his trial, and not of two rival poets contending for victory?' Let us spell this out more explicitly.

We have one voting pebble, τὴν ψῆφον, and one voter, δέχου, σοι. It follows that the vote cannot have been cast by the (plural) Muses. The speaker, whoever he or she is, is not saying 'Here is a voting tablet: each of you take one', nor is he likely to be repeating the same instruction to each voter. It might, I suppose, be argued that the speaker addresses the *choregos*, who stands for the entire chorus: but that will not work either, as there is only a single pebble. So there is only one voter, as in *Wasps* (764–1008). We do not know who that voter was. Could it have been Apollo? He would be a very appropriate

figure in a comedy about the Muses, and his presence would give scope for word-play on Ἀπόλλων as well as on ἀπολύων and ἀπολλύς.⁴⁶ The trouble is that, to the best of my knowledge, he never appears on stage in Old Comedy.⁴⁷ Note the careful distinction between the two urns: will the voter put his pebble into the wrong one, as at *Wasps* 985–1002?

The second argument against Meineke is based on chronology. Euripides died in Macedonia in winter 407/6 (Dover 1993, 6 n. 1). Any play involving a contest between him and Sophocles would require Sophocles to be dead too. (Phrynichos is hardly likely to have resuscitated Euripides or consigned Sophocles prematurely to Hades.) Rogers (1902, xxxvii–viii) speaks of ‘the shortness of the time which had elapsed since the death of Sophocles’ as a reason for rejecting Meineke’s reconstruction. So too Dover (1993, 27): ‘If Sophocles did not actually die until late in 406, it would not have been easy for Phrynichos, starting only then, to pit Sophocles against Euripides in an underworld contest’. Not easy, but not impossible either. An examination of chronology, though, will uncover a stronger objection to Meineke’s theory.

The Dionysia of 406 took place in mid-Elaphebolion, late March/early April (*DFA* 65–6, cf. 58). Sophocles was still alive, if we can trust the story (*Life of Eurip.* 3 = *DFA* 68 n. 1) that he appeared in mourning for Euripides at the *proagon* (von Blumenthal 1929, 1040–1; for the *proagōn* see *DFA* 67–8).

The new archons took up office early in Hekatombaion (July) 406. The appointment of *choregoi* for the Dionysia – eight months ahead – was one of the first tasks that faced the eponymous archon (*Ath. Pol.* 56.3; *DFA* 84, 86). The Lenaia took place two months earlier than the Dionysia, so its *choregoi* were presumably appointed at the same time (by the *archon basileus*: *Ath. Pol.* 57.1; *DFA* 40, Rhodes 1981, 624, 637–8). So this is the moment at which Phrynichos and Aristophanes will have applied for their choruses. We do not know exactly what poets had to show the archon (*DFA* 84; cf. Dover 1972, 15), but presumably they would need to present at the very least an outline of the plot. Sophocles must still have been alive, since *Frogs* shows signs that Aristophanes had to make some adjustments to his play at a later stage to take his death into account.⁴⁸ It follows that Phrynichos can hardly have shown the archon the outline of a play featuring an underworld contest between Sophocles and Euripides.

The third argument is succinctly stated by Dover (1993, 27): ‘It is remarkable that nothing cited from the play about Sophocles – except fr. 32 [to which we shall return in section 5], the tenor of which (it is a μάκάρισμος) is far from indicating the presence of Sophocles as a character in the play – has come through into biographical anecdotes

or into the scholia on *Frogs*.’

A fourth argument against Meineke’s hypothesis is that such a contest would require at least one scene in which Sophocles was the target of a string of jokes. This would be surprising, to say the least, in view of the almost unanimously favourable treatment accorded to him elsewhere in comedy (Radt 1977 Test. T I 101–14; Olson 1998, 186, 211; cf. Sommerstein 1996b, 334).

The final objection is the ‘intrinsic improbability that the two poets should have framed their plays on such precisely similar lines’ (Rogers 1902, xxxviii) when both were to be presented at the same festival. If the archon were shown two outline scripts, each with a plot featuring two tragic poets competing for supremacy, he would surely have rejected one of them.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, both *Frogs* and *Muses* deal with literary themes. The third play⁵⁰ was Plato’s *Kleophon*, a demagogue-comedy (Sommerstein in this volume, p. 440), so there is no question of a totally monocomedothematic festival. And there were other occasions on which plays of a broadly similar nature competed against each other, as Ruffell has pointed out to me.⁵¹

Ameipsias’ *Konnos* (second prize) and Aristophanes’ *Clouds* (third) were both produced at the Dionysia of 424/3. *Konnos* (Carey in this volume, pp. 420–3) featured a chorus of *phrontistai*, ‘intellectuals’ (K-A T ii (II 200) = Ath. 5.218c). *Konnos* was a major figure in Socrates’s life (Dover 1968, l–li) and Socrates himself figured prominently in the play, ridiculed (fr. 9) much as in *Clouds*, though their plots may have been quite dissimilar. Both plays thus guyed not just *phrontistai* in general, but Socrates in particular. As with *Frogs* and *Muses*, the third comedy was very different: Kratinos’ *Pytine* (first prize). However we reconstruct it (contrast Luppe’s and Rosen’s chapters above), that play certainly did not concentrate on intellectuals.

At the Dionysia of 415/4 Aristophanes’ *Birds* competed against Phrynichos’ *Monotropos*. Both plays deal with escape from an Athens made intolerable by *polypragmosyne* (see Ceccarelli and Ruffell in this volume), and there are even some verbal parallels (p. 98 above, and Ruffell, p. 494). But again, despite the similarity of theme, there need have been no similarity between their plots. Ameipsias won first prize with his *Kōmastai* (‘Revellers’). Nothing is known about this comedy (K-A ad loc. (vol. II 203), but see Dunbar 1995, 1, esp. n. 2), but its title suggests that it was ‘boisterously jolly’ (Dunbar 14). Thus, as in 424/3, the third play differed strikingly from the other two.

Those plays are securely dated, but our knowledge of the chronology of Old Comedy is limited and insecure, and similar pairs may have been produced on other occasions. Ruffell has suggested that they might be seen as particularly striking examples of the

competitive aspect of the dramatic festivals. He believes that it would be naive to attribute the phenomenon solely to ‘topicality’ or ‘the public mood’, though these certainly cannot be dismissed altogether (nor can mere coincidence): topical concerns and competitive motives will have interacted with each other. Themes and plots provoked later imitations (and thus accusations of plagiarism: section 5 below), and a specific genre might develop as a result: comedies about poetry (Dover 1993, 25–7), the *Knights–Pytine–Wasps* sequence (see Luppe’s and Rosen’s chapter in this volume), demagogue-comedies (Sommerstein’s chapter) and utopian comedies (Ceccarelli and Ruffell). Often, it seems, the later plays might react against, or build upon, the earlier. Ruffell tentatively suggests that poets might have exchanged (‘stolen’) and improved on each other’s ideas within the same year, even at rehearsal stage. Let us leave the question open, and return to Phrynichos’ *Muses*.

If, as we have argued, the play involved a trial, we are left with the questions Who is on trial? and on what charge? It is reasonable to suppose that the accused was a poet. The title of the play, *Muses*, is enough to show that we are in literary territory (Phrynichos seems to have had a special interest in literary and musical matters: see n. 17). An exciting but untenable hypothesis would be that it was Aristophanes who was on trial; untenable, because if so, we would have heard about it from the scholia and the biographical tradition. Rogers (1915, 148 on *Wasps* 987; 1902, xxxviii) suggested that the defendant was Euripides, and although that guess was no doubt influenced by knowledge of Aristophanes, it is certainly very probable.

On what charge? We do not know. It might have been for wronging or mistreating the Muses, or for offences against Tragedy, or for lowering its standards, which all come to much the same thing (Rogers 1902, xxxvii–viii); or for presenting the gods in an unfavourable light; or (since the Muses are female) for (allegedly) denigrating women, as in *Thesmophoriazousai*. We do not have enough evidence even to guess.

4. Muses II

What role did the Muses⁵² play in Phrynichos’ *Muses*? It is generally assumed that they formed the chorus. But the chorus of Old Comedy numbered twenty-four (DFA 236), and there were nine Muses. Did Phrynichos bring on a chorus of twenty-four Muses and hope that no-one in the audience would notice or object? Would that have been acceptable?

Nine is the number of the Muses in our earliest sources (*Odyssey* 24.6 and Hesiod *Theogony* 60–1, 75–9, 915–7) and it became canonical, but the figure fluctuated. Arnobius puts it succinctly: *Eforus*

has igitur numero[s] esse tris effert; Mnaseas...quattuor; Myrtilus inducit septem; octo adseverat Crates; ...Hesiodus novem.. prodit (Adv. nationes 3.37 = FGrHIIIB 477 (Myrsilos).7). Nevertheless, we never find more than nine,⁵³ so the problem remains.

Epicharmos wrote a work called *The Wedding of Hebe, or Muses*.⁵⁴ Some have doubted whether the works of this ‘immensely problematic author’ (Cassio 1985, 37) were known to the Athenian comic poets, but they probably were (assumed by Norwood 1931, 18, 66, 143; argued by Cassio 1985, 39–43), so we may wonder whether it sheds any light on Phrynichos’ play.

Nearly all the fragments of Epicharmos’ *Muses* consist of lists of food (Kaibel 1899, frs. 41–75): some two hundred dishes are named, mainly fish. This must represent the menu of the wedding feast, a menu suited to the notoriously gluttonous bridegroom Herakles. Epicharmos’ *Muses* are not the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, but of Pieros and Pimpleis, ‘Fatso and Fulla’ (fr. 41 Kaibel = Tzetzes on Hesiod *Works and Days* 6). There were seven of them: NeilS, TritSne (TritSnis?), AsSpS, Heptapore (Heptaporis?), AchelSis, Titoplo (TitSnS?) and Rhodia. Welcker long ago pointed out that these names are derived from rivers and lakes that were rich in fish,⁵⁵ which brings them into line with the other fragments.

Unfortunately, it is not at all clear how Epicharmos presented his unorthodox *Muses*. The majority view is that they formed a chorus that appeared on stage, singing and dancing, but some have argued that the work took the form of a dramatic monologue, in which the *Muses* were described in narrative.⁵⁶ Norwood (1931, 98) speaks enigmatically of ‘a company – not a chorus – of seven *Muses*’, Handley (1985, 369), equally mysteriously, of ‘a very different use of actors and chorus’. It seems best to admit that we do not know, though, as Berk (1964, 28–9) points out, the title indicates that they played an important part. But what we do know is enough to show that we are a long way from the world of Phrynichos’ *Muses*. Epicharmos’ fishy *Muses* are a red herring.⁵⁷

We return to our problem. Could the *Muses* have provided the subject-matter of Phrynichos’ play without appearing on stage? After all, no ghosts appear in Ibsen’s *Ghosts*. That is not possible, however, in Old Comedy, where plural titles almost always refer to the chorus (see Nick Lowe’s lists in the Biographical Appendix below). True, there are some oddities, but they can be accounted for – though we should always be cautious: *Wasps*, for example, is not a play about wasps. The titles of Kratinos’ *Didaskaliai* and Aristophanes’ *Dramata* probably refer to personifications of former plays. Pherekrates’ *Leroi* (‘Dress-ornaments’) may have had a chorus of over-bedecked ladies. A chorus of socks, Philonides’ *Kothornoi*, may seem implausible, but it is

no doubt an allusion to the nickname of Theramenes. He adapted himself easily to either side in politics, as a sock adapts itself to left or right foot (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.30 with Pollux 7.91), so the chorus probably consisted of opportunistic politicians, or of Theramenes and his friends.⁵⁸ There is, however, one exception to this general rule: when a plural title refers to plural characters.

Were the Muses, then, the chief characters in the play? There is nothing in the fragments to support this notion, but they amount to no more than eight lines and one word, and there are other puzzling titles that might be explained in this way.

(i) Hermippos' *Kerkōpes* and Plato's *Kerkōpes* (or *Xantai*: see K-A VII 472). There were traditionally two Kerkopes (Adler 1922; K-A IV 128–9 on Kratinos fr. 13; cf. Woodford 1992), and although for comic purposes they might have been multiplied into a chorus, it is easier to suppose that they were characters.⁵⁹

(ii) Hermippos' *Moirai* (*Fates*). From Hesiod onwards (*Theog.* 901–3) – most memorably at the end of Plato's *Republic* (10.717b–e) – there were three Fates: Klotho, Lachesis and Atropos (de Angeli 1992 with bibliography at 638; *OCD*³ 589–90). It is not very likely that their number was inflated to twenty-four: over-staffing on this scale would result in an intolerably over-determined world. The canonical three presumably appeared as characters, though what role they played in this anti-Periklean drama is obscure (K-A V 579).

(iii) Theopompos' and Nikophon's *Seirēnes* (*Sirens*). There are two Sirens in Homer (Od. 12.52, 167), later often three (Hofstetter 1997; *OCD*³ 1413, both with bibliography). Four and twenty may be an acceptable figure for blackbirds, but it is surely excessive for Sirens. These plays are generally taken to be mythological burlesques, comic versions of Odysseus' encounter with these creatures. So they too will have been characters, not chorus.⁶⁰

(iv) Alkaios' Ἀδελφαὶ μοιχευομέναι (*Sisters in Adultery*).⁶¹ We have only one silly fragment from this play, and know no more about it. But presumably there were two adulterated sisters, or at most three: that many might be regarded as a misfortune, more would look like carelessness. The title again surely refers to individuals.

It is thus quite plausible that Phrynichos' *Muses* was named after its chief characters. If so, which Muses? Possibly some of the traditional Nine – three, perhaps, which was apparently the original number (n. 53).⁶² Meineke, however, suggested a very different scenario. Fragment 34, ὦ <καί> κάπραινα καὶ περιπολὰς καὶ δρομάς, 'You lewd sow, you vagrant prostitute, you street-walker', he thought, might point towards the Muse of Euripides.⁶³ Kassel and Austin provide the supporting evidence that Meineke fails to cite: *Frogs* 1305–7, where Aeschylus calls for the Muse of Euripides. To

judge from Dionysus' reaction (1308), she is a somewhat unsavoury character. 'Neither dignified nor attractive', perhaps looking like an elderly ex-prostitute, she proceeds to deliver parodies of Euripidean choral lyric and monody.⁶⁴ But Dionysus' sexual insult is obscure, and there is nothing here that resembles Phrynichos fr. 34. Meineke's suggestion is no more than an unsupported guess.

Aristophanes' Muse of Euripides is depicted here as cheap and vulgar because that is how he wanted to characterize Euripides' poetry. She resembles his poetry like a shadow (Haussler 1973, 133). Is this personalized Muse an unprecedented Aristophanic invention, or did she have predecessors? The question is unanswerable because we do not have any evidence,⁶⁵ but we shall have to return to it.

Another possibility is that the play might have been named after a sub-chorus, perhaps the canonical nine. The obvious parallel is *Frogs*. Phrynichos might have heard of Aristophanes' intentions and have taken steps not to be outdone. His play would then have been named after the Muses because they appeared first (like the *Frogs*: Dover 1993, 55–7) or because they were more memorable than the main chorus. If so, however, we would expect to find some comment in the Aristophanic scholia, and we are left wondering what the main chorus was composed of. This is not a very plausible hypothesis.⁶⁶

Let us return to the suggestion that we dismissed somewhat flippantly at the start: that Phrynichos brought on a chorus of twenty-four Muses, ignoring – or in defiance of – the tradition that there were no more than nine.

This principle is generally accepted in the case of tragedy. It was succinctly expressed long ago by Gottfried Hermann: *Poetas non cantorum numerum personis fabulae, sed has usitati chori numero accommodasse, ut, si minor esset personarum numerus, augeri debuerit...sin maior esset, minui*: 'The poets did not adjust the number of the chorus to the number in the myth, but vice versa, so that if the number of persons were less, it had to be increased, but if larger, decreased' (1816/1827, 128, reiterated 1826/28, 136–7).

A chorus representing a number larger than itself does not concern us here.⁶⁷ What of choruses that represented a smaller figure? Hermann's examples are Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, *Heliades*, *Kabeiroi* and *Phorkides* and Euripides' *Supplikes*, and in every case his view is now generally accepted.

Originally there seem to have been three Erinyes. For the purpose of his *Eumenides*, Aeschylus increased them to twelve (the number of his chorus: DFA 234–5). No-one believes that the play had a chorus of three.⁶⁸ He seems to have observed the same convention elsewhere. *Heliades* probably had a chorus of twelve instead of the traditional seven. In the *Phorkides*, 'if the chorus were the three Graiai, sisters of

the Gorgons, we should have an interesting parallel for the *Eum[enides]* in which a mythological group is expanded to form a tragic chorus'; and the same may be said of his *Kabeiroi*.⁶⁹

Euripides' Supplices is an even closer parallel to Phrynichos' *Muses*. Here the chorus represents the mothers of the Seven against Thebes, and the figure seven is explicitly mentioned three times (9–13, 100–2 and 963–4). How many in the chorus? Nineteenth-century arithmetic argued for a chorus of seven mothers plus one handmaiden each: total 14. Most (though not all) scholars now reject this view, and agree that the seven mothers were represented by a chorus of 15.⁷⁰

In tragedy, then, Athenian audiences seem to have accepted disparity between the traditional number of a mythical group and the number of the chorus-men who represented them. It is reasonable to suppose that this convention was observed in comedy as well, and it seems the most plausible solution to our problem. Indeed, humour could have been extracted from the discrepancy: nine members of the chorus might have entered first, then, after a pause, the rest of them.

If this conclusion is right, it may well explain some other puzzles. Kratinos and Aristophanes both wrote *Hōai*, conventionally translated as 'Seasons', though these deities were also concerned with the fertility of the natural world and of mankind (Jolles 1913; West 1966, 406 on Hesiod *Theog.* 901–3; Machaira 1990, with bibliography at 503).⁷¹ Traditionally there were three Horai, later four. Since they presided over growth, it is not difficult to envisage a multiplicity of them. But the two plays may have had quite different themes. We know rather more about the Aristophanic version, which referred to new cults (Cic. *Laws* 2. 37 = K-A T ii (III.2 296)). Norwood wrote (1931, 295): 'Comparison of [fr. 581] with the title of the play suggests that the chorus was a pageant of various fruits.' That is implausible. The identification of the two speakers is controversial (K-A ad loc. (III.2 300)), but the plural ὕμῳς in line 14 seems to refer to traditional gods, and they may have constituted the chorus. Alternatively, there might have been semi-choruses of old and new gods. In either case, a chorus of twenty-four presents no problems.

Again, Plato and Leukon wrote plays called 'Ambassadors', *Presbeis*. The Athenians normally sent groups of three, five or ten ambassadors (Mosley 1973, 50–7); twenty-four is unrealistic. But an embassy on this scale offers rich comic possibilities. The δωροδοκίματα (bribes) of Plato fr. 127 (cf. Harvey 1985, esp. 82–3) and 'thefts' (ἔκλεπ' ἑκάστοτε, κλέψας) of frs. 128 and 129 no doubt reveal the thrust of the play: competition for 'gifts' and mutual accusations of bribery. The envoys may also have been depicted as living in comical luxury and prolonging their mission so as to claim maximum expenses (cf. *Acharnians* 61–128, esp. 61–90). For such

themes, the more ambassadors the better.⁷²

If we accept a chorus of Muses, we may wonder whether they were Muses of individual poets. Individualized or ‘multiform’ choruses, each member of which had a distinctive identity, have been discussed in recent years by Wilson (1977) and Dunbar (1995, 227–8, cf. 15–16, 243–4). Eupolis’ *Demoi* and *Poleis* and Ameipsias’ *Konnos* may safely be added to the obvious example, Aristophanes’ *Birds*, and Wilson lists other candidates.⁷³ Phrynichos’ *Muses* is not among them, but is worth considering. We have dismissed Meineke’s suggestion that the Muse of Euripides might have been a character in the play (pp. 105–6), but could she have been one of the chorus?

It would have been easy enough to find two dozen poets – indeed, Kratinos may already have done so in his *Archilochoi* (Wilson 1977, 279) – and poets of all kinds are associated with Muses.⁷⁴ They invoke them, they speak of their gifts, they see themselves as their servants, and so forth (Harriott 1969, 41; Haussler 1973; Murray 1981, 97). But what is needed for an individualized chorus of Muses is a collection of Muses who somehow resemble, embody or reflect the nature of their poets’ creations. As we have seen (p. 106), the down- and-out Muse of Euripides in *Frogs* is the earliest known example. If she was an unparalleled innovation, Phrynichos cannot have produced twenty-four of them. If she was not, an individualized chorus is possible, but we may wonder whether it would have given the poet any advantage. So many idiosyncratic Muses might have presented him with material too rich to cope with. And there is no evidence for it.

We conclude, therefore, that although a few Muses might have appeared as characters in the play, it is much more likely that twenty-four of them constituted the chorus. Whether that chorus was individualized we cannot say, but it seems improbable.

5. Critics

Ancient judgments on Phrynichos are all unfavourable. The *Souda* apparently describes him as second-rate (K-A T 1 (VII 393)), Aristophanes says he kept on making the same old jokes (*Frogs* 12–15 = T 8 (p. 394)), and the Aristophanic scholia tell us he was ridiculed as a plagiarist and for metrical incompetence, as well as for being a bad poet and a foreigner (T 8, 9 (p. 394)).⁷⁵ Allegations of foreign birth, a standard comic smear (MacDowell 1993), are hardly literary criticism, and the accusation that he was a bad poet (ἐπί φαυλότητι ποιημάτων) may be no more than an echo of the *Frogs* passage. But what of the other criticisms? Let us look at each in turn.

A second-rate dramatist

The *Souda* describes Phrynichos as κωμικὸς τῶν ἐπιδευτέρων τῆς

ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, literally ‘a comic poet, among the second ones of Old Comedy’ (Φ 763 = K-A T 1 (p. 394)). There has been disagreement for over two centuries on what τῶν ἐπιδευτέρων, here awkwardly translated ‘the second ones’, means. Is it a value-judgment, ‘among the second-rate dramatists’, or a chronological indicator, ‘among the later dramatists’? Körte (1921, 1237 and 1941, 918–19) and Schmid (1946 138 n. 1) take it as a value-judgment, and so does LSJ, who define it as ‘secondary, of minor rank’, citing only the *Souda* s.v. Aristomenes. Meineke (1839, 210–1), Kaibel (1889, 64–5), Norwood (1931, 151 n. 1) and Edmonds (1957, 451) took it to be a chronological indicator. There can be little doubt that they are right.

The *Souda* entry on Phrynichos continues: ἐδίδαξε γοῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ πς’ [πζ’] ‘Ολυμπιάδι, ‘for he produced his first play in the 86th Olympiad (436–432 BC)’, emended to 87th (432–428) (see n. 5 above on the date). Denniston (1954, 448–59), discussing the particle γοῦν, remarks ‘Much the commonest use of γοῦν is to introduce a statement which is, *pro tanto*, evidence for a preceding statement’: ‘part proof’ as he calls it (451). The *Souda* may not be written in classical Greek, but it seems clear that the compiler intended the information about the date of Phrynichos’ first production to confirm the statement that he was one of the ἐπιδεύτεροι.

This conclusion is supported by the entry in the *Souda* on Aristomenes (A 3922), whatever LSJ may say. He is characterized in precisely the same words, κωμικὸς τῶν ἐπιδευτέρων τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, ‘a comic poet, among the second ones of Old Comedy’, followed this time by the phrase οἱ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν, ‘Ολυμπιάδος πζ’, ‘who were active at the time of the Peloponnesian war, in the 87th Olympiad’ (Meineke 1839, 210–11; Kaibel 1889, 64–5; *contra* Korte 1921, 1237, where the misprint ‘488’ for ‘388’ confuses the chronological argument).

The *Souda* also uses ἐπιδεύτερος of the orator Nikostratos (N 404):

ἐτάχθη δὲ ἐν τοῖς κριθεῖσιν ἐπιδευτέροις δέκα ῥήτορι· σύγχρονος Ἀριστείδου καὶ Δίωνος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· ἦν γὰρ ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ βασιλέως.

He was listed among the ten orators adjudged to be ἐπιδεύτεροι: a contemporary of Aristeides and Dio Chrysostom: for (γάρ) he lived during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

The word κριθεῖσιν, ‘adjudged’, suggests a value-judgment, but the following sentence, with its γάρ corresponding to the γοῦν of the entry on Phrynichos, shows that ἐπιδεύτερος again refers to chronology. The first set of orators must be those of the fifth and

fourth centuries, the ἐπιδευτέροι those of a second flowering, the ‘Second Sophistic’.

The use of the verb ἐπιδευτερῶ and the noun ἐπιδευτερώσις by Eusebius and Epiphanius provides corroboration for our view. These are the relevant passages:

ἐπιδευτερῶ

(1)Eusebius (3rd–4th cent.AD)*Comm. on Psalms* Migne vol 23.1108 (A) 6 on *Psalm* 89.29–34 (modern numeration): αὐθις ἐπαναλαμβάνει καὶ ἐπιδευτεροῖ τὸν λόγον, ‘again he (the Psalmist) resumes and *repeats* the words’.

(2)id. 1188 (C) 40 on *Psalm* 93.3: Τί δὲ ἐπῆραν, ἐπιδευτερῶν ἐξῆς τὸν λόγον παριστῆσιν εἰπὼν, ‘what they (the floods) have lifted up, he (the Psalmist) declares *repeating* the word’.

(3)Epiphanius (4th cent.AD) *Panarion Haer.* 69.66.7–10 (III 215.9 Hall- Dummer, Berlin 1985): εὐθὺς γάρ...προστίθῃσι πάλιν καὶ δευτεροῖ λέγων ‘ἐνεδύσατο κύριος δύναμιν καὶ περιζώσατο’ [Psalm 92.1] ἵνα δείξῃ τὸ πρῶτον ἔνδυμα ἀπὸ Μαρίας, τὴν δὲ ἐπιδευτερουμένην πάλιν ἔνδυσιν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν, ‘For immediately.. he (the Psalmist) adds and repeats ‘the Lord hath put on and girded himself with strength’, to indicate the first putting-on when he was born of Mary, and the repetition the second putting-on when he was resurrected from the dead.’

ἐπιδευτεῶσις

(4) Euseb. 23. 893 (A) 13, Symmachus’ variant reading of Psalm 77.10: Τρῶσις μου ἐστὶν ἐπιδευτέρωσις δεξιᾶς τοῦ ‘Υψίστου, ‘My wound is a *repetition* of the right hand of the Most High’.

In all these passages, the Psalmist is not speaking of something second-rate, but of doing it a second time. As in the *Souda*, the word refers to something that comes later, a second time; it is not a value-judgement. I conclude that the lexicographer did not intend to say that Phrynichos was an inferior dramatist.

The same old jokes

In the opening scene of *Frogs* the heavily-burdened slave Xanthias exclaims: ‘What was the point of my carrying this luggage,

εἵπερ ποίησω μὴδὲν ὥνπερ Φρύνιχος
εἶθε ποιεῖν καὶ Λύκις κάμειψίας;
σκεύη φέρουσ’ ἐκάστοτ’ ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ.

if I’m not allowed to do any of the things that Phrynichos and Lykis and Ameipsias are always doing? They have luggage-carrying scenes every time in their comedies!’ (12–15).⁷⁶ In other words, Phrynichos, like Lykis and Ameipsias, made the same old jokes again and again in his plays.

The correct, if unscholarly, reply is ‘Look who’s talking!’

Phrynichos might equally well have written ‘Can’t I chase the intruder away? Aristophanes always has a chase-the-intruder-away scene in his comedies.’ It is easy to think of recurrent jokes in Aristophanes’ plays, such as those about Kleonymos the greedy-guts, the lady-like Kleisthenes, the sheer awfulness of Kleon, the beating (or threatened beating) of slaves, involuntary bowel-movements caused by fear, Euripides’ tatty royals etc. etc. This is simply standard comic abuse.

Plagiarism

According to two Aristophanic scholia, Phrynichos was ridiculed in comedy as a plagiarist: κωμωδεῖται...ὥς ἀλλότρια λέγων (schol. *Frogs* 13, T 8 K-A (VII 394)), and Φρύνιχος... ου μέμνηται “Ερμιππος ἐν Φορμοφόροις ὥς ἀλλώτρια ὑποβαλλομένου ποιήματα: ‘Phrynichos.. .whom Hermippos mentions in his *Phormophoroi* as passing off other people’s poems as his own’ (schol. *Birds* 749, T 9 K-A = Hermippos fr. 64).⁷⁷ This too is a common accusation in Old Comedy,⁷⁸ and should not be taken very seriously. So too in Middle Comedy:

οἱ μὲν ποιηταὶ λῆρος εἰσιν. οὐδὲ ἐν
καινὸν γὰρ εὐρίσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ μεταφέρει
ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ταῦτ’ ἄνω καὶ κάτω.

The poets are a load of rubbish. They don’t create anything new – each of them just shifts the same old stuff back and forth. (Xenarchos fr. 7 (*Porphyra*))

Nor should we forget the comment by the anonymous critic (n. 75 above), that he could find no examples of plagiarism in Phrynichos’ surviving plays.

The *locus classicus* on ancient plagiarism is the twenty-page tirade by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 6.2), who concludes: ‘Life is too short for me to go through every instance of selfish Greek [literary] theft’, ἐπιλείψει γὰρ με ὁ βίος, εἰ καθ’ ἑκάστον ἐπεξίεναι αἰροίμην τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φίλαυτον κλοπὴν (6.2.27.5). Here are some comic examples:

(i) In *Clouds* (553–4) Aristophanes claimed that Eupolis had ‘dragged his Marikas onto the stage and mangled his *Knights*’:

Εὐπολὶς μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρῶτιστον παρείλκυσεν
ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππέας κακὸς κακῶς

(See Sommerstein 1982, 190 ad loc.; on the verb, Dover 1968, 170.) Quintilian 1.10.18 quotes a phrase from the *Marikas* (fr. 208) which is indeed just like *Knights* 188–9 – so much so that Sommerstein (1982, 190) suggests that he may have confused the two plays. Eupolis fr. 89 (*Baptai*) retorted τοὺς Ἰππέας □ ξυνεποίησα τῷ φαλακρῷ — κάδωρησάμην, ‘I helped the bald man write the *Knights* and made him

a present of it'. Kratinos seems to have taken Eupolis' side (fr. 213 (*Pytine*) = schol. *Knights* 531a).⁷⁹

(ii) Aristophanes *Clouds* 559 complains that 'everyone else' imitated his eels- simile, i.e. *Knights* 864–7 (see Dover 1968, 171): we do not know who he had in mind.

(iii) We have already noted (p. 98 above) the similarity of the remarks about Nikias in *Birds* and in Phrynichos' *Monotropos*. We cannot tell which poet was the borrower, or whether they were both making use of the clichés of the day, nor whether either poet complained.

(iv) Lysippos in *Bakchai* (fr. 4) claims that someone's ideas are not second-hand: οὐδ' ἀνακνάψας καὶ θειώσας τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐπινοίας, literally 'not renewing other people's bright ideas by dry-cleaning and fumigating them'. Dobree (cited in K-A ad loc. (VII 620)) believed the poet was speaking about himself, no doubt rightly, though the line could refer to someone else. The Aristophanic word ἐπινοία (Todd 1932, 82) suggests a dramatic context, in which case Lysippos is claiming that unlike certain people (perhaps named in the following lines), he (or another) did not recycle others' ideas.

(v) Clement (*Strom.* 6.26.4) alleges that Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* was stolen from Kratinos' *Empimpramenoí* (fr. 90), while the scholiast on *Thesmophoriazousai* 215 says that that line was taken from Kratinos' *Idaiói* (see K-A on Kratinos fr. 90 (IV 167) for problems and bibliography).

(vi) Clement also tells us (*Strom.* 6.26.5) that Plato comicus and Aristophanes stole from each other in the *Daidalos*: Πλάτων δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ Δαιδάλῳ τὰ ἀλλήλων ὑφαίρουνται. Kaibel (K-A III.2 116) remarks *verba plane inepta*, 'what a silly thing to say!' How could two poets steal the same lines from each other? But Clement could have meant that Aristophanes stole some lines of Plato in his *Daidalos*, and Plato stole some different lines from Aristophanes in his.⁸⁰

It is difficult, if not impossible, to capture the precise tone and spirit in which the comic poets made these complaints. Good-humoured banter, joshing, light-hearted joking among friends? Or bitter antagonism and hatred? How did the audience react? – not that they would all have reacted in the same way. How did the dramatists intend them to react?

Heath, in an excellent article (from which the title of this volume is inadvertently plagiarized), writes: 'There was a common pool or repertoire of comic material: anything put on stage in a comedy would become public property and be absorbed into the repertoire, so that all comic poets contributed to it; and all drew on it, although each would aim to give a new and original twist to the material which he

borrowed, so that the repertoire constantly evolved. If this was so, then any poet could lay claim to originality (since he gave the pooled material a novel twist); and any rival could make a counter-claim of plagiarism (since the material was in part drawn from the pool)... The charges of plagiarism are part of a system of ritualised insult; they are not meant to be believed, but to make the other party lose face' (1990, 151–3 at 152).

Heath is of course right that we should not take such allegations too seriously, but he is perhaps too dogmatic. 'Material' may refer to single lines, images, scenes, or even whole plots. The dramatists seem most aggrieved about specific lines and images ('my eels', *Clouds* 559, for example). There were not many Old Comedians – some 44 in less than a century; they presumably knew each other (Lowe in this volume, pp. 266–7), and personal relationships will have varied. We need to look at their abuse of their rivals in the context of their abuse of others (Sommerstein 1996b), and we need to distinguish the complaints of the dramatists themselves from the moralizing remarks of later writers like Clement who were unfamiliar with the original circumstances and conventions.

Metrical incompetence

The scholiast on *Frogs* 13 (T 8) adds: κωμωδεῖται...ὥς κακόμετρα (sc. λέγων), 'he was ridiculed for writing unmetrically'. A moment's reflection will show that this can hardly be taken seriously. Unlike us, a prize-winning Athenian dramatist is not likely to have made metrical mistakes when writing Greek verse. Even if he did, any slip would soon have been picked up and put right in rehearsal, particularly one in a choral passage, where an error in metre would have thrown the music and the dance into confusion. Such an incident is improbable, and if it ever did occur, it would not have provided much material for comedy.

The ridicule, I suggest, must have been directed at Phrynichus' metrical innovations. His name is associated with no fewer than four metres:

(i) Pure choriambic heptameter catalectic: - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - (Marius Victorinus (Apthonius) *Ars gramm.* 2.6 = K-A T 10 (p. 394))

(ii) (Ionic) tetrameter catalectic: ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - (id. 2.9 = T 11): ἄ δ' ἐνάγκη 'σθ' ἱερεῦσιν καθαρεύειν φράσομεν (fr. 76)

(iii) Paeonic trimeter catalectic: - ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - (id. 2.10 = T12): *nunc agite nunc tripudiis mihi*

(iv) Choriambic dimeter acatalectic: - - - - ∪ ∪ - (M. Plotius Sacerdos *Arsgramm.* 3.7 = T 13): *cantantes nunc deficiunt*.⁸¹

All these are said to be named after Phrynichus (T 10–13): he is said to have invented the first, and to have used the second

frequently, though unlike ‘pherekratean’ the term is not used nowadays.

There must be hundreds of examples of innovations being derided as ‘getting things wrong’. Here for example is J.W. Davison (1813–85), music critic of *The Times*, on Chopin: ‘There is a clumsiness about his harmonies...an utter ignorance of design’; ‘a hundred palpable faults’; ‘uncontrolled by sound knowledge,... [lack of which causes] the commission of the most palpable errors’. And on Schumann: ‘a very superficial knowledge of the art...’; ‘the forced and unnatural turns of cadence and progression disclose the convulsive efforts of one who has never properly studied his art to hide the deficiencies of his early education’.⁸² Davison’s intemperate abuse was serious, unlike the ridicule of comedy. What they both reveal is hostility to innovation.

So much for the ancient verdicts on Phrynichos, unanimously derogatory. They are worthless. All of them are jokes (κωμωδεῖται), and we should not forget that anonymous critic who was unable to find any of the alleged faults in the surviving plays (n. 75 above). A safer guide to their quality is that they were chosen for public performance at the great Athenian public festivals (though we do not know on what grounds), and that they were awarded one first prize at the Dionysia and two at the Lenaia (T 5, 6 = K-A VII 393–4).

One modern critic, however, has gone to the opposite extreme. Schmid (1946, 138) describes fr. 32 as a ‘magnificent epitaph’ (*herrlichen Gedenkspruch*) for Sophocles, which alone would suffice to ensure a place for Phrynichos among the great poets of all time (*der allein schon dem Phrynichos einem Platz unter den grossen Dichtern aller Zeiteru sichern wurde*). The fragment runs as follows:

μάκαρ Σοφοκλῆς, ὃς πόλυν χρόνον βιοῦς
ἀπέθανεν εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ καὶ δεξιός·
πόλλας ποιήσας καὶ καλὰς τραγωδίας
καλῶς ἐτελεύτησ', οὐδὲν ὑπομείνας κακόν.

Blest is Sophocles, who, having lived a long time, | died
a fortunate man and a clever one: | having written many
lovely tragedies, | he died a lovely death, having
suffered no ill.

The lines contain thirteen sigmas, though that may not have offended a fifth-century ear.⁸³ They strike me as somewhat vacuous, and to say very little about Sophocles, either as man or poet. I asked two respected critics of Greek poetry for their opinion. One replied: ‘The lines do not have a whiff of greatness about them’; the other dismissed Schmid’s dictum as ‘fatuous guff’.

Furthermore, we must remember that these lines have been wrenched from their context in a *comedy*. ‘Compliments in comedy are

to be regarded with considerable suspicion' (Storey 1987, 40), and this one may have provoked a deflationary response. The reply to 'Sophocles wrote many lovely comedies' might well have been 'and he screwed many lovely boys too', πόλλους τ' ἐβινεῖ καὶ καλοῦς νεανίας, though I would hesitate to call that line Phrynichos fr. 32a.⁸⁴

6. Death in Sicily?

Our only evidence on the death of Phrynichos consists of a corrupt passage of five words, but in my view reliable information can be extracted from them. The text is a brief anonymous mini-treatise περί κωμωδίας, printed by Koster as *Prolegomena de Comoedia* III. Its date is not known, nor is the source of its contents.⁸⁵ The relevant passage appears in K-A VII 393 as T 2, but it is necessary to look at it in context.

The author – perhaps an epitomator – opens with a few remarks on the origins of comedy, divides it into Old, Middle and New, and lists the most important (ἄξιολογώτατοι) writers: Epicharmos, Magnes, Kratinos, Krates, Pherekrates, Phrynichos, Eupolis and Aristophanes. He then gives us a few lines about each of these, before passing on to Middle and New Comedy. After characterizing Middle Comedy, he singles out two authors, Antiphanes and Alexis, for comment (his remarks on the latter, whom he calls Stephanos, are missing). For New Comedy he lists six writers, and comments on the first three, Philemon, Menander and Diphilos: presumably the end is lost (see Koster).

His entry on the life and works of Phrynichos reads, in full: Φρύνιχος Φράδμονος ἔθανεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, 'Phrynichos the son of Phradmon died in Sicily'. Clearly something has gone wrong: there must be a lacuna.⁸⁶ Comparison with the other entries suggests that the missing material included the number of his plays (eleven: K-A T 1 and 3), probably a few words on their nature and perhaps the number of his victories (cf. Kaibel 1899, 8). But what can we make of the words that remain? As we have seen (section 2 above), Phrynichos the comic poet was the son of Eunomides (T 8, scholia on *Frogs* 13); Phrynichos the son of Polyphradmon is his namesake, the tragic poet.

What was the author telling us? That the comic poet died in Sicily? Or that he must be distinguished from the tragic poet who died in Sicily? Koster (1975 ad loc.) prudently comments '*comicus an tragicus incertum*'. Others have been less cautious. In his article on Phrynichos the tragedian in *Pauly* von Blumenthal boldly states (1941, 911.61–3) that according to the Anon. περί κωμωδίας he died in Sicily, like Aeschylus – an uncontrollable piece of information, he adds; Stoessl in the *Kleine Pauly* (IV 827.12–13) simply asserts it as a fact. On this view, a piece of information about the life of Phrynichos the tragic

poet has somehow intruded itself into an account of Old Comedy. That is surely most implausible.

Our author is interested in the deaths of comic poets. Antiphanes died in Chios, he says, Menander in Athens, Diphilos in Smyrna, Kratinos during the Spartan invasion of Attica, for which he cites his source (he is probably mistaken: Harvey 1994, 54 n. 38). He has very little space at his disposal: he gives Aristophanes six lines, Kratinos five, and Epicharmos three and a half, but the other authors of Old Comedy get less than three each. It would thus be very surprising if he were to waste words on the irrelevant information that the tragic homonym of the comic poet died in Sicily, and that we must be careful not to confuse the two. It is much more likely that he has fallen into confusion himself and simply given the comic poet the wrong patronymic. In either case, the author intended to inform us that Phrynichos the comic poet died in Sicily, and I see no good reason to distrust this information.

We know of no play by Phrynichos later than his *Muses* of 405. He presumably left Athens for Sicily soon after that year. We can only guess at his motives. They might have been political: if he had been in any way sympathetic towards the Spartans (cf. section 2 above) or the Thirty, life in Athens would not have been comfortable for him after 403, despite the generous terms of the amnesty drawn up by the restored democratic regime (*Ath. Pol.* 39.6 with Rhodes 1981, 468–72 ad loc.; Cloché 1915, 296–404). They might have been literary: fashions in comedy were changing (see Dover 1972, 194–5 on the tone of Aristophanes' last two surviving plays), and Phrynichos may have found that his style was no longer popular.

That is unknowable, and not particularly important. What is important is that if Phrynichos left Athens for Sicily, he will have been part (and a significant part) of a whole cultural movement. Oliver Taplin has argued convincingly in *Comic Angels* (1993, esp. chs. 1, 2 and 9) that Athenian comedy was 'transplanted' to Magna Graecia and Sicily in the early fourth century. He concentrates on travelling players, actors, performers. But here we have evidence that a comic poet transplanted himself, a prize-winning poet of some distinction, a creator. This is a major addition to Taplin's 'newchapter in theatre history' (1993, 89). He has already reminded us (98–9) that the Sicilians were interested in Athenian tragedy as well as comedy. But it is more than theatre history. Athenian potters as well had been moving to the West for some time (MacDonald 1981), and we should think rather in terms of a broader cultural movement. We know only too well that Athens had political interests in the West (Thuc. 6.1–26 etc.); we should not overlook her cultural contacts, nor should we forget Phrynichos.

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Notes

¹Copenhagen Nat. Mus. inv. no. 13817, ARV² 1145 no. 35 with *Paralipomena* 456, *Addenda* 335; Johansen 1959 and 1963, 267–8; provenance unknown, no modern repainting.

The figures: Johansen 1959, 8–14 with Tafeln I–VI; id. 1963, 267–8 with pls. 347–9; Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 35 with pl. Ib; id. 1968, 16–17 with fig. 15; Trendall and Webster 1971, 25 (I.17); Hall 1998, 238 with colour photo. The names are unfortunately not visible in photographs.

²The scholiast on Aeschin. 1.10 tells us that in circular choruses (i.e. dithyrambs) the aulete stood in the middle: Pickard-Cambridge 1972, 35; d'Angour 1997, 342.

³It is not a serious objection that 'there are only four or five singers (for a dithyramb we might have expected twelve)' (Hall 1998, 239): the vase-painter has a limited space at his disposal. Similar considerations invalidate arguments such as 'Attic vase-paintings of the late fifth and sixth centuries [*sic*] suggest that between six and a dozen men were employed in the workshops of fine pottery makers and bronze statuary' (Burford 1972, 79).

⁴**Anthesteria:** Johansen 1959 and 1963, followed by Webster in Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 21 n. 3, 35, 37–8 and Simon 1963, 20 (cf. Webster 1970, 81–3, 92–3). **Anthesteria unproven:** Gould & Lewis in *DFA* 16–17. **Not Anthesteria:** Schmidt 1967, 80 and Zimmermann 1992, 54. **Dionysia:** Rumpf 1961, 161, Greifenhagen 1963, 5, Froning 1971, 27–8, 100, Ierano 1997, 274–7. – On the Anthesteria see Deubner 1932, 93–123; *DFA* 1–25; Parke 1977, 107–20; and Burkert 1985, 237–42, 441–2.

⁵ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀπολλοδώρου, Anon. *de Com.* III 9 p. 7 Koster (= K-A Phrynichus T 2 (VII 393)) with *IG* ii² 2325.124 (= K-A T 6); Geissler 1925, 12; Korte 1941, 919. The *Suda*, however, states that he produced his first play in the 86th Olympiad, 436–432 BC (ἐδίδαξε γοῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ πς' Ὀλυμπιάδι, K-A T 1); the figure is usually emended to πς' (87th Olympiad, 432–428) to conform with the other evidence; for an alternative view see Dover in *OCD*³ 1177, reprinted in the Biographical Appendix below.

⁶John Gould kindly informs me that Lewis wrote this cryptic note. I was unable to find any enlightenment in his papers (now kept in the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents at Oxford).

⁷von Blumenthal 1941, 911. Ceccarelli 1994, 93 believes that it is not totally impossible that the vase depicts the tragedian. Not totally impossible, but highly unlikely: it is difficult to see why such an image should have been painted almost half a century after his death. The names of the four singers and the aulete do not help (see *LGPN* II s.vv.).

⁸Storey 1985, 328–30 and Ceccarelli 1994, 90–3 are the two most useful treatments of the problem. Bibliography: Storey 329 n. 29; add now Sommerstein 1987; *LGPN* II 466–7; Cataldi 1994, 67–8 and Ceccarelli 1994. The man referred to at *Wasps* 1302 is now generally taken to be the Phrynichos of Andok. 1.47 (Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 148–9; Storey, MacDowell 1962, 97; Sommerstein 1987 [retracting Sommerstein 1983, 235–6]; Cataldi, Ceccarelli); *contra*, MacDowell 1971, 302–3.

⁹Frs. 249 and 250, from περί τῆς Φρυνίχου θυγατρὸς, known only from Harpokration s.vv. ἀρετεῦσαι (with εἰ γνήσιος added to the author's name) and δεκατεύειν. Occam's razor favours conflation.

¹⁰MacDowell 1971, 324; Storey 329; and Ceccarelli 1994, 78, 82–3, 90–1; q.v. for Phrynichos the tragic actor (schol. *Wasps* 1302) or dancer (schol. to *Clouds* 1091). The even more comic name Chorococles (Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 149) is a misprint.

¹¹Storey 1985, 330 n. 32 and Sommerstein 1987, 189 n. 4 reject Molitor's argument as a whole, but do not state their reasons.

¹²The perfect candidate for such an epithet is Hippokleides (Hdt. 6.127–9), the man who danced away his marriage: ἀπορχησάμενος τὸν γάμον (cf. 6.129.4).

¹³As Johansen says (1963, 11), the literary tradition knows nothing of dithyrambs by Phrynichos the comic dramatist, but the tradition is so thin that this argument carries no weight. The gap between tragedy and comedy (Plato *Symp.* 223d) is much wider than that between dithyramb and the choral lyrics of comedy. Ion of Chios, who wrote tragedy, elegy, philosophy, history and memoirs (Dover 1986), may have been unusually versatile, but we should not underrate the abilities of others. It is regrettable that poets are not named on the dithyrambic victory inscriptions (Pickard-Cambridge 1972, 36).

¹⁴See K-A ad loc. Luppe 1987 plausibly conjectures that Kratinos may have adapted or parodied a dithyramb beginning πυρεγχει.

¹⁵Parody: most notably *Birds* 1372–1409 with Dunbar 1995, 660–73 ad loc.; cf. Nesselrath 1990, 246–52. Familiarity: see e.g. Dunbar 212–3.

¹⁶See Nesselrath 1990, 241–66 (statistics at 254; on the different treatment of dithyramb in Old and in Middle Comedy 246–52). In particular, Middle Comedy liked to put lines in high dithyrambic style into the mouth of inappropriate characters.

¹⁷Phrynichos seems to have had a special interest in music and poetry (Johansen 1959, 10): the titles *Konnos*, *Muses* and *Tragoidoi* suggest that three whole plays had literary or musical themes, and there is a striking scatter of references to such topics in the fragments: 2 (kithara-playing), 9 (dancing and tympana), 32 (Sophocles), 58 (arrangement of words), 67 (luxury of aulos-players), 74 (abuse of Lampros the music-master) and 78 (citation of song). This cannot be attributed to the bias of our sources, as an emphasis on food would be.

¹⁸Richter 1965, 140 (cf. 1984, 94) cites the lines with λαμπρόν (from the scholia) instead of ἀνδρός, a reading which should be rejected: see Platnauer 1964, 134 ad loc. Richter's remark (1965, 141; 1984, 95) that Aristophanes 'only speaks of having a bald forehead' ignores the precise meaning of φαλακρός.

¹⁹Rejected by Richter 1965, 141, and rightly excluded from Richter 1984; upheld by Schefold 1997, 266–9, 521–2. Richter's identification with Hesiod seems compelling (some thirty names have been proposed). The Aristophanes of the Pompeian wall-painting (Schefold 1997, 304–5, 526) is purely conventional.

²⁰Dover 1972, pl. 4, opposite p. 40. The best photographs of this strikingly

melancholy face are taken from the cast in Berlin: Giuliani 1986, Abb. 24; Fittschen 1990, 150 Abb. 1; Schefold 1997, 147 Abb. 64 (at angle); and Himmelmann 1992, Taf. 57.1 (head-on).

²¹See Webster 1951 for a full and careful description: his date (c. 380) is followed by Trendall & Webster 1971, 120–1 (IV. 7a) and Dover 1972, caption to pl. 4. Dontas (1960, 19–20 with pl. 3B) stressed its expressive qualities and dated it on stylistic grounds c. 370 (too late to be Aristophanes), but such arguments ignore the possibility that an innovative sculptor and a conservative sculptor might be working at the same time. Webster & Green 1978, 117, following G.A.Waywell, place it after 350 (a Middle Comedian), as does Giuliani 1986, 136–7, 292. Himmelmann 1992 dates it to the 350s (i.e. pre-350), but argues that it was reworked in the early Hellenistic period (late 4th/early 3rd cent.). Fittschen 1990 believes that it was heavily remodelled in the 3rd cent. AD [sic] ,not earlier than 267. Only Schefold 1997, 122–3, 146–7, 494 clings to c. 380.

²²The copious literature includes Schweitzer 1940; Schefold 1943, 30–3, slightly expanded in 1997, 457–60; Richter 1955, 1959; Frel 1960, with full bibliography for 1940–57 at 69 n. 2; Metzler 1971, 81–108; Fittschen 1988, 15–27, 32–8; Sparkes 1988; Prag & Neave 1997, esp. 221–2. Bibliography: Fittschen 1988, 395–6. For portraits of poets see Richter 1965, 1984 and Schefold 1997; Jahn 1861 is now of historic interest only, though the coloured plates retain their charm.

²³Kleophon Painter: Boardman 1989, 63, 96, figs. 171–6. Eyebrows: Boardman's examples are identified on his p. 249. Other figures on our vase: Johansen 1963, pls. 348–9.

²⁴Sturgis 1998, *multum in* generously illustrated *parvo*, provides an exceptionally good introduction to these questions; further food for thought in Bruce & Young 1998 (with bibliography). See also Gombrich 1960, esp. part III (153–244), 1964/82, 1970/82, 1982/86.

²⁵LGN II 178 s.v. Eunomion is equally rare in Attica (LGN cites only an ostrakon of the 480s or 470s) and so is Eunomos (one example before the mid-5th cent., one c. 430). Eunom- names are also strikingly uncommon elsewhere in the Greek world before the 4th century: one example from the islands in LGN I (Mytilene), two Eunomoi in LGN IIIA (the Spartan king of Hdt. 8.131.2 and a (?)6th/5th-cent. Eunomos from Lokroi Epizephyrioi). Such names are equally rare before the Hellenistic period in central and northern Greece (LGN IIIB, forthcoming): Eunomos at Orchomenos 5/4 cent. (SEG 29.447), Eunomoe on a 5th-cent. vase from Tanagra.

²⁶Ostwald 1969, 62–85, 92–5 with 176–7; earlier discussions listed in 62 n. 1: see esp. Andrewes 1938, Ehrenberg 1946 (which needs modification in the light of Ostwald) and Grossmann 1950, 30–8, 47–8 n. 59, 70–89; also North 1966, 9–10, 15, 23–5, 112–3. More recently, and briefly, Murray 1993 and Szegedy-Maszak 1993, 203–5, 212–3 (quoting Murray).

²⁷Before 463 BC, that is. Ostwald finds only one example (*Od.* 17.487) of his other sense, 'a quality of personal behaviour... the normal and proper conduct of an individual' before that date (1969, 62–3).

²⁸**Corinth:** Salmon 1984, 231–9; **Opous:** Oldfather 1926, 1244–9; **Aitna:** Hill 1951: Index V.2.7 (p. 362) collects scattered sources; **Thebes:** Cloche 1952, 23–6, 49–50, 69–74; Demand 1982, 16–17, 36–7; **Aigina:** Figueira 1981, 299–300, cf. (with caution) 300–50.

²⁹On the text see Grossman 1950, 35–7; Andrewes 1981, 160–1 ad loc. (whence the phrase 'acceptable label'); *contra* Ostwald 1969, 176–7.

³⁰**Tyrtaios:** fragments, with useful notes, in Gerber 1999, 36–45; discussions: Andrewes 1938, 95–100; Ehrenberg 1946, 80–1; Ostwald 1969, 81–2 ('no immediate or exclusive bearing on the institutions of Sparta'); and van Wees 1999, a

thorough reassessment of the poem and its context. We cannot tell whether Tyrtaeos himself gave his poem the name *Eunomia* (Andrewes 96 n. 4; Ehrenberg 80; Ostwald 81). **Alkman**: Andrewes 1938, 89 n. 2; Ehrenberg 77–80; Ostwald 64 (accepting the association with the Spartan state). **Simonides** does not seem to be discussed in the *eunomia* literature.

³¹On Hdt. 1.65–6 see Andrewes 1938, 92–3 and Ostwald 1969, 75–9; on Thuc. 1.18.1 see Andrewes 93–5; Gomme 1945, 128–31 esp. 128; and Ostwald 79–80.

³²Date of Aristophanes' birth: Gelzer 1970, 1396–7; problems of his early career: MacDowell 1995, 34–41; bibliography in MacDowell's notes and Storey's Bibliography in this volume; Dover 1968, 167 on *Clouds* 530–1.

³³For c. 30 as an average age for a man to marry see Lacey 1968, 106–7, cf. 71–2, 212–13, 313; or (better) Pomeroy 1997, 4–10, 23–7, 120, 170. For an excellent summary of Plato's and Aristotle's views on the ideal ages for marriage and procreation see Newman 1887, 183–7.

³⁴The latest date we have for Phrynichos is 405, the date of the production of the *Muses*. If he was born c. 450, he will then have been about 45.

³⁵Cf. Davies 1971, 360: 'There are several... examples from the period 470–60 of names that can hardly be other than politically programmatic (e.g. Themistokles' children and Kimon's sons)'; Sinclair 1988, 1. Ideological names: Davies loc. cit.; Hansen 1986; Sinclair loc. cit.; Cartledge 1990b, 45. Themistokles' children: Davies 217–8 with Braun in this volume, p. 199. Kimon's sons: Davies 304–7. Dates: Philodemos' birth in the 480s (Sinclair) means that we should extend Davies' bracket of 470–60.

³⁶Wade-Gery used the phrase 'a convert's zeal' of Thucydides' admiration for Perikles in his article on the historian in *OCD*², reprinted in *OCD*³; for discussion see Wade-Gery 1958, 246–7, 260 (= 1932, 210–11, 221).

³⁷The fragment is cited by de Ste. Croix 1972, 361, but it has not, I think, been exploited by subsequent scholars. See K-A IV 122 ad loc. on Metrobios; *θεῖος* is a Spartan term of praise for a good man (Plato *Meno* 99d).

³⁸On Aristophanes: de Ste. Croix 1972, 355–76 (fundamental); Harvey 1994 (Aristophanes 'not a Lakonizer in the crudest sense, but his attitude to Sparta by no means hostile' (52); and Olson 1996, 145–9, esp. 147; Cartledge 1990a (esp. 43–53) moves him rather more to the right. Storey 1992, 4–7 gives an excellent summary and assessment of work on Aristophanes and politics to 1991. On Old Comedy in general see Edwards 1993, 100–4 with 114–16; Sommerstein 1996b, 334–7 ('I consider it established that Old Comedy had a right-wing bias', 336); and various essays in Dobrov 1997.

³⁹Text, translation and notes in Gerber 1999, 112–7; discussions: Ehrenberg 1946, 81–6 with bibliography at 64 n. 5; and Ostwald 64–9 with bibliography at 64 n. 5. The title *Eunomia* for the poem is modern. Serious interest in Solon increases in later generations, but must have been kept alive within some families.

⁴⁰Ostwald 1969, 111–16, 119–36; Murray 1993, 279–80; Szegedy-Maszak 1993, 204–5; and Raafaub 1996, 143–9, 163–7 with Cartledge's brief but penetrating response, 177–8, 183–4.

⁴¹The name might, of course, have been inherited from an earlier generation, but it was always open to the family to abandon rather than perpetuate a name reminiscent of pre-Kleisthenic ideals and non-democratic states.

⁴²Demand 1970, 84, rightly, despite the quirky arguments that follow. 'Li'l toad' is a way of referring to children in Devon and Cornwall, affectionately and otherwise.

⁴³Not twenty: Korte 1941, 920 mistakenly adds Aischines the Socratic (fr. 13).

⁴⁴Both fragments present textual problems: see K-A ad locc. In fr. 62 the context suggests that the participle ὑποταγείς requires emendation. See in general Rood

1998, chs. 7 and 8, esp. 162–76, 185–92; on the *Birds* passage, 171 n. 50.

⁴⁵It is to be found, for example, in standard works such as Korte 1941, 920 and Schmid (1946, 138), in the eccentrically ingenious Demand 1970, 83–4 (though with due caution) and in Nesselrath 1990, 189. Kock 1880, 379 remarks that the play must have been very like *Frogs*, if (*siquidem*) we accept Meineke's reconstruction, which he repeats practically verbatim. So too Lesky 1966, 422 (= 1971, 477): 'Probably this play had, like the *Frogs*, a scene of contention among the poets [i.e. Sophocles and Euripides] – this time under the presidency of the Muses'. Norwood 1931, 152–3 clearly had his doubts, and Whittaker 1935, 187 prudently refrains from conjecture; Edmonds 1957, 460–3 offers no comment.

⁴⁶Examples of word-play in Phrynichos are collected by de Boo 1998, 291 n. 2: not a rich harvest, but it is to be expected in any Old Comedy. For serious puns on 'Ἀπολλῶν/ἀπόλλυμι see Aesch. *Agam.* 1080–2 with Fraenkel 1950, 492 ad loc.; Euripides *Phaithon* 224–6 with Diggle 1970, 146–8; Plato *Kratylos* 404d–6a.

⁴⁷There are no examples in the surveys by Moessner (1907) or Carrière (1979, 51–5), no titles necessarily imply his presence on stage, and the specialists I have consulted could not recall any instances. If, as Wilson (1977, 278) believes, Hermippos' *Theoi* had an individualized chorus, Apollo may have been among them, but nothing in the (admittedly scanty) fragments of the play (24–35) supports this suggestion. If Apollo was 'out of bounds' to comic dramatists, that requires explanation. Perhaps the Athenians were unwilling to risk provoking Apollo's wrath after the plague of the 420s. Phrynichos could have brought a priest on stage to represent the god.

⁴⁸Death of Sophocles: Radt 1977 Test. P (pp. 66–7). Rewriting of *Frogs* ('tweaking', not major changes): Dover 1972, 180–3 and 1993, 7–8; Sommerstein 1996a, 20–1. The passages are 76–82 (perhaps with its whole context, 71–107), 786–94 and 1515–19: see the commentators ad locc. The meaning and reference of lines 789–90 are disputed (see Dover 288–9; Sommerstein 224 ad loc.): perhaps the ambiguities are a sign of hasty writing. On the ease with which minor dramatic changes may be made see Dover 15 and Sommerstein 20–1.

⁴⁹If two comedies with very similar themes were produced at the same festival, the second one might suffer if the audience had already heard enough jokes on the subject. (We do not know how the order of plays was decided: by lot, no doubt.) Running gags are a different matter, and so are repetitive gags such as 'knock-knock' and elephant jokes, since these are identical in form, not in subject-matter.

⁵⁰I assume that the number of comedies produced in these years was reduced from five to three: DFA 83. Luppe 1972 has challenged this view; reactions in Storey 1985, 41.

⁵¹In a letter, to which the following paragraphs are heavily indebted. These ideas are more fully explored in Ruffell's D.Phil. thesis on comic intertextuality.

⁵²The best discussions of the Muses are by Penelope Murray (1981 and forthcoming). We look forward to the publication of the papers given at the Warwick conference on *Music and the Muses* (17–18 April 1999), and to her book on the subject. See also Haussler 1973 (more wide-ranging than its title might suggest).

The evidence is collected in Mayer 1933 (literary 680–731, artistic 731–57) and Queyrel 1992 (literary 1.657–8; artistic 658–81; bibliography 658; illustrations 2.383–408). Harriott 1969, 10–77 offers a lucid discussion (some criticisms in Murray 1981), but says little about comedy (72–7). On the artistic evidence Queyrel 1992 supersedes Mayer 1933, 731–57 and Harriott 25–33. Otto 1955 is not relevant to our questions, nor is Camilloni 1998 (known to me only through the review by P Murray in CR 50 (2000) 294–5); and

Barmeyer 1968 says a lot about Henry Miller but nothing about Aristophanes.

⁵³Numbers: Queyrel 660–1 lists artistic representations of one, two, three, five, six, seven, eight and (rarely!) nine muses; for the literary evidence see Mayer 1933, 687–91, and (briefly) West 1966, 176 (cf. 180–1) and Harriott 1969, 11. Originally three, it seems, then variants; the literary evidence includes four (Mayer 688), a figure which (surely by chance) does not appear on vases. – The epigrams which called Sappho the tenth Muse and spoke of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as Muses (Haussler 1973, 132 with n. 64) may be ignored as flights of literary fancy.

⁵⁴Ἡβης γάμος ἢ Μοῦσαι. Ath. 3.110b tells us that the latter was a revised version of the former.

⁵⁵Welcker 1829/44, 289–90, followed by Kaibel 1899, 98 ad fr. 41; Moessner 1907, 38–40 and Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 260. Welcker 289–92 is good on fish. His entertaining notion (289; Moessner 1907, 39) that these nymphs appeared in the guise of fish-wives has been quietly dropped or toned down (Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 260: they ‘probably brought the fish of their rivers with them’).

⁵⁶Chorus on stage: Welcker 1829/44, 292; Moessner 1907, 39; Kaibel 1907, 36–7; Webster in Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 279–81; Berk 1964, 21–3. Narrated monologue: Norwood 1931, 99 and Pickard-Cambridge 1960, 260–1 (‘there is no ground for thinking that they appeared on stage’, though he later concedes (279) that they ‘may have sung together’). Arguments against narrative in Epicharmos generally: Berk 1964, 21–34 (*Muses* at 21–3).

⁵⁷Other comedies called *Mousai* throw no light either. (i) We have four fragments of Polyzelos’ *Birth of the Muses* (K-A VII 557–8), but its title reveals its distance from Phrynichos. (ii) A single fragment survives from Euphanes’ *Muses* (4th cent.). It is about gluttony: did he return to the tradition of Epicharmos? (Nothing is known in either case of the chorus, which is usually believed to have disappeared in Middle Comedy; but see Rothwell 1995). (iii) The attribution of a *Muses* to Ophelion (mid-4th cent.) is an error (K-A VII 97), and we have no fragments of (iv) Euphron’s *Muses* (3rd cent.).

⁵⁸See K-A ad locc. on all these plays. I refrain from discussing Eupolis’ *Noumeniai* here. Geissler’s explanation of *Kothornoi* (1925, 60 n. 3: cf. Kratinos’ *Archilochoi*, Telekleides’ *Hesiodoi* etc.) seems preferable to ‘Theramenes-type politicians’ (K-A VII 364). A modern comedy called *Socks* might be about President Clinton and his cat, a warning that in the absence of contemporary evidence or scholia a title may easily mislead.

⁵⁹Dionysos appeared in Hermippos’ play (fr. 36 with its context, Ath. 12.551a), so it may have strayed far from the traditional Herakles story; cf. Moessner 1907, 65.

⁶⁰Could these Sirens have appeared as *aulētrides*? Theopompos liked mythical themes, but he also wrote a *Nemea* and *Pamphile*. Both were hetairai; so perhaps was *Batyle*, and *Kapelides* served not only at the bar. Fr. 51 of his *Sirens* concerns Charixene the *auletris*, fr. 52 tunny, fr. 53 women’s shoes and fr. 54 cooking utensils: all this suggests a symposium rather than an adventure of Odysseus (and only one fragment, no. 52, comes from Athenaios). Nikophon has no ‘meretricious’ titles, but the fragments of his *Sirens* too are all about food: fr. 20 figs, fr. 21 various, fr. 22 sausage (though Athenaios is the source every time). These have been seen as comic enticements offered by the Sirens (e.g. Moessner 1907, 79; K-A VII 71 on fr. 21); but again they sound more sympotic than Eur. *Androm.* 936; Aeschin. 3.228) it has no sexual overtones.

⁶¹For the title and its translation (the participle is here taken as passive, not middle) see my introduction to the Biographical Appendix. It suggests a theme more characteristic of later comedy.

⁶²Three Muses on stage at once, with one or two human characters, would not

have caused problems in production, if one (or two) of them were mute. The number of speaking characters in Old Comedy remains controversial. Four (MacDowell 1994) would make matters easier, but three (Marshall 1997) would have sufficed: one speaking Muse, two mute Muses, and two speaking human characters; or two speaking Muses, one mute Muse, and one speaking human character.

⁶³*Verbis illis fortasse Euripidis Musa compellatur* (1839 II, 593). So too Haussler 1973, 135. It is not clear whether Meineke envisaged her as a member of the chorus or as a character. *Si vera est mea de argumento huius fabulae coniectura*, he writes, referring to his notion that the Muses settled the dispute between Sophocles and Euripides (I.157). If that implies she was a chorus-girl, the chorus must have been ‘individualized’: see pp. 107–8 below. Meineke cites Hermippos fr. 9 (*Artopōlides*) as a parallel: ὦ σαλπᾶ καὶ πασιπῶρνη καὶ κάπραινα, You rotten old woman, you common prostitute, you lewd sow’. Insults of this kind could be hurled at any female on the comic stage: Hyperbolos’ mother, perhaps, in this case (Bergk, cited by K-A V 567). Similar triple vocatives are common in Aristophanes (Spyropoulos 1974, 164), as no doubt in other Old Comedians.

⁶⁴Dover 1993, 351; Sommerstein 1996a, 274; cf. Taillardat 1965, 428–9; Haussler pp. 409–10.

⁶⁵Some phrases in Pindar indicate an unusually close relationship with his Muse – he even calls the Muse his Mother at *Nem.* 3.1 – but this is a very long way from a Muse who resembles her poet’s poetry. See Harriott 1969, 54–7, 60–2; Slater 1969, 338–9; and Murray 1981, 96–9; cf. Haussler 1973, esp. 135–42.

⁶⁶Subsidiary choruses are much more frequent in tragedy. *DFA* 88–9, 236–7 cites Phrynichos tragicus *Phoinissai*, Aesch. *Suppl.* and *Eum.*, Euripides *Hipp.*, *Suppl.*, *Alexandros*, *Antiope* and *Phaithon*; add non-speaking groups such as bodyguards, e.g. Aigisthos’ *lochitai* (Aesch. *Agam.* 1650).

⁶⁷The most notorious example is Aeschylus’ Danaid trilogy (including *Supplices*), where the myth required fifty Danaids. Some have argued for a chorus of fifty (cf. Pollux 4.110), a view now almost unanimously rejected: see e.g. *DFA*: 234–5, esp. 234 n. 6; Garvie 1969, 208–9, esp. n. 9 to 207 (on p. 208); and Taplin 1977, 202–37, with bibliography at 203 n. 2.

⁶⁸Hermann’s examples: 1816/27, 124–5. Three Erinyes: Wust 122–3; bibliography in Sarian 1986, 1. 826; on their origins (but not their number) cf. Lloyd-Jones 1990, esp. 204–7. It was Blomfield’s view that the chorus of *Eumenides* numbered only three that provoked Hermann to state his principle (1816/27, 124–5), though he believed in an Aeschylean chorus of 15.

⁶⁹*Heliades*: number: Turk 1938; Baratte 1994, 1. 350–4, 2. 311–13 (bibliography at 1. 350); number of chorus: Hermann 1816/27, 125, 128; 1826/28, 136–7; Welcker 1828/61; Garvie 1969, 114 n. 8; Radt 1985, 185: *chorum ex Heliadibus constitisse... videtur; quarum numerum, cum non plus septem nominentur.. Aeschylum auxisse conieciendum est.*

Phorkides: Hermann 1816/27, 125, 128; Garvie 1969, 114 n. 8 (whence our quotation); on the Graiai see Kanellopoulou 1988, 1, 362–4 with bibliography at 362; 2, 208–9.

Kabeiroi: Hermann and Garvie locc. citt.; on their number see Hemberg 1950, 273–7; and, in general, the notes to [Fig. 10](#) in this volume (pp. 382–3).

⁷⁰Hermann was still arguing (with diagrams) for a chorus of 14 in 1811 (xvi–xxvii), but he had changed his mind by 1816/27 (125, 128). Grube (1941, 240–2) believed that the seven mothers were probably represented by a chorus of 15, but was so disturbed by this ‘serious flaw’ that he was prepared after all to add

attendants to make up the number. The view that 'the number 7 is fixed by the myth: 7 heroes attacked 7-gated Thebes; [it] applies...to the Chorus.. only as a symbol of their collective identity: that, freely represented by the regular chorus of 15 members, would have been readily accepted by the Athenian audience' (Collard 1957, 18; bibliography in his n. 72) is now generally accepted: see *DFA* 234 n. 6; Kaimio 1970, 76–8; and Taplin 1977, 237 n. 1 with bibliography. It is challenged by Norwood 154, 112–8, and a hankering for a chorus of seven is detectable in Taplin (loc. cit.).

⁷¹Bibliography on the plays: Kratinos: K-A IV 258; Aristophanes: K-A III.2 296, 300. On the simultaneous availability of fruits etc. cf. Hermippos fr. 63 with Gilula in this volume, pp. 78–80. It is not clear what the Horai had to do with the expulsion of the new gods (cf. Bowie in this volume p. 329).

⁷²Plato's comedy is usually taken to allude to the embassy of Epikrates in 394: K-A VII 485, top of page and note on fr. 127; *contra* Dover 1987, 220–2.

⁷³*Demoi*: see Storey in this volume p. 179. *Poleis*: Wilson 1977, 281–2; Rosen 1997. *Konnos*: Wilson 282–3; Carey in this volume pp. 420–3. Others: Wilson 278–9.

⁷⁴Mythical (Orpheus: e.g. Queyrel 1992, 676–7 nos. 99, 100, perhaps 89, 90; Mousaios: Queyrel nos. 79, 91, 93, 96, 97), epic (Homer: Harriott 1969, 37–46; Murray 1981 *passim*, with justifiable criticism of Havelock, whose views are still taken as gospel in some circles), didactic (Hesiod: Harriott 1969, 35–6; Murray 1981, 91, 95, 98–9), lyric and iambic (Archilochos: Harriott 1969, 36–7; Queyrel no. 77; Pindar and Bacchylides: Harriott 52–70; Murray 92, 97, 99; other lyrical: Harriott 48–9), philosophical (Empedokles: Harriott 1969, 67; Murray 1981, 92), comic (Ar. *Wasps* 1022, fr. 348 (= 334 K); cf. Sommerstein 1980, 190).

Aristophanes speaks of 'our Muse' at Plato *Symp.* 189 b6–7: 'If I say anything amusing – that would be gain, and in the province of our Muse' (τῆς ἡμετέρας μούσης ἐπιχώριον), but this is the Comic Muse, not Aristophanes' personal Muse, and the *Symposium* was written a generation later (Dover 1958 dates it to 384–79).

⁷⁵The scholiast cites Didymos (Chalkenteros) as his authority. The criticisms listed above are followed by the remark that Phrynichos commits none of these faults in his surviving plays; perhaps, then, there was something of the kind in his lost ones: Φρύνιχος δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς οὐδὲν τούτων ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις αὐτοῦ· εἰκὸς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολωλοσιν εἶναι τοιοῦτον τι. It has long been recognized that this final sentence is not derived from Didymos, but from some other scholar commenting on his views (Schmidt 1854, 248; Kaibel 1889, 35; Steinhausen 1910, 22–3). There is no reason to dismiss it as worthless: Phrynichos' plays were therefore still available to Didymos in the first cent. Bc, and to his critic (date unknown).

⁷⁶Trs. after Sommerstein 1996a. I retain the traditional punctuation, though tempted by Sommerstein's placing of the question-mark after ποιεῖν (see his note ad loc., p. 157), which would give special prominence to Phrynichos.

⁷⁷Halliwell (1989, 517–18, 524, 528), stressing that the verb ὑποβάλλεσθαι is a metaphor from supposititious children (518), sees this as a misrepresentation of 'Phrynichos' collaborative relation to another comic poet' (524): an accusation not of plagiarism, but of introducing his own material into the plays of others. The verb (in the middle voice) can mean either to palm off other people's children as one's own, or vice versa (LSJ s.v.). Since the object of the verb is ἀλλότρια, it must bear the former meaning here: in other words, plagiarism.

⁷⁸On comic plagiarism see Kann 1909 (n.v.); Stempler 1912, 12–14, 68–70, cf. 57–9 (inadequate, but a useful collection of material); Ziegler 1950, 1969 (brief); and Heath 1990, 151–3. Sommerstein 1996b, 349 usefully lists passages in which

the comic poets refer to each other.

⁷⁹For discussions see K-A on Eupolis fr. 89 (V 339, esp. Sommerstein 1980, 51–3); add Halliwell 1980, 40–1, esp. n. 31; Sommerstein 1981, 207 and 212 on *Knights* 1225 and 1288; Heath 1990, 151–3; and Totaro 1999, 197–207. Rightly or wrongly (probably wrongly: Sommerstein 1980, 51–3) later generations took Eupolis to refer to full-scale collaboration with Aristophanes in *Knights* (schol. *Knights* 1291); cf. Hubbard 1991, 83–6, and Halliwell 1989, 522–4.

On collaboration, with special reference to these passages, see Sommerstein 1980, 51–3 and Halliwell 1989, 519, 522–4, disavowing his earlier views; more generally MacDowell 1995, 34–41 and the works cited in his notes. On Aristophanes' early career see Storey 1987, 9–11; 1992, 3–4; and his bibliography in this volume.

⁸⁰The singular ἐν τῷ Δαιδάλῳ is odd, if it refers to two plays of the same name. Perhaps the name of another play has dropped out after κωμικός. The scholiast to *Clouds* 663a claims to quote from Plato's *Daidalos* but in fact cites Ar. *Daidalos* fr. 194, followed by Plato fr. 293: see Ar. *Daidalos* K-A T ii (III.2 116) and K-A VII 440 on Plato *Daidalos*.

⁸¹i, iii and iv are discussed briefly by Wilamowitz 1921, 324 n. 2. Koster 1953, 255 thinks it unlikely that the first can have been a single line.

⁸²Chopin: *Musical World* 28 Oct. 1841, 4 Nov. 1841, 11 Nov. 1841, reprinted in Reid 1984, 148–9, 151 bis. Schumann: ib. 9 Apl. 1853 bis = Reid 1984, 218–19.

⁸³The evidence is contradictory. The effect was probably considered more offensive in choral song than in iambics (Stanford 1967, 8, 23, 53–5, 69–70; d'Angour 1997, 331–9).

⁸⁴Judgments on Sophocles in comedy are remarkably favourable (p. 102 above); a joke about his pederastic activities (Radt 1977 Test. N 74–80) would have been exceptional.

⁸⁵Koster 1975, 1: *Sicut commentariis, ita prolegomenis ex seniore Antiquitatis aevi originem ducentibus alia composita a viris doctis byzantinis.. addebantur.* ('Like the scholia, the *Prolegomena* contain information that goes back to an early date, to which other material composed by Byzantine scholars was added.')

⁸⁶It seems preferable to assume that the lacuna came after Φράδμονος rather than before it: see Kaibel and Koster ad loc. The name is Polyphradmon, not Phradmon; the first four letters are lost. Snell (*TrGF* I 70, note to T 6) says that Phradmon is an acceptable short form of Polyphradmon, referring to Schwyzler 1939, 636; Schwyzler in turn refers to Ernst Fraenkel 1935, 1628, 1631; Fraenkel's only relevant example is (Poly)phradmon. We might call scholarship of this kind ouroboric.

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Chapter 8

PHEREKRATES AND THE WOMEN OF OLD COMEDY

Jeffrey Henderson

While scholarly attention to female characters in Old Comedy has intensified in recent years, it has tended to confine itself largely to Aristophanes,¹ whose primarily political plays offered little scope for exploring the private world in which most women operated. But political satire and invective, though principal ingredients of Aristophanes' extant plays and considered by posterity to be the defining characteristics of Old Comedy, were not that genre's only modes. Aristotle says of comedy that 'the composition of plots originally came from Sicily [i.e. from poets like Epicharmos and Phormis], and among the poets at Athens Krates was the first to depart from the iambic form and compose universal stories and plots' (*Poet.* 1449b5–9),² and according to the Comic Anonymus, Pherekrates 'was an actor in Krates' plays and emulated him, in his own turn departing from invective. He was highly regarded for introducing new subjects, being inventive with plots' (Anon. *De Com.* 9 p. 7 Koster = K-A VII 102 (Pherekrates T 2a)).³ Among the non-iambic subjects treated by Krates and Pherekrates were the private and domestic worlds of women.

In this chapter I will try to flesh out one dimension of Pherekrates' contribution to Old Comedy by examining his creativity in the treatment of women characters, as viewed against the background of the Old Comic period generally. For reference, and to illustrate the scope of female representation, I have added at the end of the chapter a preliminary checklist of plays produced in the Old Comic period (to roughly 380 BC) where speaking women are attested or likely, and grouped them under rough rubrics and in even rougher chronological order;⁴ plays by later poets with the same or similar titles are noted as illustrating the popularity of given subjects. Our survey will offer only a quick probe, but anyone whose interest is piqued is certainly encouraged to probe further, for the subject deserves more penetrating treatment.

Pherekrates produced his first play about a decade before Aristophanes and was still composing late in the fifth century; 17 or 18 plays are known. When Pherekrates began his career, female

characters had not yet appeared in Attic comedy; by the time he finished it, the whole female ensemble – goddesses, personifications, old women, young women, matrons, maidens, market-women, hetairai, whores, and slaves – had been created and established, ready to pass along to Middle and New Comedy. The terracottas that begin to appear in the 420s show that standardization of these character-types had also begun (Green 1994, 27–37).

Although the mythic traditions of tragedy and satyr-drama had long included female characters, the different formative traditions of Attic comedy, with its separate corps of poets and actors, contained none, for reasons it would be interesting to know. But in the third quarter of the fifth century this situation changed, and it is not surprising that the first female characters seem to have appeared in mythological plots. Mythological comedy is the only genre that could incorporate the whole gamut of female types, including two that were slow to develop in other comic genres: wives, otherwise not securely attested before Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* in 411;⁵ and marriageable maidens, who are otherwise extremely rare in Old Comedy, not appearing as characters with significant parts until the horny young girl in Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* in c. 392.⁶ In the surviving monuments, the order of popularity from c. 400–325 is Old Men, Slaves, Old Women, Young Men and Women, Herakles, and Wives, the last category being very thinly represented (Green 1994, 74).

These data encourage us, when tracing the development of topical women in Attic drama, to bear in mind the great strength of the social protocols, or taboos, that operated in the classical period when it came to public allusion to respectable women; in all periods, even the rudest comedy seems to have respected the same taboos as did oratory (Sommerstein 1980). So part of the challenge facing the comic poets was to be suitably outrageous while remaining on the safe side of the prevailing taboos. At first, the only safe way appears to have been to clothe, or unclothe, one's female characters in mythic guise.

In the creation of mythical comedy, tragedy was no doubt a model, but the western poets Epicharmos and Phormis seem influential as well. Mythical comedy was the one Sicilian genre to which practically all the Old Comic poets contributed, whatever their iambic inclinations, and it was easily the most productive: no less than one-third, and perhaps as many as one-half, of the plays of the Old Comic period are mythical, and this ratio seems to hold at least until 350. There was also much reworking of popular mythical plots. I say 'practically' all Old Comic poets because there were notable holdouts: Eupolis wrote no mythical plays, nor did Aristophanes until after 420. Pherekrates was not much interested either: he seems to have composed only one play with mythical content, *Ant-Men*, which

featured Pyrrha and Deukalion, but the title and fragments suggest something more fantastic than mythical. All the same, it is chronologically possible that Pherekrates' play was the first; other good candidates are Kallias and Hermippos, and possibly Aristomenes.

Comedy even in the mythical mode could of course be true to its iambic heritage by incorporating a topical focus: *kōmōidoumenoi* are not rare in the fragments of these plays. In the 430s Perikles and Aspasia seem to have been attacked 'by innuendo' (δὲ ἐμψάσεως; see Heath 1990; Bowie in this volume p. 324) in Kratinos' *Dionysos-Paris* and *Nemesis*. Aspasia is further said to have been compared with Omphale, Helen, Hera, and Deianeira in plays like Kratinos' *Cheirons*, Hermippos' *Fates*, and Eupolis' *Prospaltians* and *Friends*, just as a generation later Isokrates' concubine Lagiska was a character in Strattis' *Atalanta*. We find literary topicality too: in Phrynichos' *Muses* (fr. 34) we hear 'you she-goat, you shiftless streetwalker', perhaps suggesting a Muse of low poetry, like the Muse of Euripides in Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1308–28 (Harvey in this volume, pp. 105–6). And we sometimes find the women of mythical comedy in very sexually charged situations: there is plenty of obscene sexual language, female misbehaviour, adultery, and portrayal of the gods and heroes in racy situations. Aristophanic characters like Prokne and Iris in *Birds* are cameos from this comic milieu. In Platon's play *Adonis* the title character 'rams Aphrodite and is rammed by Dionysos' (fr. 3), and in his *Phaōn*, tipsy women beg Aphrodite to take them to Phaon, the old ferryman to whom she has given a love-potion. How Aristophanes handled the grim oedipal tale of Anagyros or the incest-extravaganza of *Aiolosikōn* we can only guess.⁷

Perhaps the scandalous ladies introduced to the tragic stage by Euripides in the late 430s emboldened the comic poets in the creation of their own mythic women. To be sure, Aristophanes denounced Euripides in *Women at the Thesmophoria* and *Frogs* for making his shady ladies too believable and so shaming the respectable women of Athens; in *Frogs* Aischylos boasts that, unlike Euripides, 'I never created a woman in love!' (1043–56). At the same time, the comic poets themselves went much farther than even Euripides could go, and thus opened a rich branch of the mythical tradition that stayed productive until well into the next century.

The next step was to detach female characters from mythic settings, or rather to create female types in the topical mode of comic satire. It is one thing to imply a resemblance between your bronze-age heroine from Thebes or Korinth and an Athenian woman, quite another actually to portray an Athenian woman. One avenue was the depiction of women in the public settings of their cults. Like the mythic repertoire, women's cults offered a variety of material

relatively safe for satirical treatment, and there was comic precedent in mimes like Sophron's *Women who say they'll drive out the Goddess*. Kratinos' *Thracian Women* ridiculed the cult of Bendis, and Aristophanes' *Seasons* similarly attacked alien gods like Sabazios. Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria* belongs in this category too, for even though it is not so much about cult as about tragedy and gender-bending, the matrons' cult did provide a plausible public venue for exploring female behaviour, or misbehaviour. For some reason this comic genre was little developed; Pherekrates seems to have contributed nothing to it.

A much richer and longer-lived approach to the creation of topical females was to follow them into the household. Again, Epicharmos' plays and Sophron's 'Mimes of Women' seem to be the prototype for Attic domestic comedies. In this genre Pherekrates seems to have led the way with his *Slave Trainer*, which portrayed a matron and her female staff. His *The Kitchen or All-Nighter* perhaps had the sort of seduction-at-the-festival plot that is familiar in later eras. And his *Old Women*, focussing on what was to become a very versatile and popular comic type (Henderson 1987b), seems to have introduced the theme of female rejuvenation, perhaps followed up in Aristophanes' *Old Age*, which had 'a woman drawn by a span of asses' and her lover (fr. 144). The domestic comedies also featured the first non-mythical plots about adultery: Ameipsias' *Adulterer* from a man's perspective, and from the woman's Alkaios' *Adulterated Sisters*. Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and *Assemblywomen* also have domestic features, including the old women who seem *de rigueur* in this genre, but I have categorized them under fantasy because of their greater political dimensions and largely public action.

The apparent dearth of Old Comic females in domestic situations is puzzling in view of their great popularity in later eras. One likely explanation may be that Athenian taboos protecting the women's domestic world were still too strong to permit the creation of such females in a manner that would satisfy the fifth-century Athenian taste for raunchiness and rough satire. But a way around the taboos was to create female characters in *disreputable* domestic situations.

The breakthrough in bringing women fully into comedy's iambic mode was that subset of domestic comedy that produced the comic hetaira. Hetairai were a fact of fifth-century life, a part of the male world, especially the upper-class male world, that bridged the public and private spheres, since hetairai lived in households that were open to any man for a price. Athenaios tells us that Aristophanes of Byzantium listed 135 Attic hetairai in his book on that subject, which focussed mainly on witticisms of hetairai in brothel and symposion, and that Apollodoros and then Gorgias added more (13.583d-f).

Athenaios adds still more, though even he missed some Old Comic hetaira-plays.

Hetairai are not safely attested in Sicilian comedy, but they had of course been a traditional feature of iambic poetry, which like all demotic poetry displays a generally unfavorable attitude toward women. And there were also precedents in aristocratic poetry, where hetairai were viewed more favorably, for example in sympotic songs like Anakreon's, and in love-elegy, with its inspirational courtesans like Mimnermos' Nanno, Hermesianax's Leontion, and Antimachos' Lyde. Even the straightlaced Pindar was not above complimenting the generosity of the courtesans of Tenedos (fr. 123 Snell).⁸ But such convivial erotica, along with frankly sexual vase-painting, was largely a thing of the past by 440 (Kilmer 1993). So it was an opportune time for comedy to step into the vacuum with its own take on the hetaira-world. As it turned out, the hetaira proved to be a popular and long-lived addition to the repertory of comic females.⁹

Pherekrates is usually credited with having invented hetaira-comedy, and that is probably right. But Hegemon of Thasos, who achieved fame as a parodist and who seems to have been a contemporary of Pherekrates, did write one comedy, and that was an hetaira play, *Philinna*. Unfortunately, we do not know when it was written or even whether it was staged, but nevertheless Hegemon should be considered a candidate. In either case, the hetaira play was slow to take hold: after Pherekrates it was not until the time of Theopompos, whose first play was produced c. 410, that we begin to see additional whole-play treatments of hetairai. Meanwhile, Aristophanes and the other 'political' poets apparently found hetairai to be unappealing subjects for main-character treatment.

Hetaira-comedies proper, like those of Pherekrates and his non-political successors, were domestic in the sense that they were interested primarily in realistically depicting non-political characters and milieux for their own sake. Perhaps main-character treatment suggests that in this genre hetairai could be portrayed sympathetically, along the lines of earlier aristocratic poetry – the whore with a heart of gold, as occasionally found in later comedy; but the fragments are uninformative on this question. Nor is it easy to tell which comic hetairai impersonated actual women; some surely did. And to judge from the span of time covered by plays devoted to a single figure, like Anteia or Lais, an hetaira's career could be followed by the comic poets as she progressed from young beauty to old madam, perhaps even posthumously. Clearly life and art collaborated to establish the full-fledged comic hetaira: in Kephisodoros' *Lais' Rival* the actual hetaira was somehow confronted by her fictional counterpart.

But the hetaira-milieu did attract the occasional censorious glance from the political poets, when they were in a mood to expose the weakness and extravagance of aristocratic men. Eupolis in his *Autolykos* plays used hetairai to portray the decadence of the family and friends of Kallias; one of these friends, Leogoras, was shown squandering his money on an hetaira called Myrrhine, who seems to have appeared as a character. Eupolis used hetairai for much the same purposes in *Flatterers* and *Friends*, to exemplify wealthy men's mismanagement of their private affairs. Conversely, Aristophanes compared the non-aristocratic Kleon with hetairai themselves (Kynna and Salabakcho: *Knights* 765, *Wasps* 1032, *Peace* 755) as an element of his caricature of the new politicians as mercenary and unprincipled, i.e. as whores.¹⁰

Similarly, a political poet might attack a man's conduct by lampooning the hetairai with whom he consorted. The earliest such attacks seem to have been directed at Perikles' consort, Aspasia. We have already noted attacks on Aspasia 'by innuendo' in the myth-comedies of Kratinos and Hermippos; but Aspasia was also attacked *in propria persona* during Perikles' life and after his death as an hetaira or worse (Henry 1995, with the cautions of Wallace 1996). Whereas Kratinos had merely called her 'a dog-faced concubine, Perikles' Hera, a tyrant, and the spawn of Katapygosynē' (*Cheirons*, fr. 259), Eupolis called her an outright *pornē* (*Demes*, fr. 110). She was said to have procured whores, even free women, for Perikles; in *Acharnians* Aristophanes claims that Perikles' motivation for starting the war was the theft of two of Aspasia's whores (515–39);¹¹ Plutarch notes that a similar charge had been 'openly' made during the Samian War, which Perikles allegedly started to please Aspasia, who wanted to stop the Samian campaign against her native city (Douris of Samos *FGrH* 76 F65, Plut. Per. 16, 24.2, 25.1). She was also supposed to be an intellectual too: according to Kallias in *Men in Fetters* (fr. 21), she taught Perikles how to be an effective speaker, and she lived on in the Socratic dialogue tradition as an alluring guru (Henry 1995, 32–40).

This portrayal of Aspasia as hetaira is questionable as historical fact, for it is likely that she was merely an unmarried member of a powerful Athenian house who moreover came from a distinguished Milesian family (Laurenti 1988). But as we will presently see, even distinguished Athenian ladies could be called whores. The scurrilous idea that Aspasia was an hetaira may have been pure comic invention, or it could have developed first in actual rhetorical attacks on Perikles and then been taken up by comedy: there is a tradition that Hermippos actually prosecuted Aspasia, and forensic attacks on men's mistresses were frequent in subsequent eras, that on Hypereides and Phryne being a well-known example (Cooper 1995). In any case it is

not hard to see how the idea got started: in his sexual and intellectual life Perikles was a kind of Jack Kennedy figure, if not as notorious as Alkibiades; his connection with an unmarried Milesian woman would quickly have energized popular stereotypes (in fifth-century humour, the mere mention of Miletos brought dildoes to mind¹²), and Perikles' imperial aggressiveness would easily have activated traditional topoi about women and warfare going back to Helen of Troy (Athen. 13.560bc).

Did Aspasia, or rather Aspasia's public persona, inspire the hetaira-comedies, or was it a product of them? Perhaps a bit of both. Plutarch's claim (*Per.* 24.3–4) that she modelled her career as a politically influential hetaira on a forebear named Thargelia certainly smacks of comic invention.

The legacy of hetaira-comedy was its creation of women who, because of their non-citizen status, could safely be portrayed as both objects and subjects of erotic desire; who could be shown interacting with men, or even dominating them; who could exemplify the negative 'iambic' traits of bibulousness, gluttony, masturbation, drug-use (especially aphrodisiacs), preoccupation with fine clothes and jewellery, skill at depilation and in the use of sex-toys, greed, and disruptive effects on males (in Pherekrates' *Korianno*, for example, a father and son fight over an hetaira). The hetaira-comedy was thus a window into a sexual world that was no doubt of great interest to that majority of Athenians who could not afford to partake themselves, who perhaps harboured dark suspicions about the female sex generally, and who were pleased to be shown more than even Euripides could show them. Aristophanes' sexy wives and horny crones would in significant ways follow the typology laid down by the comic hetaira (Henry 1985).

Another genre of character-comedy portrayed market-women. Like hetairai, these were a type with one foot in the public sphere and thus relatively safe for comic exploitation, even if they portrayed citizen women.¹³ This genre apparently goes back to the days of Magnes, one of whose titles is *Lady Grass Cutters*. Some idea of this type of woman, who could be either metic or free, old or young, but always loud, bold, and profane, can be glimpsed in Aristophanes' breadseller Myrtia in *Wasps*, the female warriors in *Lysistrata*, and the inn-keepers in *Frogs*. Plays with market-women as main characters were infrequent, but like hetairai, market-women could also be put to political uses, to discredit public figures: where hetairai were a way to attack the wealthy for their decadence, market-women became a way to tax popular politicians with low or foreign birth.

Aristophanes happens to tell us how this idea got started (*Clouds* 553–6). Eupolis introduced it in his *Marikas* at the Lenaia of 421,

which portrayed Hyperbolos' mother as an old market-woman drunk and dancing the *kordax*. Aristophanes professes scorn for this idea, perhaps because he hadn't thought of it himself when he created his Paphlagon in *Knights*, and claims that Eupolis had stolen the old woman from an 'old' play by Phrynichos, perhaps *Lady Grass Cutters*. Nevertheless, Eupolis' idea proved a popular one: Hyperbolos' mother soon reappeared in Hermippos' *Breadselling Ladies* (fr. 9 reads, 'you rotten old she-goat and utter whore!'), and then in Platon's *Hyperbolos* (see Sommerstein in this volume, pp. 442–3). Thereafter, the wives and mothers of popular politicians are routinely portrayed as market-women or worse: in Eupolis' *Goats*, Archedemos' wife or mother is an inn-keeper; Lykon's wife Rhodia, in Eupolis' *Autolykos* plays, *Friends*, and *Cities*, is promiscuous; and in Platon's *Kleophon* the demagogue's mother is an old whore who speaks with a Thracian accent (Sommerstein, this volume, p. 443). Aristophanes never went for this form of ridicule in a very big way, but he might nevertheless be awarded some credit for it, if he invented the idea, first attested in *Acharnians*, that the mother of Euripides, that demagogue of poets, hawked wild herbs in the marketplace.¹⁴ That this kind of insult appeared also in, or was borrowed from comedy by, contemporary oratory is indicated by a fourth-century law adding it to the official list of slanders.

So far we have noticed no characters representing respectable women, at least outside the mythical genre and Pherekrates' two domestic comedies. These are first attested in 411, in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and *Women at the Thesmophoria*, which feature wives young and old involved in fantastic plots – fantastic, because in these plays the political is subsumed in the domestic, with the women intruding on territory, commenting on issues, and usurping functions that in real life were reserved for men (Cartledge 1996, 8–10). One striking feature of these plays is their extremely racy depiction of the young wives. In *Lysistrata*, the heroine and the older women of the chorus are portrayed sympathetically, at least to the extent that they champion positions intended to be taken seriously. By contrast, the young wives are portrayed as naive about realities outside the home and as untrustworthy sex-maniacs inside it. Similarly with the matrons of *Women at the Thesmophoria* and, twenty years later, Praxagora's wives and a horny citizen girl in *Assemblywomen*. In creating the women of these plays Aristophanes seems to have drawn various elements from all of the play-types we have reviewed, including the hetaira-plays: certainly his characterization of the young wives is much closer to the comic hetaira than to the normative wifely ideal, to say nothing of the behaviour of the horny girl.

In this connection it is worth noting that in red-figure erotica too,

‘there is no easy way of deciding between prostitutes, hetairai and free women’ (Kilmer 1993, 167). Apparently, status was not always important, or ambiguity was. Ambiguity allowed poets to have their cake and eat it: to portray non-hetairai in the openly erotic terms established in the hetaira plays. Maybe the very unrealism of their characterization allowed Aristophanes to exploit titillating stereotypes about young wives, and perhaps augment them with features of the hetaira, without unduly alarming the spectators, as Euripides is alleged to have done with his scandalous portrayals of heroines like Phaidra and Stheneboia. As for the heroines Lysistrata and Praxagora, amidst their heroic characteristics there may even be an element of the wily hetaira or Aspasia-figure.

It is unclear who should get the credit for inventing the fantastic women’s comedy and its heroines. Theopompos’ *Women on Campaign* (*Stratiōtidai*), which seems to predate Aristophanes’ *Birds*, apparently portrayed women serving as soldiers: the fragments suggest female commanders, disputes about equal pay, and women’s dissatisfaction with having to drink from a soldier’s cup. Presumably these were citizen women, and there is even a hint that they may have shared duty with their husbands – an arrangement otherwise unknown in *gynaiokratia* plays.

And then there is Pherekrates’ *Tyrannis*, date unknown. The title may be an hetaira-name, or the noun for Tyranny, or Woman Tyrant. But one fragment (152) does suggest a regime where women have turned the tables on men: there a man explains that the women have ordered big drinking cups to be made for themselves, and small ones for the men, calling this ‘an idea that’s not whimsical but long in the planning’, so that ‘when we complain about their wine-drinking, they can laugh at us and swear they’ve had only one’. And fr. 200 reads ‘We think these women are the saviours of the polis.’ Its testimonium does not identify the play, but *Tyrannis* is the best candidate. If *Tyrannis* really was a fantasy along the lines of *Assemblywomen*, then whatever its date, it shows that in his portrayal of women Pherekrates did not confine himself to the strictly domestic.

Finally, a word about female personifications (discussed in greater detail by Hall in this volume), in particular the remarkable Lady Music in Pherekrates’ *Cheiron*. She is a rather late example of a long line of female personifications beginning already in Epicharmos and found in every variety of Old Comedy; we have noted above some literary personifications in the myth-plays. There are many silent personifications in the early plays of Aristophanes: the erotic fantasy about Diallage in *Acharnians*, the Treaties and the (reported) dialogue of the triremes in *Knights*, Peace and her handmaidens, Opōra and Theōria, in *Peace*, Basileia in *Birds*, Diallage in *Lysistrata*. Such

personifications can also have speaking roles. There are female choruses in Pherekrates' *Gewgaws*, Eupolis' *Cities* and *Demes*, Aristophanes' *Islands* and *Seasons*, Platon's *Festivals* and *Islands*. Kratinos' *Flagon* (*Pytinē*) of 423 may be the first full-scale example of the personification as a main character: the poet's wife Kōmōidia threatens to leave him because of his affair with Methe (Drunkenness) and for chasing after every pretty little bottle, then teaches him how to revive his comic art. Thereafter we have Agriculture in Aristophanes' second *Peace*, Poetry in *Poiesis* and perhaps *Gērytades*, Poverty in *Wealth*, and Kalligeneia in the second *Women at the Thesmophoria*, with whom we can compare Dorpia (the first day of Apatouria) in Philyllios' *Herakles*.

A recent analysis of Music's complaint to Justice in *Cheiron* (fr. 155) argues that she is portrayed as an hetaira (Dobrov and Urios-Aparisi 1995, following Lloyd-Jones 1981, 21 = 1990, 6). But I would argue for deliberate ambiguity in the portrayal of her sexual status, since that seems to be the rule for all the sexually active female characters we have surveyed, as also in the visual arts. Like Aristophanes' sexy wives, many female personifications present the same sort of heavily sexualized symbolism. Aristophanes' triremes, maiden ships complaining to their olderchaperone, fear sexual mistreatment: they vow never to let Hyperbolos board them (*Knights* 1300–15), and Eupolis' *Cities* complain of similar mistreatment at the hands of Athenian violators. Many other personifications are similarly the object of bawdy jokes, and they are often the sexual prizes of successful comic heroes. Certainly OpSra and TheSria in *Peace* and Diallagē in *Lysistrata* are in a position that no virtuous wife or maiden would ever find herself in, but to think of them as hetairai would ruin their clear symbolic purposes. Rather, these figures are deliberately allowed to float free of any specific category or status, so that the poet can bring out those feminine characteristics that best suit his immediate symbolic purposes.

So I suggest that Pherekrates' Lady Music belongs to this category too. She may resemble an hetaira in several respects – many lovers, sophisticated sexual experiences, racy language – but these are true of Aristophanes' wives, too. At the same time, she tells us that Timotheos stripped and violated her when he caught her out walking by herself. This suggests less the hetaira or prostitute than the once-respectable woman who has fallen on hard times. And that is surely Pherekrates' point: that Music used to be dignified and respectable, but was then progressively spoiled and degraded by the new poets. In any case, I doubt that an hetaira who complained of rough treatment at the hands of her customers would evoke much of the sort of sympathy from Athenian spectators that Aristophanes would want to evoke for a

complainers about the New Music.

Our survey has, I hope, revealed that in his creation of female characters at least, Pherekrates for the most part did go his own way. In the main he resisted the principal tendencies of his era toward mythological and iambic-political comedy, but his off-beat creations were not without influence in his own time, and established characters and plots that would remain vital and productive long after the Old Comic era had ended.

CHECKLIST OF COMEDIES TO c. 380 WHERE
SPEAKING WOMEN ARE ATTESTED OR LIKELY

The names of later authors who wrote plays with the same or similar titles are listed (after the sign +) in order to illustrate the popularity of the subject.

Mythical/legendary

Epicharmos (fl. 480s)

Atalantas + Phormos Kallias Strattis Philyllios Euthykles
Philetairos Alexis

Bakchai + Diokles Lysippos Antiphanes

Hēbēs Gamos or *Mousai* (*The Marriage of Hebe* or *Muses*) *Hēraklēs Gamōn* (*The*

Marriage of Herakles) + Archippos Nikochares; *Mousai*
Phrynichos Ophelion

Euphanes Euphron; *Mousōn Gonai* (*The Birth of the Muses*)

Polyzelos

Kōmastai (*Revellers*) + Ameipsias Euboulos

Medeia + Kantharos Strattis Antiphanes Euboulos

Pyrrha and Prometheus

Sirens + Theopompos Nikophon

Sphinx

Kratinos

Dionysalexandros (*Dionysos-Paris*) [430]

Eumenides [ante 424]

Kleoboulinas + Alexis (-ina)

Nemesis [431]

Sērīphioi (*Seriphians*) [c. 423]

Kallias

Atalantas

Aristomenes

Admetos + Theopompos

Pherekrates

Myrmēkanthrōpoi (*Ant-Men*)

Hermippos

Agamemnon + Nikochares

Athēnas Gonai (*The Birth of Athena*) + Amphis Akko

Europa + Platon Euboulos
Kerkōpes [420–15] + Platon Euboulos
Moirai (Fates) [430] + Kratinos *Eumenides*?

Aristophanes

Aiolosikōn A (Aiolos-Sikon I) [?]; *B (II)* [387]

Anagyros [419–7] + Diphilos?

Daidalos + Platon Euboulos [or Philippos]

Danaids [post 420]

Kōkalos [387]

Lēmniai (Lemnian Women) [post 410] + Nikochares +

Antiphanes? Diphilos?

Phoenissai (Phoenician Women) [post 412] + Strattis

Kantharos

Medeia

Tereus + Anaxandrides Philetairos

Ameipsias

Sappho + Diphilos

Phrynichos

Mousai (Muses) [405]

Platon

Adonis + Nikophon Philiskos Antiphanes Araros; *Adoniazousai*
(*Women Celebrating the Adonia*) Philippides

Europa

Zeus Kakoumenos (Zeus Degraded)

Io + Sannyrion Anaxandrides

Nyx Makra (The Long Night) + Archippos *Amphitryōn*

Xant(ri)ai or Kerkōpes (Wool-Carders or Kerkopes)

Archippos

Amphitryon

Hēraklēs Gamōn (The Marriage of Herakles)

Strattis

Atalanta

Lemnomeda

Medeia

Phoinissai (Phoenician Women) [post 409]

Theopompos

Admetos [post 380]

Althaia [post 400]

Aphrodite + Nikophon Polyzelos Antiphanes Philiskos

Penelope

Sirens

Philyllios

Atalanta

Augē

Helen + Anaxandrides Alexis Alexandros
Plyntriai or *Nausikaa* (*Washers* or *Nausikaa*) [c. 410] + Euboulos
(Nausikaa)
 Polyzelos
Aphroditēs Gonai (*The Birth of Aphrodite*) + Nikophon Antiphanes
Mousōn Gonai (*The Birth of the Muses*)
 Sannyrion
Danae [c. 407–4] + Apollophanes Euboulos
Io
 Apollophanes
Danae
 Alkaios
Hieros Gamos (*The Sacred Wedding*)
Kallisto + Amphis? [or hetaira?]
Pasiphae [388]
 Diokles
Bakchai
 Kephisodoros
Amazons + Epikrates
 Nikochares
Agamemnon
Amymonē or *Pelops*
Galateia + Alexis, *Kyklops* Antiphanes; ~ Philoxenos (dithyramb)
Herakles Gamōn (*The Wedding of Herakles*)
Lēmniai (*Lemnian Women*)
 Nikophon
Adonis
Aphroditēs Gonai (*The Birth of Aphrodite*)
Pandora
 Autokrates
Tympanistai (*Castanet Girls*)
 Euthykles
Atalanta

Cult

Sophron
Gunaikes hai tan theon phanti exelan (*Women who say they'll drive out the Goddess*)
 Kratinos
Dēliades (*Delian Women*) [c. 424]
Thrattai (*Thracian Women*) [post 443]
 (?) *Trophonios* + Kephisodoros Alexis Menander
Hōrai (*Seasons*)
 Aristophanes
Amphiaraos [414] + Apollodoros Karyst. Philippides

Thesmophoriazousai A (Women at the Thesmophoria I) [411]

Hōrai (Seasons) [422–399]

Platon

Hai aphHierōn (Women Returning from Sacrifice)

Kephisodoros

Trophonios

Domestic

Epicharmos

? *Megaris (The Megarian Girl)*

Sophron's

"Mimes of Women"

Pherekrates

Graes (Old Women)

Doulodidaskalos (Slave-Trainer)

Ipnos or Pannychis (The Kitchen or the All-Nighter) [ante 415] +

Alexis Euboulos

Hipparchos

Ipnos (The Kitchen)

Aristophanes

Gēras (OldAge) [post 410]

Ameipsias

Moichoi (Adulterers) + Antiphanes *Moichos (The Adulterer)*

Philemon

Apollophanes

Dalis (meaning uncertain)

Alkaios

Adelphai Moicheuomenai (Adulterated Sisters)

Hetairai

Pherekrates

Epilēsmōn or Thalatta (Forgetful or Thalatta) + Diokles *Thalatta*

Korianno

Petalē [post 421?]

Hegemon of Thasos

Philinna + Axionikos [date? staged?]

Eupolis

Kolakes (Flatterers) [421] + Menander *Kolax (The Flatterer)*

Autolykos I [c. 420]

Philoι (?) (Friends)

Phrynichos

Kōmastai (?) (Revellers) [414]

Poliochos

Korinthiastēs (The Fornicator) + Philetairos

Platon

Zeus Kakoumenos (Zeus Degraded)

Strattis

Makedones or Pausanias (Macedonians or Pausanias)

Theopompos

Botyle (?)

Nemea

Pamphile + Alexis

Alkaios

Palaistra

Diokles

Thalatta

Melittas + Melitta Antiphanes

Philyllios [or Eunikos]

Anteia + Antiphanes Alexis

Kephisodoros

Antilais (Lais' Rival)

'Market'-women: domestic

Magnes

Poastria(i) (Lady Grass-Cutter/s) + Phrynichos

Krates (?)

Lamia [c. 427–5]

Phrynichos

Poastriai (Lady Grass-Cutters)

Theopompos

Kapēlides (Lady Bartenders)

'Market'-women: political

Eupolis

Marikas [421]

Autolykos I + II [c. 420]

Hermippos

Artopōlides (Breadselling Ladies) [420–19]

Platon

Hyperbolos [c. 419]

Kleophon [405]

Fantastic

Pherekrates

Metallēs (?) (Miners)

Tyrannis (?) (the regime of tyranny, an hetaira-name, or 'woman tyrant')

Theopompos

Stratiōtides (Women on Campaign) (ante 414)

Aristophanes

Ekklesiazousai (Assemblywomen) [c. 392]

Thesmophoriazousai A + B (Women at the Thesmophoria I + II)
[411–406]

Lysistrata [411]

Skenas katalambanousai (Women Claiming Booths)

Triphales (Triple-Dick) [post 411]

Platon *Phaon* + Antiphanes

Personifications

Epicharmos (fl. 480s)

Logos kai Logaina (Mr and Mrs Logos)

Nēsoi (Islands) + Aristophanes [or Archippos] Platon

Kratinos

Pytinē (The Flagon) [423]

Pherekrates

Lēroi (Gewgaws)

Cheiron [post 410]

Eupolis

Dēmoi (Demes) [c. 416]

Poleis (Cities) [422] + ?Philyllios Anaxandrides ?Heniochos

Aristophanes

Gērytades (?) (The Mastersinger) [c. 408]

Nēsoi (Islands) [or Archippos]

Ploutos (Wealth) [388]

Poiēsis (Poesy) + Antiphanes

Hērai (?) (Seasons) [422–399]

Platon

Heortai (?) (Festivals)

Hellas or Nesoi (Greece or Islands)

Philyllios

Herakles

Notes

¹For recent scholarship on the other Old Comedians see the index to the General Bibliography under *Women and Gender*.

²τὸ δὲ μῦθους ποιεῖν τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηνησιν Κράτης πρῶτος ἦρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μῦθους.

³γενόμενος δὲ ὑποκριτὴς ἐξῆλωσε Κράτητα, καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν λοιδορεῖν ἀπέστη, πράγματα δὲ εἰσηγούμενος καενά ἠυδοκίμει, γενόμενος εὐρετικὸς μῦθων.

⁴The standard work on chronology is Geissler 1925/69; dates tabulated at 81–4.

⁵The wife of Kratinos, of course, appeared in his *Pytine* (423), but she is a personification, *Kōmōidia*, not a real Athenian wife.

⁶Dikaiopolis' maiden daughter appears as part of a family celebration for Dionysos in *Acharn.* 242–79, and Trygaios' daughters in *Peace* 114–48 parody their role in Euripides' *Bellerophon*.

⁷The anonymous *de Comoedia* Koster 1975, 4, cited by Sidwell, p. 248 in this volume, suggests that the *Aiolosikon* was essentially a literary parody, but this does not take us very far.

⁸For erotic themes in archaic iambos see in general Henderson 1976.

⁹In general see Breitenbach 1908, 111–70; Hauschild 1933 (Old Comedy 10–14; Middle 14–22; New 22–70); Schiassi 1951; Nesselrath 1990, 318–30.

¹⁰*Knights* 763–6, *Wasps* 1015–35, *Peace* 1030–7, cf. 148–60, *Thesm.* 98, 805, *Frogs* 1325–8 (Kyrene); *Plout.* 79 (Lais); Sommerstein, p. 441 in this volume. Euripides, whom Aristophanes portrays as the demagogue among tragic poets, is similarly compared to Kyrene, *Frogs* 1328.

¹¹Considered plausible by MacDowell 1995, 63–6; cf. Thuc. 1.67.4, 139.2; see Braun in this volume.

¹²See e.g. Ar. *Lysistr.* 108–10 with Henderson 1987a, 81 ad loc.; fr. 592 K-A 16–28.

¹³For the factual basis, see Brock 1994, esp. 340–2, 344–6.

¹⁴See Borthwick 1994, 37–41 (a euphemism for prostitution); other suggestions are dismissed by Dover 1993, 385 (addenda).

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Chapter 9

STRATTIS' *KALLIPPIDES*: THE POMPOUS ACTOR FROM SCYTHIA?

David Braund

Only two fragments survive from the *Kallippides* of Strattis (K-A VII 630).¹ Photius preserves a line out of context: δὸς νῦν τὸν ἄμυλον πρῶτον αὐτῷ τουτονί ('Now give the meal-cake first to him, this (cake) here': Strattis, fr. 11). Athenaeus (14.656b) offers some context for the second fragment (fr. 12), in the mouth of the pedantic Ulpian: Στράττις γοῦν ἐν Καλλιπίδῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους φησὶν

αὐτίκα δ' ἥρπασε τεμάχη
θερμάς τε κάπρου φλογίδας ἔβρυχέ τε πάνθ' ἅμα

At any rate, Strattis in *Kallippides* says of Herakles: '...And immediately he snatched slices | and hot roasted pieces of boar and gulped it all down together.'

It remains unclear whether Herakles appeared as a character in the play or was simply mentioned. We happen also to know that tunny somehow figured, as Athenaeus states elsewhere (7.304b = fr. 13: τῶν θυννίδων).

In a fragment of the *Women pitching tents* (Σκηναὶς καταλαμβάνουσai) of Aristophanes (490 K-A = 747 Kock) preserved by Pollux, the *Kallippides* occurs again:

ὥσπερ ἐν Καλλιπίδῃ
ἐπὶ τοῦ κορήματος καθέζομαι χαμαί

.Just as in *Kallippides* | on the
sweepings I sit on the ground.

As Meineke understood, there is no need to emend away 'in *Kallippides*', as some editors have wished to do in the face of the manuscripts.² Unless we imagine another play under this title, the allusion can only be to the *Kallippides* of Strattis.³ Two inferences may be drawn. First, Aristophanes' play was produced after that of Strattis, perhaps not long after. Second, in all probability the speaker in Aristophanes' play had also appeared in Strattis' *Kallippides*. Less clear

is the significance of sitting on the ground. The position seems not to be out of place in Aristophanes' play, but its role in that of Strattis is a matter of speculation: we may only infer that the position was sufficiently peculiar in the *Kallippides*, for whatever reason, to attract the attention of Aristophanes and to make an allusion seem worthwhile.

Strattis' title is also suggestive. Of course, in principle the title of a play may be a poor indication of its content: for example, very little of Aristophanes' *Wasps* or *Frogs* could be inferred from the titles of those plays (cf. Dover in this volume). However, the title *Kallippides* seems very specific. Kallippides was a very well-known actor, victorious at the Lenaia in 419/18 and perhaps earlier in 425.⁴ Evidently, Strattis could focus a play on a single individual. We may compare his *Kinesias* on the dithyrambic poet of that name. Both Harpocration (p. 178.2 Dindorf) and Athenaeus (12.551d) specifically note that the whole of that play was devoted to Kinesias. Further, the existence of such a play seems to confirm Strattis' interest in writing comedy on subjects drawn from the world of tragedy (cf. also for example his *Medeia*, *Philoktetes* and *Phoinissai* (Bowie in this volume pp. 323–4). In his *Kinesias* there was clearly some direct engagement with theatrical issues: in one fragment, the eponymous dithyrambist is termed a 'chorus-killer'.⁵

Kallippides the actor was certainly famous: he appears in a range of anecdotes, associated with famous figures.⁶ He was a natural choice when generalisations were made about actors (Plut. *Mor.* 6.348e). Moreover, he was evidently a figure of fun. David Lewis (1970) claimed that even the passing mention of his name in the *Clouds* must be funny. Xenophon in his *Symposium* has the actor crop up, as if naturally, in the course of conversation. There, when Lykon observes that Philip takes pride in making people laugh, Philip replies that he does so with more justice than Kallippides the actor 'who takes excessive pride in his bility to fill seats with weeping audiences'.⁷ The dramatic date of the dialogue is 421 BC, shortly after the production of *Clouds* in 423. Evidently, Kallippides had a reputation for pomposity and apparently for wringing a particularly emotional (yet superficial?) response from his audience.

Kallippides' self-regard is central to an anecdote which Plutarch twice relates:

Once upon a time Kallippides the tragic actor, who had a name and repute among the Greeks, and was lionized by all, first of all put himself in front of Agesilaos and addressed him, and then pompously (σοβαρῶς) thrust himself into the company that was walking with the king. He thus made it plain that he expected the king to

begin some friendly conversation, and finally he said, 'Do you not recognize me, O King, and have you not heard who I am?' At that Agesilaos looked towards him and said (in Doric dialect): 'Are you not Kallipides the buffoon (*deikēliktas*)?' That is the word that Spartans use of mime-artists.⁸

Plutarch tells the anecdote to illustrate Agesilaos' disdain for those that were admired by the world at large, while he was enthusiastic for proper moderation along traditional lines (esp. *Ages.* 21.3). However, the story is also a critical judgment of Kallipides.

Kallipides could be considered immoderate not only in his self-regard, but also in his style of acting. Aristotle states (*Poetics* 1461b35) that Kallipides was called a monkey by Munniskos of Khalkis, who acted for Aiskhulos and is chosen to represent an older generation and style. Aristotle mentions the instance to exemplify the tendency of actors to look down upon the degenerate practices of their successors. A little further on (1462a9), Aristotle singles out Kallipides in his discussion of appropriate and inappropriate movement κίνησις). He holds that not all movement is to be rejected, but only that of φάυλοί, 'such as that for which Kallipides was criticised – and others now are – on the grounds that they represent women who are not free-born'. Janko (1987, 155) plausibly interprets Aristotle as meaning that Kallipides was attacked for representing tragic heroines in an undignified way, that is with alluring movements like those of a prostitute. We may wonder whether Aristotle knew his Strattis, and whether the criticism of Kallipides to which he refers included criticisms in Strattis' play.

Wallace (1995, esp. 209–10; cf. Ghiron-Bistagne 1974) has built an attractive case that Kallipides should be seen as at the forefront of the emergence of the actor in Athenian drama as a star in his own right. Whereas Munniskos acted for Aiskhulos, Kallipides is not linked with any particular poet, though we happen to know that on occasion he acted for Kallistratos.⁹ The particular attraction of Wallace's case is that it helps to account for the sustained hostility of the literary tradition about Kallipides, on the one hand, and on the other the evident success which Kallipides enjoyed. The actor's alleged association with Alkibiades would seem to accord with Wallace's claim that he was taken to represent new, untraditional values in Athenian society. However, that detail should not be pressed, particularly in view of the fragility of the evidence for their association, which may be an invention of Douris.¹⁰

There is hardly any ancient comment on Kallipides that can be read as positive.¹¹ It has been claimed, notably by Ghiron-Bistagne

(1976, 143), that Plutarch presents the actor as one of the glories of Athens, but that is to misconstrue the evidence. In the relevant passage (Plut. *Mor.* 348d–49b (de *glor. Athen.*)), Plutarch makes no distinction between different styles of acting: Kallippides and Munniskos are both treated as actors, as if in the same category. Plutarch imagines such actors in the entourage of a personified Tragedy, best considered as artisans who decorate her. Crucially, he proceeds to praise a Spartan critique to the effect that Athenian resources would better have been spent on the practicalities of war. He concludes by approving the view that a tripod for theatrical victory was ‘an offering of wasted livelihoods and an empty monument of spent properties. For such are the returns of the poetic art and nothing more illustrious comes of it’ (349b). There is no support here for Kallippides.

Kallippides is even blamed for the death of Sophokles, whom he is said to have killed (unwittingly, it seems) with an unripe grape (*Life of Sophokles*, 14 = *FGrH*84 F18 (Neantes)). Of course, the story is best dismissed as unhistorical, but it may be significant for all that. The *Life* reports that Istros and Neantes said that ‘Kallippides the actor, having come from a performance (ἐργασίας: see LSJ s.v.) from Opous [in East Lokris] at the time of the Anthesteria, sent Sophokles a bunch of grapes; and Sophokles put a grape that was still not ripe into his mouth and so, on account of his great age, he choked and died.’ It has been suggested that the story might contain some allusion to the tradition that Sophokles was over-fond of wine: a rather similar death is accorded to the allegedly bibulous Anakreon, who is said to have choked on a grape-pip.¹²

However, the circumstantial details of the story remain to be explained. While mention of the Anthesteria might indicate no more than the time of year (the end of February), its rituals of Dionysos and death seem potentially relevant to the dramatist’s death by grape. But why is Kallippides involved? We may wonder whether the story expresses in narrative form the notion that Kallippides killed traditional tragedy, perhaps by the unripe grape of his inappropriate acting. Certainly, we should ask how Kallippides had obtained his dubious grapes – at Opous? at a local celebration of the Anthesteria there? Given the overwhelmingly negative tradition on Kallippides, we should expect that he came by them in a disreputable manner.

Demosthenes’ invective against Aiskhines may shed some light on the matter. For Demosthenes makes much of the fruit allegedly thrown at Aiskhines in his days as an actor. And Demosthenes further claims that Aiskhines picked up and traded that fruit. Moreover, the fruit is said to have included grapes, as well as figs and olives (Dem. 18 (*On the Crown*) 262 with Wallace 1995, 209). In the story of

Sophokles' demise are we to understand that Kallippides had grapes because they had been thrown at him? If Aiskhines could pick up thrown fruit and trade it, then Kallippides could pick it up and send it as a gift. Moreover, the tradition specifies that Kallippides had come from a performance when he sent the grapes to Sophokles. Of course, his reason for sending the dubious gift is not explained: are we to imagine that Kallippides had been performing a work of Sophokles?

We may speculate a little further. Demosthenes compares Aiskhines' collection and sale of thrown fruit with the behaviour of one who takes fruit from the lands of others (ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλοτριῶν χωρίων, 18.262). At the same time, we happen to know that the activities of the ὀπωρώνης were a principal theme of the Spartan comedies performed by the *deikēlistai/deikēliktai*.¹³ If we are right to guess that Kallippides came by his fruit in the same fashion as Demosthenes' Aiskhines, it is surely a remarkable coincidence that he also found himself characterized by King Agesilaos as a Spartan *deikeliktas*. The apparent coincidence would be explained if the two stories formed part of a single tradition, whereby Kallippides (like Aiskhines) was presented as a kind of ὀπωρώνης, a fit character not for Athenian tragedy but for Spartan mime. And what of Opous? The detail remains superfluous, unless perhaps it represents a garbled allusion to the ὀπωρώνης or the ὀπώρα.

However that may be, since criticisms of Kallippides the actor seem to be quite consistent across a range of sources, we may be confident enough of the broad outline of the humour of Strattis' *Kallippides*. All the more so in view of the humorous nature of some of these criticisms. In Strattis' comedy, Kallippides was presumably presented as absurdly pompous and self-important. The comedy surely exploited Kallippides' over-acting (as it seemed to Munniskos – or so it is said – and to Aristotle, p. 153 above). His inappropriate presentation of female roles (*ibid.*) offered a particular opportunity for humour. If the actor's association with Alkibiades was more than Douris' later invention, then humour involving Alkibiades may also be imagined without much difficulty, for it is commonplace in Athenian comedy (e.g. Athen. 12.535a–b). Possibly he was characterized in the play too as an ὀπωρώνης, whether or not Sophokles figured: certainly, biographical traditions owed much to such plays (Fairweather 1974).

Further, in any exploration of the comic potential of Kallippides his name deserves attention. It is also an ethnic and, moreover, one particularly suited to the Athenian comic stage, for it is a Scythian ethnic. Herodotos (4.17) states:

From the emporion of the Borusthenitai range first the Kallippidai, being Greek Scythians, and above them another people, who are called Alazones. These and the

Kallippidai live in the same way as the Scythians in all respects except that they sow and eat grain, as well as onions and garlic and beans and millet.¹⁴

Scythians were common enough in Athenian comedy: they were portrayed as lacking the benefits of Athenian sophistication, not least when carrying out their duties at Athens as ‘archer-police’.¹⁵ Although we have no grounds for asserting the ethnicity (or citizenship) of Kallippides, there is no reason to suppose that his origins lay in the Black Sea region, and he may broadly be termed ‘Greek’, for otherwise we would hear much about his foreignness. However, for all that, the coincidence of the actor’s name with a Scythian ethnic offered Strattis a rich vein of humour upon which to draw, had he so desired.¹⁶ Of course, ethnicity was a favourite focus of comic humour, as also of political invective outside comedy. In Aristophanes’ *Akharnians*, for example, we find the suggestion that an Athenian was really a Scythian, an under-civilised enemy within.¹⁷ Later, in the fourth century, even the orator Demosthenes is accused by his enemy Aiskhines of being in reality a Scythian, at odds with the Athenian polis (Aiskhin. 3.173; cf. Fairweather 1974, 246). It would have been both easy and within the norms of the genre for Strattis to suggest that Kallippides was a Scythian, for his name was redolent of Scythia. Indeed, the suggestion could even have been used as an explanation of Kallippides’ alleged lack of the sophistication proper to a bona fide tragic actor at Athens: his acting and personal conduct, it might be claimed, were the sort of thing to be expected of a ‘Greek Scythian’

Of course, we are forced to rely upon reasoned hypothesis, for the sparse fragments of Strattis’ *Kallippides* tell us almost nothing. They do mention Herakles, however, as we have seen (fr. 12, p. 151 above). In that regard, it is perhaps worth noting that Herakles, although at home in many a context and not least as a glutton,¹⁸ had a particular place among the Scythians. As Herodotos tells us (4.8–11), the Greeks of the Black Sea region claimed that the Scythians were descended from Herakles as he returned from the far West with the cattle of Geryon. If the *Kallippides* did indeed exploit the actor’s ‘Scythianness’, Herakles might readily be introduced in such a context. At the same time, while little can be made of the tunny of the play (fr. 13), they would at least be concordant with a Scythian concern in the play.

Finally, a word of caution. Such arguments as these can lead to the belief that we know something for certain when we do not. It must be acknowledged that we cannot be at all sure even of the outline of Strattis’ *Kallippides*. Nevertheless, on the basis of our other evidence from Aristotle, Plutarch and the rest, we can reasonably identify particular strands of humour that would seem to have been appropriate in a comedy of this title: namely bombast, innovation and

exaggeration in acting, perhaps being pelted with fruit and also perhaps Scythianness. As Aristotle observes, the inappropriate portrayal of women was a particular feature of Kallippides' acting that set him apart from more sober actors. Aristophanes' allusion to the *Kallippides* in his *Women pitching tents* may very well have been a reference to the actor's portrayal of women as it had been lampooned in Strattis' play. Although we must retain a strong sense of caution, I suggest that it is along these lines that we should imagine the principal features of Strattis' *Kallippides*. We can only guess at the extent to which Strattis' portrayal of Kallippides fed back into the biographical tradition about the actor.

Notes

¹Strattis seems to have been writing between 419 and 375: Nesselrath 1990, 203–4.

²Meineke I.227; so too K-A ad loc. (III.2 260). Pace Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 143.

³Cf. Aristophanes fr. 495 K-A = 479 Kock, where the presence of a *didaskalos* seems further evidence of metatheatricity in the *Women pitching tents*.

⁴Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 334. Under the year 425 we have only the last three letters of the name: Ghiron-Bistagne 60 and pl. VI (on p. 59) on *IG ii² 2325*, fr. r (superseding Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 115); for 419/8 see *IG ii² 2319* with Ghiron-Bistagne 32–5 Pickard-Cambridge 109).

⁵Strattis fr. 16 with Wallace 1995, 205: the precise meaning of the term is elusive, but does not affect the point here.

⁶Athen. 12.535d and Plut. *Alcib.* 32.2 (at the Piraeus welcoming Alcibiades in 408 BC); Polyae. *Strat.* 6.10 (in Ionia?, c. 399 BC): see Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 334; discussed further below.

⁷Xen. *Symp.* 3. 11; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 334 seems to see no criticism of Kallippides here.

⁸Plut. *Mor.* (*Apophth. Lak.*) 212f; Ages. 21.4. On the Spartan term, see further below.

⁹*IG ii² 2319* col. ii. 14–17: Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 109; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 32–3. Ghiron-Bistagne's suggestion (1976, 144) that he was close to Sophokles is her inference from the apocryphal story of his involvement in the poet's death, but note her apposite comments on his independence at 1974, 1349.

¹⁰Athen. 12.535d with the critical remarks of Plut. *Alcib.* 32.2.

¹¹The Epicurean Philodemos is elusive, but seems appreciative: *Rhet.* 4 p. 197 Sudhaus, with Obbink 1995, 277.

¹²Val. Max. 9.12. ext. 8, with Fairweather 1974, 270 n. 201; Lefkowitz 1981, 85–6.

¹³Sosibios *FGrH* 595 F7 = Athen. 14. 621d with Wankel 1976, 1154–5; David 1989, 8–9, 21.

¹⁴Cf. Strabo 12.3.21, p. 500 and Mela, 2.7; see Corcella 1993, 243.

¹⁵Hall 1989a; Hunter 1995; Braund 1998 on the inadequacy of the term; the *Alazones* were also ripe for a joke, of course.

¹⁶*LGPN* II 250 indicates that the name Kallippides was not common among Athenians of the fifth century BC. However, the impact of Herodotos on Athenian drama has been thought significant: Hall 1989b, 112.

¹⁷*Akharn.* 703–12 with MacDowell 1993. Observe also 'Hippocrates' *Airs Waters Places* 20, perhaps explaining the joke at *Frogs* 730; cf. Long 1986, 112–13 on

Kratinos' claim that the light-haired Hipponikos was not an Athenian but a Scythian.
¹⁸The comic references are collected by van Leeuwen 1896, 17; add Ar. fr. 11 K-A
 = 12 Kock (*Aiolosikon*).

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A PORTRAIT OF EUPOLIS:PRELIMINARY REPORT

Giorgos Kavvadias

A portrait-herm of Eupolis was discovered on 11th February 1998 in the forecourt of the Greek Parliament building in Athens during the course of excavations by the Third Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Athens under the direction of Dr Giorgos Kavvadias and Mrs Olga Zachariadou. No representation of the dramatist had previously been known.

The new bust is dated to the middle of the second century AD. Most art historians would agree that a portrait of this date is unlikely to preserve an accurate record of the features of a fifth-century poet, though a minority hold a more optimistic view (see p. 94 above). We print below a shortened translation of part of Dr Kavvadias' report given at the Β' Επιστημονική Ημερίς της Γ'ΕΠΚΑ (Second Scholarly Conference of the Third Ephorate) held in Athens on 6th February 1999, when the portrait of Eupolis was presented to the public for the first time. The editors are most grateful to Mrs Olga Zachariadou and Dr Kavvadias for his exceptional kindness in making the text available to them in advance of its publication in Greece ¹—FDH

...The largest nucleus of late Roman buildings was excavated in the western forecourt, behind the Memorial to the Unknown Soldier. In the northern half of this forecourt were found walls belonging to a large building of the 3rd–5th century AD. The impression of destruction by earthquake was confirmed by two parallel walls which belong to a building of the same period.

An undamaged herm carrying a portrait head of the comic poet Eupolis was discovered in one of these two walls, on to which it had fallen face downwards. This marble stele, 2.02 metres high, from the excavations near the Parliament carries the first securely identified portrait head of the comic dramatist. Its base was found incorporated into the wall. This indicates that the stele of Eupolis formed a structural element of the wall, into which it had been built upright, as is confirmed by the nature of its collapse. An elegiac couplet was written a little below the inscription [of the name ΕΥΠΟΛΙΣ]; this was erased for some unknown reason.

The expression on Eupolis' face reflects his mocking style and the sharpness of his tongue, as described by the ancient sources. We are

given information about the personality of Eupolis, who together with Aristophanes and Kratinos was one of the three outstanding poets of Old Comedy, by Platonius, the grammarian of the second century AD, in his *Περὶ διαφορᾶς χαρακτήρων* [II p. 6 Koster = K-A Eupolis T 34]. Platonius tells us that Eupolis was not only *εὐφαντάστος εἰς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν κατὰ τὰς ὑποθέσεις* (extremely imaginative in his subject-matter), but also *ἐπίχαρις* (graceful) and *τὰ σκώμματα λίαν εὖστοχος* (very good at hitting the target with his jokes).

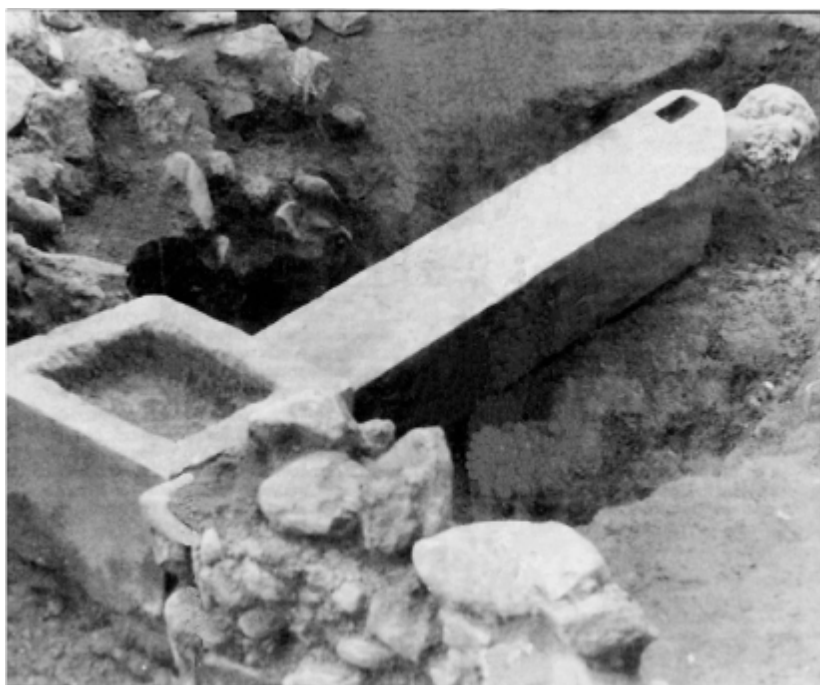


Fig. 4. 'I have gazed on the face of Eupolis': the discovery of the new portrait-herm Courtesy ΕΘΝΟΣ, Athens.

On the basis of stylistic details, such as the way the upward gaze of the eyes is indicated by means of incision, and also the letter-forms of the inscription, the stele can be dated about the middle of the second century AD.

A stele portraying the Stoic philosopher Chrysippos, 1.75 metres high, also of marble, was found in position a few metres to the east, together with two more bases. It was built into the same wall as the stele of Eupolis, and had fallen in the same way. Stylistic details, especially the fact that the pupils of the eyes are not rendered with incision, lead us to date it to the first century AD. On both stelai the elegiac couplet which had been written exactly below the inscribed name had been carefully erased, for reasons unknown, to a depth that makes it impossible to read.

With the stele of Chrysippos were also found two bases marked

with the letters A [1] and E [5] on their upper surface. The base of the stele of Eupolis, on the other hand, carried no such mark. We should therefore assume that there were at least four more stelai.

An indication of the date of the building to which the two stelai belonged is provided by the discovery at destruction level of some roof-tiles of which the best preserved example was produced by the workshop of Herakleides, which was at its peak from the end of the third and during the first half of the fourth century AD.²

Despite the fragmentary preservation of these buildings, a number of common characteristics can be discerned. They are large, luxurious buildings, which remained in use until the fifth century AD. It is possible that they were private philosophical schools like, for example, the buildings on the Areopagos, or even luxurious villas of rich Athenians of the period.

Notes

¹ I am most grateful to my friend Prof. John Glucker of the University of Tel-Aviv for advice on a number of details and for making an independent translation against which I have checked and corrected my version. I am also grateful to Dr Olga Palagia for help on technicalities. The responsibility for any errors that remain is mine. – David Harvey

² M.F. Billot, 'Terres cuites architecturales du Musée Epigraphique', *Arch. Delt.* 31 (1976), ΑΜελέτες, 87–135 (esp. 125, catalogue no. 70 = Nat. Mus. P 35).



Terracotta C. Mon. AT 20 (p. 56). Man wearing *exomis* (one-sleeved tunic; probably a slave), holding purse, seated on an altar. Early 4th cent.; examples found in Athens, Lokris, Larisa, Lipari Islands and South Russia (Taman region); height 9.7 cm. The purse is perhaps stolen, and he may have taken sanctuary at the altar.

POxy. 4301: A NEW FRAGMENT OF EUPOLIS?

Wolfgang Luppe and Ian C. Storey

I. Introduction: David Harvey

Two scraps of papyrus, written in an elegant hand of the late first or earlier second century AD were published by Colin Austin and Peter Parsons in 1996 as no. 4301 in volume LXII of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. They preserve the left-hand side of some iambic lines. Paragraphoi (—) indicate dialogue. Kleonymos is mentioned, a name familiar to us as that of the ‘podgy run-away lampooned by Aristophanes and Eupolis’. There can be little doubt that we are looking at a new fragment of Old Comedy, though a pitifully small one.

Austin & Parsons point out that the hand is very similar indeed to that of PSI 1213, which contains lines from Eupolis’ *Prospaltioi* (429 BC). There is thus a possibility, perhaps a strong possibility, that Eupolis is the author of our fragment too. The fragments were republished by Kassel and Austin as no. 1151 of the *Adespota* in volume VIII of *Poetae Comici Graeci*, with the cautious comments ‘*eiusdem manus, ut vid., atque PSA 1213; ...de Eupolide auctore cogitare licet*’.

We reproduce here the austere ‘diplomatic’ transcript of the *Oxyrhynchus* volume, and the text as edited in more reader-friendly fashion by Kassel & Austin,* together with a photograph of the papyrus (Fig. 5). But the reader will need to refer to the admirable *editio princeps* for a full account of all preserved and partly-preserved letters, together with the usual introduction and succinct commentary. We then present the text as restored by Wolfgang Luppe, followed by a discussion by Ian Storey.

* On the necessity for both types of text see Turner 1968, ch. V, esp. 65–73. We are most grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society, and in particular to Prof. Peter Parsons and Dr Revel Coles, for permission to reproduce text and photograph (= plate I in the *Oxyrhynchus* volume), and for supplying Prof. Luppe with two excellent colour photographs of the papyrus (one enlarged).

II. The text

(a) POxy. 4301

Fr. 1

...
 . [.] . ω [] . . [

—
 β[.]υλήεετ[
 —
 ημηνυθ[
 εταιρονητη . [
 —
 5 κλεωνυμοεδ[
 γραφαιεινοδε . . [
 —
 . . . ουχιδη . . ρ . . [
 . . . ανπροδ . . . [
 —
 . . . ρεκαιτα[
 10 ω . χ . . ν[
 ε . .

Fr. 2

. . .
] . μ[
] . εμ . . [
] . αρη[
]. πα[
 5]. τε . . [
] . . [
 . . .

(b) Kassel-Austin PCG VIII

(Adespota) no. 1151

Fr. 1

— — — —
 . [.] . ω [
 —
 β[ο]υλήεετ[
 —
 ἥ μὴν εὐ θ[
 εταῖρον ητη . [
 —
 5 Κλεώνυμος δ[
 γραφαῖσιν οδε . η [
 —
 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Δημαρατ[
 οὐκ ἄν προδῶ . [
 —
 ὦ μῶρε, καὶ τα[
 10 ως χασυν[

ε. .

 Fr. 2

] . [
] cm . [
] . ατη[
] cπα[
 5] . ε . [
] . . [

Fr. 1. 4 π[*vel* τ[6 γραφαῖς' ἔν *vel* γραφαῖσιν αη[*vel* δη[*vel*
 λη[8 *vel* οὐc 10 leg. Rea 11 εν *vel* εχ Fr. 2.5]ε *vel* c] 6]κο[
vel]χc[

(c) A conjectural reconstruction: Wolfgang Luppe

Fr. 1

 [...] ω [(.)] . [

 β[ο]υλήcετ[

 ἥ μὴν cὸ θ[
 ἐταῖρον ἦτησ[/

 5 Κλεώνυμος δ[ε /
 γραφαῖσιν, ὁ δὲ λή[ψοιτο / *vel* ψοιτ' ἄν

 ἀλ[λ'] οὐχὶ Δημάρατ[δ]ον / *vel* τ[oc
 οὐκ ἄν προδοῦν[αι /

 ὁ μῶρε καὶ τὰ
 10 **ὧ**ι χαυν[ό]πρωκτος /?
 ε. . [ἐψ. . [*vel* ἐχ. [



Fig. 5. POxy. 4301
 Courtesy Egypt Exploration Society.

Fr. 2

] . . (.) [] . λ . [*vel*] . μ[
] cm . [] cmε[(με[v] *vel* μo[v]
] cατη[-ca τή[v, τήc, τήι?
] cπα[
 5] τεε . [
] ζο[

New readings or supplements are indicated in bold type. The sign / marks the caesuras of the iambic trimeters.

Between lines 9 and 10 of Fr. 1 there is a hole in the papyrus; a paragraphos may have been written at this point. At the end of line 9 I would suggest a participle in the vocative, with τὰ... as its object.

III. Some thoughts on *POxy. 4301*: Ian C. Storey

It seems entirely appropriate that I first saw the publication of this fragment during a break at the conference on the Rivals of Aristophanes from which this volume is derived. The remains may be minuscule, but the strong possibility exists that these scraps are to be attributed to Old Comedy, very likely to Eupolis, and that in them we encounter one of Old Comedy's favourite targets, Kleonymos the alleged *rhipsaspis*. In favour of a comic source are the rapid dialogue with overtones of conflict and abuse between at least two speakers in iambics (either trimeters or tetrameters catalectic), the political connotations of the words of γραφαῖσιν, προδοῦναι, and perhaps ἑταῖρον,¹ the comic tone of expressions such as ἧ μὴν σύ (see the note at Austin & Parsons 1996, 3), ὦμῶρε and (if Luppe's conjecture above is correct) χαυν[όπρωκτος, and the presence of *kōmōidoumenoi* such as Kleonymos and Demaratos (for whom see below). In this note I wish to deal with three points: (1) the structural context of *POxy. 4301*, (2) the two *kōmōidoumenoi* (Kleonymos and Demaratos), and (3) the attribution of this fragment to a comedy by Eupolis.

Context

The *paragraphoi* make it clear that we have dialogue, involving at least two speakers in an exchange. The beginnings of vv. 2–10 are all compatible with iambics, but whether trimeters or tetrameters catalectic is uncertain. As the original editors observe, the opening words of v. 3 (ἧ μὴν σύ) should indicate a threat – several examples from comedy are cited (Austin & Parsons 3; cf. Denniston 1954, 350–1) – and the address in v. 9, ‘You idiot!’ (ὦ μῶρε), implies some antagonism between the two speakers, but how serious should we consider this antagonism to be? Of the seven comic passages cited by Austin & Parsons for ἧ μὴν σύ, two are relatively mild exchanges between father and son (*Clouds* 865, *Wasps* 1332), two, perhaps three, involve the antagonists in the agōn (*Wasps* 643, *Ploutos* 608, Eupolis fr. 192.151), and two are animated exchanges between adversaries in the episodes (*Clouds* 1242, *Ekkles.* 1034). As the tone of ὦμῶρε can be similarly mild (*Knights* 162) or hostile (*Birds* 1238), we cannot tell immediately whether the two speakers are adversaries, as in an agōn or animated episode, or allies on the same side. What we seem to get at vv. 5–8 is one speaker making a point by citing a *kōmōidoumenos*, Kleonymos, with another speaker capping the previous comment with his allusion to another *kōmōidoumenos*, Demaratos, be he the Spartan king or the Athenian general (see below); this then arouses the anger or exasperation of the first speaker, ‘Oh, you fool...’. We could have a pair of clever slaves such as in the opening scene of *Wasps* with their dreams or the principal characters in the prologue of *Birds* with their jokes about *xenoi*, and this would suit the rapid back-and-forth

exchanges (1 + 2 + 2 + 2). But the business of capping a previous statement with ludicrous comment sounds to me like the work of the *bōmolochos* in the agōn. Euelpides at *Birds* 460–610 or Dionysos at *Frogs* 905–1076 come to mind here. The possibility that these are the beginnings of iambic tetrameters catalectic from an agōn must be entertained, although we would expect a longer speech by the first speaker followed by the interjection of the *bōmolochos*.

Kōmōidoumenoi

Assuming, as I think we must, that Kleonymos (v. 5) is the familiar target of Old Comedy, we find him as a *kōmōidoumenos* from 425 (*Acharn.* 88, 844) to 411 (*Thesm.* 605) and active politically in 426/5 (*IG* i³ 61, 68, 69).² The meagre remains reveal no hint of the infamous shield, but seem rather to refer to ‘law-suits’ and ‘getting’ something (Luppe’s reading λῆ[ψοιτο]), although the change of subject in v. 6 (ὁ δέ) suggests that the ‘getter’ is someone other than Kleonymos. In comedy Kleonymos is usually made fun of for his alleged *rhapsaspia*, his large size and disgusting personal habits, and his political career. There may be nothing explicit in Aristophanes about Kleonymos and law-suits, but *Wasps* 592 has him involved in a major trial with the demos as jury an at *Acharnians* 844 he is placed next to Hyperbolos ‘who will fill you with legal cases’. It would not be out of place to find him as a demagogue who used the courts as a political means in the manner described at *Acharnians* 676–718 and throughout *Wasps*.

But who is Demaratos, read hesitantly in v. 7 by the initial editors and more confidently by Luppe? Assuming that ‘Demaratos’ is to be read and the person meant is someone familiar to us, we have two choices: (1) the Spartan king of the earlier fifth century, involved with intrigue within Sparta and in the Persian invasions (Hdt. 6.50–75; 7.101–4, 234–9), and (2) the Athenian general of 415/4 (Thuc. 6.105 = *PAA* 306315), whose colleague, Laispodias, was certainly known to comedy (*Birds* 1569, Eupolis fr. 107). The verb προδοῦναι in the next line might fit the Spartan better, especially in view of his accompanying the Persian king on the invasion of 480 BC, but there would be nothing strange about a political *kōmōidoumenos* being charged with ‘betraying’ the city or the people.³ The sequence of thought in lines 5–8 is not clear: Kleonymos is doing something with *graphai*; then someone else from line 5 (ὁ δέ) will or may ‘get’ something; in line 7 we can understand either ‘Demaratos would not...to betray’ or ‘he would not.to betray Demaratos’. The sense does not appear to be ‘but not even Demaratos’, which would require οὐδὲ in the text, not οὐχί. This might tell against the Spartan king, who presumably would be mentioned as a classic example of betrayal.⁴ The Spartan king may be the more likely, but at the same time we

wonder what a long-dead Spartan is doing as the butt of a comic joke at Athens in the 420s (or even 410s). The original editors in fact ask, ‘does one expect such an historical allusion?’. But Old Comedy does often mention people from history, not only the cultural figures of the past (Alkaios, Anakreon, Aesop, Hesiod, Hipponax, Homer, Ibykos, Mousaios, Orpheus, Thales, Thespis), but also historical and political leaders. Some are illustrious Athenians (Hippias, Peisistratos, Solon, Aristides, Miltiades, Kimon), but more relevant for our purpose are the figures from history, some Persians from the Persian Wars (Megabazos, Datis, Artachaies)⁵ and three Spartans (Kleomenes (*Lysist.* 274), Leonidas (*Lysist.* 1250), Perikleidas (*Lysist.* 1138)), as well as the Spartan assistance in the expulsion of Hippias (*Lysist.* 1149–56). Demaratos had an interesting, even infamous, career as exiled king and confidant of Xerxes; it would not be unreasonable to find an allusion to him in Old Comedy. Would Demaratos have been known to the Athenians in his own right as a ‘legend of the past’, or do we need to assume a knowledge of the later books of Herodotos?

Eupolis?

The attribution to Eupolis depends on the similarity of the hand, the spacing of the lines, and the size of the letters to those of *PSI* XI 1213, usually assigned to Eupolis’ first play of 429, *Prospaltioi* (= Eupolis fr. 260). The attribution of fr. 260 to *Prospaltioi*, incidentally, is not totally secure, but still very probable (Storey 1990, 14), in view of the mention of the *Prospaltioi* at v. 15 – *Prospalta*, by the way, seems to have been a large and rather colourless deme (it has a very low profile in Whitehead 1986), and the point of a chorus of *Prospaltioi* remains a mystery, unless it was Eupolis’ own deme or he wanted a chorus of rural ‘nobodies’. The first question, then, is whether *POxy.* 4301, if attributed rightly to Eupolis, belongs also to his *Prospaltioi*, or whether it should be assigned to a later comedy (‘all references...may be ten to fifteen years later than *Prospaltioi*’: Austin & Parsons 3). The rest of this note will explore two possibilities: (1) the case for *Prospaltioi* or another early comedy by Eupolis, and (2) the case for a comedy in the 410s.

The appearance of Kleonymos does not help greatly, as his known career (426–411) would suit either an attribution to *Prospaltioi* (429) – to extend his dates back to 429 would not be a great problem – or to any of Eupolis’ later comedies. The apparent absence of the shield joke might, with some trepidation, allow us to place this fragment before the incident in 425 which gave rise to the shield-joke, an incident which I have argued reflects *astrateia* rather than *rhapsaspia*.⁶ This is admittedly slender evidence, but there is no essential problem with Kleonymos as the target of a comic joke in 429. Demaratos might be a

little more help, if the Athenian general of the 410s is meant; he would clearly fit better with a comedy of that decade. If, as seems rather more likely, the Spartan king is meant, then any date in the known career of Eupolis (429–411) would be appropriate. We do not have to wonder about the date of the publication of Herodotos' *Histories* in this regard; the Spartan king could have been known at Athens by his reputation in oral history.

If Luppe is right to read χαυν[όπρωκτος, we find that word used at *Acharnians* 104–6 [425 BC], and on an early date for *POxy.* 4301 we might suspect some exchange between Aristophanes and Eupolis over this word.⁷ There has been much speculation recently about *Acharnians* and the relationship between Eupolis and Aristophanes. Ewen Bowie (1988) has argued that the *-polis* in Dikaiopolis should suggest Eupolis rather than Aristophanes, Sidwell (1994) that *Acharnians* should be read as a play by Aristophanes written as if by Eupolis, and I have observed (1990, 17–18) that ψαμμοκοστογόργα (Acharn. 3) is a piece of comic one-upmanship on Eupolis' ψαμμοκοσίους (fr. 308). Another point of contact would be *Acharnians* 162–3, where an allusion to Eupolis fr. 260.30 is followed in the next line by the name of Eupolis' father, Sosipolis (a rare name, here applied to the Athenian navy). Thus the use of χαυν[όπρωκτος in our fragment and in *Acharnians* might suggest further intertextuality and support an early date for *POxy.* 4301 (if not *Prospaltioi*, then another early play, perhaps *Chrysoun Genos*, produced at the Lenaia of 426).⁸

On the other hand, we might consider a date in the 410s, whether Demaratos is the Athenian general or the Spartan king. *POxy.* 4301 might belong to *Demoi* (417), or to *Baptai* (416–414), or to one of the plays that we know followed 415.⁹ We might well consider *Demoi* as the source, since we know that that play, an intensely political comedy with many *komoidoumenoi*, focused on the past, with four dead Athenian leaders (Solon, Miltiades, Aristides, Perikles) brought back from the dead to put things right at Athens. The comedy also mentioned Peisistratos (fr. 137), a sixth-century archon Phormion (fr. 138) and the battle of Marathon (fr. 106), and turned on the antithesis between old and modern times. In that context an allusion to the notorious Spartan king would not be out of place. On this attribution, one of the speakers (that of 5–6 and 9–10?) will have been Pyronides, whom we know to have been the 'hero' of the drama. If the comedy opened, as I suggest, with a scene between Pyronides and a companion, then *POxy.* 4301 could belong to an exchange from such a scene. Alternatively, if the ag5n was between Pyronides and an Athenian official, the fragment could have been part of a less than friendly exchange (see pp. 176–8 below).

Thus the possibility is strong that *POxy.* 4301 is a fragment of Eupolis, part of an iambic exchange, either a mock-serious one between a pair of slaves or comic allies or a more serious encounter between the adversaries in an episode or the ag5n. The back-and-forth, rapid-fire nature of the exchange perhaps favours the former. There is no guarantee, if the fragment does belong to Eupolis, that it must belong to the same text as *PSI* XI 1213, i.e., his *Prospaltioi*. As the original editors observe, the play in question may be much later than 429. *Demoi*, the most popular and best-known of Eupolis' comedies, may well be a contender.

Notes

¹ Austin & Parsons 1996, 1 see a possible political sense in ἐταῖρον, but its use in Aristophanes tends to be as 'comrade' or 'friend', rather than 'political partisan'. Only at *Lysistrata* 1153 may there be the latter sense ('the *hetairoi* of Hippias'), and perhaps in the name Peithetairos: see Hubbard 1991, 160.

² On the career and comic depiction of Kleonymos see Storey 1989 and Dunbar 1995, 238.

³ See *Wasps* 288, 593; *Birds* 766; *Frogs* 362; Metagenes fr. 10.

⁴ I would thank David Harvey for alerting me to this point.

⁵ The identity of Datis remains controversial; the scholiast suggests both the Persian general of 490 and a son of Karkinos, a tragic poet (see Traill *PAA* 301830). The most recent discussion (Olson 1998, 128) favours the former. Artachaies (for whom see Hdt. 7.117) is the result of Borthwick's excellent emendation (1970) Ἀρταχαιήν for the weak and colourless Ἀχαΐαν at *Acharn.* 709.

⁶ Storey 1989. See most recently Olson 1998, 167 who prefers two shield incidents, the latter taking place at Delion in late 424 (so van Leeuwen 1898, 66 on *Clouds* 353). I still favour a single incident that was maliciously elaborated by the comic poet.

⁷ The comic uses of χασκ-/χαυνο-, as recorded by Henderson 1991, 211, seem to occur in the early plays. *Acharnians* also has χαυνοπολίτας at 635 and the joke οἱ ἐν Χαόσι at 604.

⁸ *Chrysoun Genos* has usually been dated to the Dionysia of 424; for the dating to the Lenaia 426 see Storey 1990, 17–18.

⁹ That Eupolis was known to have produced plays after the Sicilian expedition was the basis for Eratosthenes' rejection of the story of Eupolis' drowning at the hands of Alkibiades (Cicero *adAtt.* 6.i.18): this anecdote and its refutation are fully discussed in Nesselrath's chapter in this volume.

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SOME PROBLEMS IN EUPOLIS' *DEMOI*

Ian C. Storey

Eupolis' *Demoi* was the best-known Old Comedy apart from those of Aristophanes. Aelius Aristides alludes to it in his *On the Four* (3.51 + scholia = Eupolis fr. 103; 3.365 + scholia = fr. 104 + T I (K-A V 342); 3.365 = T ii (V 342)); Plutarch cites from it in his *Perikles* (3.7 and 24.10, in the latter case with speakers named, Perikles and Pyronides), and the mysterious Platonios gives several details of the plot in his summary of Eupolis (2.13–15 Perusino = T v (K-A V 343)). The publication in 1911 of three leaves from *Demoi* on the well-known Cairo Papyrus occasioned a flurry of studies which continued well into the 1940s, but apart from Rivier (1966), and Plepelits (1970) interest has fallen off.¹ What has remained is a number of conclusions about the comedy, often cited as gospel, and its modern reputation, which it has had to live up to (or rather live down) as an earnest and serious comedy of the polis – thus for example Körte (1912, 312) 'der vielleicht grossten politischen Komödie aller Zeiten' ('perhaps the greatest political comedy of all time') and Rivier (1966, 141), whose answer to his own question 'quelle est la part du comique?' seems to be 'très peu'. One might have hoped that the discovery of 120 lines in 1911 would have done much to elucidate this lost masterpiece, but the Cairo Papyrus has raised more problems than it has solved, and it is with a few of these that I shall deal in this chapter.

Date and occasion

I suggested in 1990 that the almost universally accepted date of 412 is not as secure as it may seem. What follows is a review of the matter, aimed at the same conclusion and maintaining the possibility of an earlier date (417, rather than the 416 which I suggested earlier). I take as secure *termini*: (a) the reference to the events leading up to Mantinea (summer of 418) at fr. 99 line 30, and (b) Eupolis' death in 411; thus the years in question are 417–411. The traditional attribution to 412 is supported by the following arguments:

(1) A serious political comedy involving the return of four dead leaders to put right things at Athens requires a serious crisis as its genesis – and what more serious event than the Sicilian disaster and

its aftermath?

(2)The name of the main character, Pyronides, alludes to Myronides, the general from the 450s (earlier critics in fact read 'Myronides' in the text): he is mentioned at *Lysistrate* 801–4, and thus was in the public mind at the moment; some suggest that he died c. 412.

(3)The reference in fr. 99.12–14 to 'those in the Long Walls' places the play after the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia (413), since Attica was evacuated from 431 to 425 and after 413.

(4)At fr. 99.37 a marginal notation was read by Jensen (327, 338–9) as ΠΡ, i.e. *proboulos*, one of the officials who came to power following the disaster in Sicily (Thuc. 8.1.3 with Andrewes 1981, 6–7 and Arist. Ath. Pol. 29.2 with Rhodes 1981, 372–3) – one such character appears in *Lysistrate* 387–475 – and thus a date after 413 can be inferred.

(5)The business on the third leaf (fr. 99.78–120) of the alleged 'sacrilege' of the Epidaurian caught drinking the sacred *kykeon* reflects the furore of 415 and the profanation of the Mysteries.

(6)Finally, Beta (1994) has suggested that the allegation in fr. 99.1–4 that Peisandros has been subjected to *diastrephesthai* (which Beta takes as 'torture') is appropriate in the light of Peisandros' proposal in 415 to repeal the decree of the archonship of Skamandrios which forbade the torture of Athenian citizens (Andok. 1.43): thus *Demoi* belongs in 414 or later.

Yet I am convinced by none of these arguments. Beta's suggestion would be stronger if only Peisandros was to be subjected to *diastrephesthai*, but he is in fact one of a series (lines 5–22). There is not necessarily any hint in fr. 99 of a legal action (the joke has rather to do with a hungry foreigner), and *diastrephein* need not mean 'torture': various other more plausible alternatives have been suggested.² Not every reference to the Mysteries must postdate 414 – in fact, fr. 99.78–120 is very shadowy, and the allegation of sacrilege not at all obvious. There may be something in the margin at 99.37 (K-A do not print any reading as secure);³ thus the *proboulos* may not exist at all. Somebody is clearly responding to Aristides' greeting, but an *oiketēs* or neighbour of Pyronides is just as likely. As for the Long Walls, Andokides 1.45 shows that in 415 there were enough people living between the Long Walls to form a distinct group along with those in the City and those in the Peiraieus. In fact the implication of 99.11–14 is that 'those in the Long Walls eat better than we do': these are not the pitiable refugees of *Knights* 792–3. People clearly remained in the Long Walls rather than return to the country, and the reference in lines 11–14 is simply not a firm chronological pointer.⁴ Finally, the Pyronides-Myronides identification has had a long run with the critics,

but is essentially a false lead, and Plepelits' thesis that Pyronides is merely the name of the comic hero (with no overtones of Myronides, a general probably dead for decades) should be accepted as established.⁵

The first point remains the strongest to counter, that *Demoi* must be responding to some crisis in the city. But this is to assume too readily the earnestness of the comedy, and such may not be the case. Rather too much has been written on serious levels and intentions in Old Comedy, and we must remember that it was essentially fun and games intended to make people laugh. Eupolis hit upon an excellent theme, the return of leaders from the dead (including Perikles, whose appearance probably ensured the play's subsequent reputation – observe that fr. 102, the praise of Perikles, is quoted or alluded to by nearly thirty ancient sources), which he coupled with the ever-popular theme of the inferiority of current leaders. Rectifying a degenerate present was a good comic *topos*. For example, we do not ask in connexion with *Ekklesiazousai* what situation was so critical in the year 393 or 392 that *sōteria* (lines 202, 209, 396) needed to be sought in some bizarre fashion.

I therefore prefer a date c. 417 or 416, principally because that would allow the demagogue of 99.23–34 to be Hyperbolos, the allusion to Mantinea to be more immediate and topical, and the mention of the 'teen-age perverts dragging the generalship around their ankles' (fr. 104) to be an allusion to Alkibiades (cf. Plut. *Per.* 16.1). Certain *kōmōdoumenoi* are found also in the *Birds* of 414 – why must *Birds* be the earlier comedy? – and one or two (Laispodias, Kleokritos) seem to belong to the mid-410s. *Demoi* may have been produced in 412, but I submit that the evidence does not allow us to make that assumption with confidence. If it is felt that some crucial political background is necessary, then the events of 417–15 should be sufficiently critical: the Argive alliance, the failure of the campaign at Mantinea, the internal manoeuvrings that ended with the fiasco of Hyperbolos' ostracism, and the lead-up to the Sicilian expedition.

***Katabasis* or necromancy?**

There is a strong consensus that the first part of the play featured either a descent into the Underworld, a *katabasis* (by Pyronides) to bring back the four great Athenian leaders from the dead, or a scene in the Underworld itself, launched by the arrival of a newly dead soul, and ending with the sending of the Four.⁶ Literary models would be:

(a) the scene in *Odyssey* 11 where Achilles asks Odysseus about his son: fr. 110, where Perikles asks about his son,⁷ is usually placed in a context of this kind;

(b) the descents of Herakles and Orpheus, and their return with

Theseus and Eurydike, and

(c) plays like Aristophanes' *Frogs* and *Gerytades* and the Euripidean satyr-play *Pirithous*, which featured a journey to the underworld.

One of the problems in dealing with *Demoi* is what I might call the 'batrachocentric' assumption, that although *Demoi* is the earlier comedy, it will still have resembled *Frogs*. Dionysos goes down to the Underworld to fetch a poet; Pyronides will go down to fetch leaders. The *agōn* of *Frogs* determines who returns; thus the *agōn* in *Demoi* will have determined which leaders should be sent. Plouton appears and authorizes the return of Aeschylus; so Plouton will have appeared in the Underworld scene in *Demoi*. All these assumptions can be found in the literature.

Yet no ancient source mentions a scene in Hades, and what evidence we do have concentrates on their *return*, not on their *raising*. Descriptions are couched in the aorist or the perfect (Ael. Ar. 3.365 + scholia = K-A T i (p. 342), Plut. Per. 3.7, Val. Max. 7.2), and if Aristeides 3.487 (= T ii, p. 342) is alluding to the audience's joyful reaction to Perikles' first appearance in *Demoi*, then it was a risen Perikles and thus an underworld scene is ruled out. The comments of Plutarch at *Per.* 3.7 also imply that the questioning of the dead occurred after their resurrection (ὁ δ' Εὐπολὶς ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις πυνθανόμενος περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων ἐξ "Αἰδου δημαγωγῶν). The verb ἀνάγειν (see Platonios 2.11, *Argumentum ad Sophoclis Oed. Col.* 2.4 = K-A T vi, p. 343; fr. 99.57) does not have to mean actual fetching of the Four; it can just mean 'raise' as at Hesiod *Theog.* 626, Aesch. *Agam.* 1023. Fr. 101, an Oxyrhynchos papyrus assigned to *Demoi* on the basis of certain verbal echoes,⁸ does mention the 'lower gods' and was used by Schmid (1939) and Rivier (1966) as evidence for their appearance in the comedy. But the text is faulty, and we might only have a reference to divine permission rather than an actual appearance. It is worth observing that where a character returns from the dead in Lucian's dialogues (e.g. *Charon* 1), divine permission is briefly alluded to, but serves no major role, and the action gets going after the arrival on earth.

As Malcolm Heath (1990, 156) observes, a *katabasis* is not the only way to raise the dead, and I would prefer a necromancy in the opening scene. After all, *Odyssey* 11 begins as a necromancy with Odysseus summoning the dead, and there are dramatic parallels: the ghost of Dareios in *Persians*, a play parodied by Eupolis (fr. 207), and a fragment of Aeschylus' *Psychagogoi* (fr. 273a Radt = Diggle *Trag. Graec. Frag.* (OCT) p. 28) where 'a stranger is bidden to stand by the 'dreadful lake' (φοβεράς λίμνας, line 2), slaughter a sacrificial animal (τοῦδ' εὐσφαγίου, line 4), pour its blood into the reeds as a drink for the spirits of the dead, and invoke the chthonian gods to let a swarm

of dead come up'.⁹ This has clearly influenced the necromancy described at *Birds* 1553–64, a play close in date to *Demoi* (414 BC in my view *Demoi* is the earlier), and the two comedies may have more in common than this.

Thus I propose an opening rather in the style of *Birds*: Pyronides and a companion (fr. 105 with Luppe's attractive conjecture, Eugeiton)¹⁰ with the accoutrements for a sacrifice and soul-raising, a conversation about what they are doing and an explanation (perhaps like that of Euripides to his relative in *Thesmophoriazousai*), perhaps an encounter (like that with Tereus or Agathon or the corpse and Charon) necessary to the action, the arrival at a suitable place (a *limne*), perhaps appropriately ludicrous, and then the necromancy itself. If the chorus of *Demoi* were present (see pp. 179–81 below), we should perhaps look for an Attic setting, perhaps the marshes of Marathon, which are not out of the question if Aeschylus' *Persians* lurks even slightly behind this play: note the oath of Miltiades: οὐ γὰρ μά Μαραθῶνι τὴν ἐμὴν μάχην ('No, by my battle at Marathon!', fr. 106).

Critics have been worried about how to stage an Underworld scene involving the Four and Pyronides and perhaps Plouton with only three or four actors.¹¹ If the dead were raised in pairs (for which there is some evidence: frs. 99.47, 'you and Solon' with the dual, and 104, Miltiades and Perikles), only one of whom (Perikles, Aristides) had a speaking part, then the whole scene could be performed with three or four actors (depending on whether Pyronides was alone or accompanied). The question-and-answer fragments could just as well belong to a scene in which the heroes were summoned up to Athens as to a scene in the Underworld, and here we might place fr. 105 (Aristides and justice: (see n. 10), frs. 110–11 and 127 (Perikles on sons)¹² and probably frs. 102–3. Fr. 115, ὃ τι περ κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν ἤγαγες ('You have brought the very man who is the head of those below'), could be spoken by Pyronides' companion, but the absence of the prefix ἀν- on the verb makes me wonder if it is not better put in the mouth of someone back at Athens when Perikles returns as one of the Four, either the speaker of fr. 99.37 or of fr. 99.64–8 (see p. 180 below). Dramatic effect is also improved if the Four return by means of a necromancy. Consider the suspense: who will answer the summons, who is it in fact emerging from the main doors of the *skēnē*-building (on the *ekkyklēma*?), and the grand effect when Perikles (with distinctive cranium: note the pun in fr. 115 above) emerges last of all.¹³

The *agōn* and the structure

Most critics envisage the comedy as bipartite, with a major scene in

the Underworld involving the selection and sending of the embassy, a parabasis to cover the change of scene (of which fr. 99.1–34 is the last part), and then a return to Athens (beginning at fr. 99.35–77), in which the Four had an opportunity to put things right, each in his appropriate area. But if the opening scene was a necromancy, not very lengthy, and more of a prelude to what follows, then I would prefer a tripartite arrangement: raising the dead + choral break + return to Athens (with *agōn*) + choral break + the episodes. The issue discussed in the *agōn*, as I imagine it, would not be whether to send an embassy from the dead or whom to send, but something on the lines of handing over the state to the Four, on the grounds that the dead could only be an improvement on the living. *Demoi* would thus resemble *Clouds*, *Lysistrata* and *Ekklesiazousai* in structure.

Some thoughts about the episodes. It is often assumed that each of the Four had a one-to-one encounter with an appropriate foil: at fr. 99.78–120 we see Aristides the Just taking on a *sykophantes*; for Miltiades we might postulate an incompetent general; for Perikles a political leader (Hyperbolos or, even better, Alkibiades?), for Solon a law-maker (see Platonios' comments at 2.11–12 Koster (*Proleg.* p. 6) = K-A T v (V 343)), δι' αὐτῶν εἰσηγούμενος ἢ περὶ θέσεως νόμων ἢ καταλύσεως). In the fifth century, however, Solon was regarded also as a *sophos* (Hdt. 1.29–30), and an encounter between Solon and a sophist (dare we suggest Sokrates? – cf. *Birds* 1553–64) would have been good fun. Alternatively, there is a fourth-century Apulian bell-crater which shows us a comic scene in which a musician ('Phrynis') is being forcibly handled by an old man ('Pyronides') (Fig. 6): this is almost certainly a depiction of a scene from *Demoi*. Could Solon the poet have encountered this representative of the 'New Music'¹⁴ and dispatched him with the help of Pyronides? Phrynis, on the other hand, may just be another of the familiar and unwelcome 'intruders' of Old Comedy, who arrives to celebrate the return of the Four (fr. 91.41–5 does indeed call for food and drink to be prepared) and is dragged off stage by Pyronides (see Storey 1995/96, 137–41).



Fig. 6. Pyronides and Phrynus: a scene from Eupolis' Demoi Courtesy Direzione dei Musei Provinciali, Salerno. Paestan bell-krater by Assteas, mid-4th cent. Salerno, Museo Provinciale Pc 1812. Height 30.5 cm.

The musician Phrynus is roughly handled by the old man Pyronides. Phrynus wears a laurel wreath (a sign of victory, pretentiousness, or both) and short flapping cloak, and holds a lyre and plectrum. His lyre is of the square-based box type, the standard concert instrument (West 1992, 50–5). It has six strings, though Phrynus is said to have increased the number to nine (Proclus *Chrest.* 320a; but see West 62–4). Pyronides is represented as an old man, with white hair and beard. He carries a fearsome-looking wiggly stick, no doubt soon to be brought into action. Phrynus falls back in terror as Pyronides grabs his wrist, perhaps to drag him off stage. On the costume and masks see Trendall and Webster IV.31 (p. 140). A small dog, who is unlikely to have featured in the play, enlivens the scene.

Taplin O. *Comic Angels*, Oxford 1993, 42, 114; and plate 16.16.

Trendall A.D. and Webster T.B.L. *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, London 1971.

West M.L. *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford 1992.

The chorus

What should a chorus of ‘Demoi’ be? On one interpretation they

represented twenty-four of the Kleisthenic demes, perhaps even an individuated chorus as in Aristophanes' *Birds*, Ameipsias' *Konnos* and Eupolis' *Poleis*:¹⁵ thus Norwood (1931, 187): 'Probably twenty-four named demes were presented, chosen for their importance or comic utility (queer names, interesting members etc.)'. One wonders just how many humorous or stereotypical possibilities were available. The distinctive residents of Acharnai had been treated already, but perhaps Anagyros with its malodorous smell, Marathon with its victory, Eleusis and Sounion with their cults, and Anaphlystos with its unfortunate name could have provided comic possibilities.¹⁶ And what sort of distinctive visual impressions could be provided? Even if we reject the individuated chorus, the chorus could still be the Athenian political demes: thus Ehrenberg (1951, 61): 'The whole is a purely political comedy with a social background provided by the chorus... They represent the whole body of the narrow-minded and insignificant population of town and countryside, who in their close attachment to the land and to their neighbours were the very basis of the State.' Such a fundamentally political basis for the chorus would make them very appropriate judges for the *agōn* as I have envisaged it.

But the more usual meaning of *dēmoi* in fifth-century texts is the 'country towns' as opposed to the city: examples include Aristotle *Poetics* 1448a, Isokrates 7.46 and Herodotos 1.62 – the last a particularly clear antithesis of 'town' and 'country' (cf. Whitehead 1986, 364–8). This gives us an opposition that is familiar in Old Comedy, and as parallels we can cite the Acharnians and the farmers in *Peace* and *Ploutos* and, one presumes, in *Georgoi*. We find some support for this in fr. 99.11–4, where 'those in the Long Walls eat better than we do': this fits well if 'we' are representatives of the countryside (cf. the people of Phyle in Menander *Dyskolos* 3–4 who 'scrape the rocks for a living'). A colleague has observed that this sort of antithesis (poorly-off countrymen v. better-off city folk) would fit better with a production date of 412, after the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia and the subsequent hardships that this created, but we need not push the condition of the chorus too far, and *Ploutos* 223–6 shows that even in peace-time the poverty of countryfolk was a dramatic *topos*.

But whichever view we adopt, we need to consider to what extent the metaphor embodied in the chorus continued through the comedy. On the second view, with the *dēmoi* as 'villages' or 'country towns', there is the danger that they will just become 'countryfolk' instead of a metaphorical entity. For example at fr. 99.14, 'they eat better than we do' suggests a fairly 'human' chorus, but at 99.31–2 the 'you' puts them at a bit more distance, rather more like the Clouds in Aristophanes. Perhaps *Clouds* might prove a useful parallel for the

study of *Demoi*, since the chorus must combine a human personality with a metaphorical identity; and if we knew more about *Poleis*, we might be in a better position to deal with the chorus of *Demoi*.

Two passages from fr. 99 raise problems about the role of the chorus. First, lines 45–7: γν]ώσεσθε τοὺς δῆμους ὅσω □. εἰ]σι νῦν διακείμενοι | ἥν[ι]κ' ἦρχετον σὺ καὶ Σόλων., (' You will know the *Demoi* by how much | they are now in a condition | when you and Solon were in power') suggest that the Four will recognize something about the 'demes' (who must be the chorus):¹⁷ it seems as if the Four have not yet formally encountered them. Later, at lines 60–3, (XO.) .] . τος γάρ ὡς . [] ἄνδρες | ὧν κ[ι]χθόν]τες ἐν τοίαισιν | ἡδοναῖσι κείμεθα (' . . like (?) the men | we chanced to meet, we bask amongst such | pleasures'), they seem to be celebrating this encounter; there is a strong impression that they have just met and recognized the Four. The trimeters at lines 64–8,

. . .] . ι δοκῶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤδη τοῦ[σδ'] ἰ[δεῖν
καθ]ημένους, οὓς φασιν ἦκειν παρ[ά] νεκρῶν
.] . α μὲν δὴ τῶν φίλων προστ. [
ὡς ὀρθὸς ἐστηκὼς] στ' αὐτῶν . [
Πυρωνίδης, ἐρώμεθ' [α]ὐτό[ν]

I think I can already see those men | sitting there, the
men who, they say, have come from the dead | . . . Since
Pyronides is standing upright ... of them, | let us ask him
...

may belong to the chorus (note the plural in line 68), and if so, would strongly reinforce the conclusion that the chorus and the Four have just met; but they are more likely spoken by a new arrival, perhaps the antagonist of Pyronides in the ensuing *sagōn*.¹⁸ If the chorus and the Four have not yet met, what happened in the first part of the comedy (which for many critics was a lengthy and extended scene in the Underworld)? Keil (1912, 247–51), followed by Page (1940, 203–4), suggested that in the opening scene we had a chorus of 'dead demes' (exactly what that means I am not sure: cf. Whitehead 1986, 330), who witnessed the scene in Hades, and who represented the times when Athens was more prosperous; and that after the return to Athens the identity of the chorus changed to that of less well-off present-day demes (lines 45–7: see Keil 1912, 247–51 and Page 203–4). This change would have occurred either just before or just after fr. 99.

Most recent critics rightly reject the two-chorus model and accept a single living chorus.¹⁹ But the problem arising from fr. 99 lines 45–7 and 60–3 remains. Although it would be nice to have a chorus present

their political club.. .sneaks into the generalships and comed- ... Don't you remember how, when Heaven thundered at you and the generals wouldn't allow you to attack Mantinea, he said he'd use force against them and tie 'em up in the stocks? Whosoever chooseth such men as magistrates, may the earth never breed cattle for him nor bear him harvest. (trs. FDH, with borrowings from Page)

As trochaic epirrhemata in Aristophanes are found in multiples of four, and as it seems rather unlikely that the epirrhema of *Demoi* begins at line 23 – we really expect an introduction like the opening at *Knights* 1274–7 – it seems safe to assume that the preceding four lines are missing. Here the demagogue would have been identified and the nature of the caricature established. Both the identity of this vilified demagogue and exactly what the chorus is saying about him are matters of great dispute.²¹ I am not concerned to go into detail here about these, although I do wonder what an ἀπράγμων πόρνος ('non-political prostitute?') in line 26 might be, whether νεύσαντα in line 27, translated above as 'nod your head', can really (as Plepelits interprets) mean 'hang one's head in shame', and in line 29 what ταῖς στρατηγίαις ὑφέρπει should mean ('creeps about', 'brings down', 'sneaks into' the generalships?). Line 29 is probably the most problematic, since what follows in lines 30–34 seems to be expanding upon this statement, and the tantalizing word τρυγῶδο[has suggested to many scholars some connection with comedy: I would myself prefer to see τρυγῶδο[as a verb with something like τὴν πόλιν or τοὺς θεοὺς as its object. At lines 30–34 I take it that the scene referred to is a meeting of the *ekklesia* during the summer of 418 concerning the campaign that would culminate with the battle at Mantinea in the autumn, and not the conduct of the demagogue on the battlefield itself.²²

Principally, however, I am concerned here with the assumption which underlies studies such as those of Plepelits and Sartori, that this demagogue is someone new on the political scene and that the chorus is warning against electing him to office. This will of course affect the arguments for his identification. Thus κἀξιοὶ δημηγορεῖν (line 23) has overtones of 'and has the audacity to enter politics' – note that δημηγορεῖν bears a positive sense, unlike the more pejorative δημαγωγεῖν. Ταῖς στρατηγίαις ὑφέρπει (line 29), then, means something like 'insinuates himself into the political system', i.e. 'campaigns for office', and the closing couplet would reflect the same sort of outrage as the *Clouds* express over the election of Kleon (*Clouds* 581–7).

Most attention has been devoted to line 24, literally 'yesterday and

the day before he had no *phateres* with us', and a number of assumptions have been made: that this man did suffer from some deficiency in citizen status;²³ that this situation had in some way been 'recently' rectified; and that without membership in a phratry he would not have been a 'real' citizen or able to become involved in politics until 'yesterday or the day before'.²⁴ All this fits in well with the assumption that these lines refer to a new man, although a production-date of 412 has certainly raised some problems for this line of interpretation, in that he must have been politically active in the summer of 418 (and thus without the stigma of uncertain status) but had only 'now' (in 412) become prominent enough to warrant comic attention; thus Sartori (1975, 29) is forced to water down $\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\eta\nu$ to allow for the acquisition of phratry membership c. 421.

But it is worth examining the use of $\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\eta\nu$ in similar contexts. First, at *Frogs* 726 the political leaders are said to be 'a coinage minted just the other day' ($\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\eta\nu$), and at Demosthenes 18 (*On the Crown*) 130 (part of an attack on his arch-rival Aischines in 330) the orator develops a lengthy and imaginative caricature of the personal background of his opponent, 'who just the other day ($\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\eta\nu$) became an Athenian and a politician and added two syllables to his father's name'. There can be no hint here of any biographical truth, especially in 'just the other day', since Demosthenes 18 belongs to 330 and Aischines had been on the scene for at least twenty years. I suggest that the phrase $\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\eta\nu$ belongs to the iambic tradition and is part of an established and well-developed caricature of an enemy.²⁵ Thus we should not look for correspondence with any actual biographical detail, or assume that something had actually happened to him 'yesterday or the day before'. Rather, this is part of a traditional *psogos* against a comic target, and very likely a target of some years' standing.

So who is the demagogue? Several names have been proposed, including a roster of politicians of the second rank suggested by Sartori. I would put only three on a short list.

First, and most likely, is Hyperbolos, assuming a production date of 417 for *Demoi*, that is. Schmid (1939, 414–16) attempted to argue that it could be Hyperbolos even if the play were produced in 412, but his case was effectively countered by Plepelits (1970, 85): a politician in his fifth year of ostracism could hardly be the subject of the present tenses of lines 23–34. But if we accept a date of c. 417, Hyperbolos becomes the odds-on favourite. Mantinea would be a recent memory, it would be natural to refer to Hyperbolos as the demagogue of the day, and if like Kleon and Kleophon he had been in favour of prosecuting the war, we may detect some manoeuvring between the

generals who were less than enthusiastic about the campaign and their more bellicose rivals. Platon (frs. 182–3, 185 and 203), Polyzelos (fr. 5) and Eupolis' *Marikas* show that Hyperbolos was caricatured in comedy as a *xenos*;²⁶ furthermore, Platon fr. 183 shows that his Attic Greek was deficient in some way: note the close similarity between καὶ οὐδ' ἄν ἡττίκιζεν in Eupolis (line 25) and ὁ δ' οὐ γὰρ ἡττίκιζεν in Platon (cf. Colvin, pp. 288–91 below). The idea that politicians had been whores (*pornoi*) in their youth had become a running comic joke (see *Knights* 875–80, *Ekkles.* 111–14 and Platon fr. 202) and may also be present in Hyperbolos' nickname, 'Marikas'.²⁷ It is quite possible that the alleged foreign origins of Hyperbolos originate with his appearance as Marikas, an idea derived from Kleon as Paphlagon in *Knights*, and that we need seek no further for any biographical fact.

My second favourite would be Kleophon, the candidate of Jensen and Plepelits. His name appears among the ostraka for 416 (Lang 1990, 90–1, nos. 600–7), and thus he could have been a political figure by the summer of 418. Vanderpool explained Kleophon's *xenia* ('foreign origin') as the result of a marriage between Kleippides (the patronymic is assured by the ostraka) and a Thracian woman, and placed his birth in the 450s before Perikles' law on citizenship of 451/0.²⁸ Like Hyperbolos, he was ridiculed as an alleged *xenos* (*Frogs* 679–85, 1532) with a foreign element in his speech (the Thracian swallow on his tongue at *Frogs* 681 and Platon fr. 61: see Colvin below, p. 288), while *Thesmophoriazousai* 805 links him with a common prostitute. The arguments in favour of Kleophon can be found in Plepelits, although he favours a production date of 412 and thus needs to show that although Kleophon could have been active in 418, his career did not really get under way until after 415, and he would therefore have been a new force in 412. On a date of 417 for *Demoi* Kleophon would be the best candidate if Eupolis' target is in fact a 'new man' on the political scene.

Third is Archedemos the bleary-eyed, the 'leading demagogue among the living dead who has not yet grown his phratry-teeth' of *Frogs* 416–21 (see Dover 1993, 248 and Sommerstein 1996, 193–4 ad loc.), about whom Eupolis asks in fr. 80 ἐπιχώριος δ' ἔστ' ἢ ξένης ἀπὸ; χθονὸς;, 'Is he local or from some foreign land?' Fr. 80 is from *Baptai*, a play which belongs to 418–15, and is thus close in time to my date for *Demoi*, and he is on the receiving end of a joke about his lack of and later acquisition of phratry-membership. He could have been active politically in 418, although his career really belongs to the next decade.²⁹ There are no explicit sexual allusions in other sources to go with lines 26–8, but *Frogs* 416–30 does link him with Kallias and Kleisthenes, both infamous for their sexual activities, and uses the all-purpose term *mochtheria*, depravity (line 421). A reasonable

candidate, then, but more of an outsider in the running. Others that have been suggested (mainly by Sartori 1975, 87–99, who was looking for a pro-Alkibiadean follower of Anaxagoras) are: Syrakosios, Androkles, Dietrephes, Demostratos and Peisandros.

I might throw another name into the ring. The ostraka have provided evidence for one Philinos, son of Kleippides, who must be a brother of Kleophon. Raubitschek identified him as the man involved in the prosecutions of 420/19 described in Antiphon 6, and he can plausibly be seen as a democratic partisan acting against a conservative/oligarchic faction (Lang 1990, 100 (no. 659); Raubitschek 1954). He could also be the *komodoumenos* of Eupolis fr. 223:

ὁ Φιλῖνος οὗτος, τί ἄρα πρὸς ταύτην βλέπεις;
οὐκ ἀπολιβάξεις εἰς ἀποικίαν τινά;

Hey, you, Philinos! why are you looking at her like that, then? Go piss off to some colony!

This fragment comes from *Poleis*, which is usually dated to 422, although a case can be made for 420.³⁰ The business about ‘pissing off’ to some colony is a nice touch if this is Kleophon’s brother, since Aristophanes similarly wishes Kleophon himself out of the country at *Frogs* 1532–3. If Kleophon could be seen as a *xenos*, and especially if Vanderpool is right about his father’s foreign marriage, then Philinos could be tarred with the same brush as Kleophon (I conjecture that Philinos is the older brother). Again, this works better if the demagogue in *Demoi* is a new man against whom Eupolis’ chorus is warning the people, and it clearly works better if *Demoi* is dated to 417.

A few years after the appearance of the Cairo papyrus, Wilamowitz (1919, 69) could comment ‘Mir sind die *Demen* noch ein vollkommenes Rätsel’ (‘I still find the *Demoi* a total riddle’). I submit that some ninety years after Lefebvre’s initial publication of the text, this enigmatic lost masterpiece is still riddled with problems and erroneous assumptions. I have tried in this chapter to lay a few of these to rest.

Notes

¹The original publication of fr. 99 was Lefebvre (1911); the attribution to *Demoi* was first made by Korte (1911) on the basis of lines 41–3, which fit well with a fragment of *Demoi* attested by Athenaios (3.123a). Some have doubted the attribution of the third leaf (= fr. 99.78–120), including the initial editor, Jensen (1916, 346–54), and Robert (1918), but all other critics have accepted the attribution. A full bibliography of work on *Demoi* can be found in *CGFP* p. 84 and K-A V 344, to which Heath 1990 and Storey 1990 and 1994 should now be added.

²These include: (1) ‘beat’, ‘thrash’, argued by Korte 1912, 294 and Plepelits, who would thus have λώψας and διώστροφεν in fr. 99.8 mean much the same thing; (2)

'turn one's stomach' (cf. *Acharn.* 15), Immisch's suggestion recorded by Korte 1919; (3) 'twist one's neck', thus 'kill', Schoene's interpretation accepted by Korte 1919, 312; (4) a *sensus obscaenus* equivalent to our 'screw': see Mayer 1912, Maas 1912 and Henderson 1975, 180–1; and (5) 'twist', 'torture', suggested by Wust 1936. For the most recent study of the word see Dunbar 1995, 192. [The whole passage is discussed from a different angle by Zimmermann, pp. 276–8 in this volume.]

³The original editors read . M, while Edmonds had ΕΠ (for ἐπιστάτης).

⁴Furley 1996, 133 n. 9 rejects my date of 412 for *Demoi* as 'highly conjectural' and prefers the 'better evidence' of 'those in the Long Walls', without considering the implications of the passage from Andokides.

⁵Plepelits 116–32. More recent critics (apart from Rivier 220–1) have either followed Plepelits in rejecting the equation of Pyronides and Myronides (e.g. Luppe 1972, Sartori 11 and Heath 1990, 155), or at least express appropriate caution (e.g. Henderson 1987, 171 and Taplin 1993, 42). But the old assumption still lingers at K-A V 351.

⁶In particular see Körte 1919, 16; Keil 1912, 247–55; Page 203; Schmid 1946, 125–6; and Plepelits 75. The statement of Weinreich 1987, 243 is typical: 'Es steht fest, dass der erste Teil des Stuckes im Hades spielt, und dass dort beschlossen und von den Unterweltsgottern gebilligt wird, eine Abordnung von grossen Toten Athens hinauf in die Stadt zu entsenden' ('It is certain that the first part of the play took place in Hades, and that a decision was taken there and ratified by the gods of the Underworld, to send a delegation of great dead Athenians up to the city'). Readers should be warned that Weinreich bases his reconstruction of *Demoi* largely on Edmonds' fantasies.

⁷ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ: ὁ νόθος δὴ μοι ζῇ;

ΠΥΡΩΝΙΔΗΣ: καὶ πάλαί γ' ἄν ἦν ἀνὴρ εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς πόρνῆς ὑπαρρώδει κακόν.

PERIKLES Is my bastard son alive? PYRONIDES Yes, and he would be a man by now, but the unfortunate fact that his mother was a whore has made him a bit nervous. On the interpretation of this fragment see K-A ad loc., with Stadter 1989, 241–2 and Ogden 1996, 60–2.

⁸The attribution was first made by Schroeder 1915, 65–6.

⁹Fragments in Radt, summary from Dunbar 1995, 711; see Bardel forthcoming.

¹⁰Galen *Affect. dign.* 7.10:

ταῦτ' ἀρὰ καὶ ὁ Εὐπολὶς ἐρώτῳμενον Ἀριστείδην τὸν δίκαιον πῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥτηνῆτιός ὦν†

(A) ἐγένου δίκαιος οὕτω διαπρεπῶς;

(AP) ἡ μὲν φύσις τὸ μέγιστον <ἦν>, ἔπειτα δὲ
κάγὼ προθύμως τῇ φύσει συνελάμβανον

ὑπὸ <τοῦ σῦκοφάν> τοῦ ἥ πενητίας ὦν (Keil 1912, 242 n. 1); ὑπὸ τοῦ γείτονος ἢ παθῶν (H. Schoene in de Boer 1937, 26); ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐγείτονος *vel* Θουγείτονος τί παθῶν (Luppe 1972, 308); ὑπὸ τοῦ <Διογν> ἡ; τοῦ *vel* τοῦ <ζητ> ἡ τοῦ (Kind 1938, 777)

Thus Eupolis [represents] Aristides the Just being asked by [text corrupt: there have been various conjectures]:

(A) Is that how you became famous for justice?

(AR) It was my character that was chiefly responsible, and then I myself joined forces with my character.

¹¹On the debate about the number of actors needed (or allowed) in Old Comedy see most recently MacDowell 1994 and Marshall 1997.

¹²On fr. 127 and its relationship to *Demoi* see Westerink 1966.

¹³Plut. *Per.* 3.7, who quotes fr. 115, says 'Perikles was named last'. This may just

refer to a scene at Athens, but surely the Four were raised in roughly chronological order, and dramatic effect demands that Perikles should be the last to appear.

¹⁴For Phrynīs (c. 490–20 BC) see *Clouds* 971 and Pherekrates fr. 155.14–17 (*Cheiron*) with Hall, pp. 414–5 in this volume; discussions in Barker 1984, 93–6, 237 and West 1992, 64, 182, 194–5, 360–1. On the New Music see West 1992, 356–72 and Caspo forthcoming.

¹⁵On choruses of this kind see Wilson 1977; Dunbar 1995, 15–16, 227–8, 244; and Harvey, pp. 107–8 below. Edmonds' notions about the chorus of demes are rightly dismissed by Whitehead 1986, 330 n. 17; see now Rosen 1993, 150–1: 'the chorus was composed of male members of various demes'.

¹⁶Full discussion in Whitehead 1986, 328–38, with a list of demes mentioned in comedy (333–4). For Anaphlystos see Henderson 1975, 221; for Kopros, the 'prime candidate' for humour, see Whitehead 334–5. We might translate them as Wankleigh and Dungsness.

¹⁷Incidentally, in line 47 I take the σ ? to be Aristēides: see the discussion by Plepelits 135.

¹⁸Körte 1912, 303 and 1919, 19–20 prefers the chorus-leader; Jensen 1916, 341, Schmid 1939, 422 and Page 210–1 identify the speaker as the *proboulos* (or whoever speaks line 37); Plepelits 113–5 suggests a new arrival who will take part in the scene that follows.

¹⁹Plepelits 69–76 provides a good summary of the matter.

²⁰On the problems of the stanzas in the iambic passage and the implications for the whole see Luppe 1982, 15–17 with the bibliography in his 16 n. 1 and 17 n. 1. The parallel between the abusive dimeters in *Demoi* and *Frogs* is discussed in further detail below by Zimmermann, pp. 276–8.

²¹The fullest discussion is that of Sartori, whose entire monograph is devoted to the exegesis of these lines. See also Plepelits 88–91; Edmonds 1957, 346–7; Körte 1912, 298–302; Jensen 1916, 336–7; Schmid 1939, 414–17; Storey 1990, 27; and Bignone 1912/3, 92–103.

²²On this point see Plepelits 92–6 and Sartori 71–2; critics who set the scene at Mantinea itself include K. Robert (1918) and Page 209.

²³MacDowell 1993 has argued cogently that accusations of *xenia* are not bandied about in random fashion, but are based on some real foundation.

²⁴The best survey of this general problem is Lambert 1993, 25–57 (ch. I), who concludes that a man without a phratry would be a rare creature and technically not a 'real' citizen.

²⁵Dover 1974, 23–33 has some useful comments on the common ground here between comedy and oratory. [Scholars have long been puzzled by Herodotos' statement at 7.143.1 that Themistokles had 'only recently' (*νεωστὶ*) come to the fore in 480 when he had in fact been politically active for some twelve years: see e.g. Podlecki 1975, 68–9. Storey's explanation of *χθὲς καὶ πρῶην* points towards a solution of the problem: a hostile source, which may have been iambic or comic. – FDH]

²⁶See also Andok. fr. 5 and the scholiast to *Peace* 681, who cites the historian Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F95); further discussion in Sommerstein in this volume, p. 441.

²⁷On this matter see Cassio 1985, Morgan 1986 and Sommerstein in this volume.

²⁸Vanderpool 1952, who assumes that the law was immediately effective, i.e. anyone not yet eighteen years old and with a foreign mother was thereby prevented from attaining citizen status. I would prefer to see the law as affecting anyone born to a foreign mother after 450. On the law and its implications see Rhodes 1981, 331–4; Patterson 1981.

²⁹See Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.2, Mem. 2.9, Lysias 14.25 and possibly Aischines 3.139. The

entry at PAA 208855 is more cautious than that at PA 2326.

³⁰On the date of *Poleis* see Storey 1990, 18–20, to which we must add Sidwell 1994, 99–100, who argues for 426. Fr. 223 is discussed by Rosen 1993, 158–60.

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Chapter 13

THE CHOICE OF DEAD POLITICIANS IN EUPOLIS' *DEMOI*:

Themistocles' exile, hero-cult and delayed
rehabilitation;
Pericles and the origins of the Peloponnesian War

Thomas Braun

Some time ago I set the Ancient History paper for finalists in Literae Humaniores at Oxford. One of my questions was 'Were the Athenians snobs?'. To our university's credit, hardly any of the examinees knew the meaning of snobbery. They thought it meant 'pride in one's country'. So they answered yes.

For their evidence, they would not have needed to look beyond comedy, though they also referred to Pericles' funeral speech and the fourth-century orators. This pride proved to be largely pride in Athenian *history*. In some ways it resembled British pride today, which, despite what you may read in the press, is not extinct: there is an innocent and exuberant display of it every year on the last night of the Proms. But British history stretches back far longer. The *Daily Express* conducted a survey recently which showed that most young people don't know anything about it, and aren't keen to learn because two thousand years are too much for them. Modern Britain resembles ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, burdened with an immense past. When Nabuna'id (555–39 BC) restored the temple of the moon-god at Ur of the Chaldees, to make his daughter priestess there, he found, read, and reverently replaced memorial inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar I of Babylon (1124–1103 BC) and of the priestess sister of Rim-Sin king of Ur (1822–1763 BC) (trs. Smith 1924, 54–6; further examples in Oates 1986, 160–2). By contrast, Athens' attested, continuous past in Eupolis' day went back only 220 years. Apart from a few names of magistrates, no historical fact was recorded earlier than Cylon's conspiracy of 640/636/632/628 BC. It is as though British history could be traced no further back than the Gordon riots of 1780. Athenian memory leaped further back, across the Dark Ages, to the mythical kings and the synoecism of Theseus, reckoned to have taken place some eight and a half centuries before Eupolis.¹ It was as

though the best-informed people in this country could name some Plantagenet kings, not necessarily in the right order, and had a shadowy notion of Magna Charta, but saw between then and 1780 no more than a yawning gap.

It was pride in *recent* deeds that stirred the Athenians. Pericles' Funeral Speech of 431, when invoking Athenian heroism in the Persian Wars, referred to what he had experienced as a child: his father had been a victorious commander in 479. This time-scale resembles recollections of the Battle of Britain today. Fourteen years after the Funeral Speech, in c. 417, the Athenians had successfully resisted Sparta and were soon to throw their resources into the Sicilian expedition. Patriotic hearts were still beating high. But, at the same time, comedy-writers harped on the lack of a feel-good factor. Eupolis in his *Demoi* recalled statesmen from the dead to rescue demagogue- and sycophant-ridden Athens from sleaze. He did not need to recall them from very long ago.

For the date of the *Demoi*, I gladly follow the arguments of Ian Storey, the world's most distinguished Eupolitician (Storey 1990, 1994 and in this volume). As he says, the play need not be dated to 412, after the failure of the Sicilian expedition, when there had been a revulsion against the demagogic excesses of 415/4, and disillusionment with radicalism was paving the way for the oligarchic coup of 411. I accept Storey's arguments for c. 417. It was surely possible to berate Athenian demagogues then too. Aristophanes, after all, had staged the *Knights* in 424 at the height of Cleon's success. We note fr. 99.30, from which it appears that the first battle of Mantinea, 418, was a recent memory. The good breakfast for those in the Long Walls (fr. 99.13) suggests that they were thinly garrisoned, not crowded with refugees: that suits 417, but not 412 when the Spartans were beginning to ravage Attica from Decelea. The reference to Hyperbolus (fr. 99.24) is consistent with that politician still busying himself in Athens in 418/7. That appears to be the date of a decree of this year to which he proposed an amendment (*IG* i³ 85 with Woodhead 1949). Detested by Aristophanes as early as 425 (*Acharn.* 846), Hyperbolus had long since incurred the resentment of the silent majority which was to vote for his ostracism in 416 or 415, when what was expected was a decision between Nicias and Alcibiades.²

From the scholiast to Aelius Aristides' 46th oration ὑπὲρ τῶν τεσσάρων ('For the Four') we learn that Eupolis called from the shades Miltiades, Aristides, Solon and Pericles.³ Just possibly he resurrected others. Harmodius the tyrannicide may be the speaker in fr. 99.35 who greets his fatherland with the words ὦ γῆ πατρίᾳ, χαῖρε ('Hail, o fatherland!'), for Kassel and Austin validate the reading APM (ὀδοῖος) rather than AP (ἰστέιδης). But that is as far as we can go.

Since the publication of Plepelits' work in 1970 we have known that the mid- fifth-century marshal Myronides should not replace 'Pyronides' in fr. 99.68. Fr. 137 led Edmonds in 1934 to follow Wilamowitz in including Peisistratus in a resurrected 'Ministry of National Unity', like the British National Government of Edmonds' day. But this is preposterous. The British politicians of that government were all well-intentioned constitutionalists. It would have been out of the question for Athenian democrats to include a tyrant in a ministry, however fantastical, for they were obsessive in their horror of tyranny, and never had any ministries anyhow. True, the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 61a says Εὐπολις δῶ ἐν Δήμοις εἰσάγει τὸν Πεισίστρατον βασιλῶα ('Eupolis in the *Demoi* introduces Peisistratus as king', fr. 137). But εἰσάγει (introduces) need not mean 'brings on to the stage', and the *Suda* β 144 reproduces this sentence with καλεῖ (calls) instead.⁴ All we can deduce is that a line of the *Demoi* introduced the dead tyrant's name with the noteworthy and flattering title of 'king', which Pindar had given Hieron tyrant of Syracuse (Ol. 1.11, 23, 117; *Pyth.* 1.48, 60, 68; 2.14; 3.70). It by no means follows that Eupolis himself endorsed the appellation.

Two statesmen were *not* brought back from the dead: Themistocles and Cimon. Aelius Aristides' 46th oration has as its theme the four politicians named in Plato's *Gorgias* 503c: Themistocles, Cimon, Miltiades and Pericles. 'A comic writer', he says, 'has composed a resurrection of four champions, in which two of these are included.' The scholiast on Aelius Aristides says these two are Miltiades and Pericles.⁵ It follows that Themistocles and Cimon are missing. Since, even with four or more actors, there is a limit to the number of characters that can be brought on in a good comedy, we need not be surprised at the omission of Cimon, great patriot and general though he was. Aristophanes, needing only Aeschylus and Euripides for the *agon* of the *Frogs*, was to dismiss Sophocles in a few tactful lines (*Frogs* 76–82, 787–94, 1515–18); but that was not to deny Sophocles' place in the triumvirate of great tragedians. However, Eupolis' omission of Themistocles, the saviour of Athens in 480, is at first sight astonishing. Aristophanes had whole-heartedly praised Themistocles in 424 in the *Knights*. And how did he come to include Pericles, whom Aristophanes had blamed in the *Acharnians* of 425 and in the *Peace* of 421 for bringing the misfortune of the Peloponnesian war upon Athens? It is this omission and this inclusion that I wish to discuss.

1. Themistocles' exile, hero-cult and delayed rehabilitation

In the *Knights*, Cleon, 'the Paphlagonian', boasts that he has done even more good for the city than Themistocles. His sausage-selling antagonist exclaims against such audacity: Themistocles made Athens

replete, having found it scarcely filled to the brim; he had kneaded in the Piraeus, as an extra luncheon delicacy, and added new fish to the meal while taking nothing old away. How unlike Cleon, with his partition-walls and oracle-mongering! Yet Themistocles was exiled, whereas Cleon wipes his fingers on the finest barley-pellets when he gets his free meals at the Prytaneum (*Knights* 812–19 with Marr 1996). When the sausage-seller brings Demos a warm tunic, Demos says delightedly ‘Not even Themistocles ever thought of such a thing’ (884). Themistocles’ patriotic suicide by drinking bull’s blood is remembered (83–4).⁶ All this chimes in with the tradition which Herodotus, Thucydides and Plutarch, with numerous variants, consistently endorse. Themistocles was in their view unfailingly clever and resourceful in working for Athens’ good. He was the archetypal Athenian patriot.⁷

The principal reason for Themistocles’ exclusion from resurrection in the *Demoi* is given by a surviving line, quoted by Plutarch in his *Life of Aristides* (4.3): ‘the man’s astute, but can’t control his hands’: σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ, τῆς δὴ χειρὸς οὐ κρατῶν (fr. 126). Kassel and Austin comment: ‘*indicatur cur non Themistocles quoque ab inferis excitatus sit*’. He had been brilliantly successful in lining his own pockets. His property is supposed to have amounted to less than three talents when he entered politics. After his condemnation and exile, his friends concealed much of his fortune and sent it after him to Asia; there allegedly remained for state confiscation eighty or a hundred talents (Plut. *Them.* 25.3, quoting Theophrastus (eighty) and Theopompus (a hundred, *FGrH* 115 F 86): Marr 1998b, 146–7 ad loc.). But few politicians did not try, less brilliantly, to make money out of politics. Themistocles, in the long term, earned admiration rather than blame for his self-enrichment, because he had never put his own interests above his city’s. Δωροδοκία, bribery, was an ambiguous concept, as it still is today.⁸ ‘You are quite prepared’, Hyperides was to say to the Athenians, ‘to allow generals and orators to make large personal profits... However, you are careful to lay down one condition: that the money they take should be used in your interests, not against them’ (5 (*against Demosth.*) 24–5). The condition was enshrined in a law dating probably from the sixth century.⁹ Never in his life did Themistocles break it. Herodotus (8.4.4–5.3) tells how the Euboeans bribed him with thirty talents to prevent the Spartan and Corinthian fleets from withdrawing prematurely from Artemisium in 480. Themistocles secured their compliance by passing on eight as though from the Athenians, and secretly kept twenty-two for himself. Half a millennium later, Plutarch was indignantly to reject this along with other ‘malicious’ Herodotean stories (*On the Malice of Herodotus* 34, 37, 40 = *Mor.* 867b–c, 869c–f, 871c–e). It will have impressed,

not shocked, Themistocles' contemporaries, countrymen of the wily Odysseus (Fornara 1971, 72–4). What mattered most to them was that the delayed withdrawal had given Athens a vital breathing-space, and that Themistocles never took money against the city's interests or damaged them, even when in exile and favoured by the Persian King. Themistocles was believed to have taken his own life rather than obey the King's orders to turn on Athens (see n. 6, and Thuc. 1.138.4; Plut. *Them.* 31.4–7; Diod. 11.58.2–3). However, in the context of the *Demoi*, those wandering hands, so successful in self-enrichment, ruled him out for resurrection. Here, Aristides had the better of him. Themistocles once told him that the excellence of a general consisted in understanding and anticipating the enemy's plans. Aristides retorted: 'That is necessary; but what is truly excellent in a general is holding back the hands.'¹⁰

Aristides' own hands, and those of the other three resurrected patriots, had the reputation of being squeaky-clean. In the rough trade of politics, all four had been accused, but always falsely.

Aristides was a phenomenon of rectitude. Timocreon of Rhodes called him 'the one best man to come from holy Athens', by contrast to Themistocles. In a pasquinade composed soon after, Leto, goddess of Delos, had 'detested Themistocles' – the reference is to Aristides' cutting out Themistocles in establishing the Delian League in 478/7 – and before the disgrace of the Spartans Leutychidas and Pausanias.¹¹ So Plutarch's picture of Aristides as paramountly Just is not all *post eventum*. He was once condemned for embezzlement on rendering his *euthynai* (accounts): this wrongful decision was reversed, the fine remitted, and Aristides reinstated in office (Plut. *Arist.* 4.4 = Idomeneus *FGrH* 338 F7). Craterus wrote that, for allegedly having taken money from the Ionians when levying the tribute, Aristides was fined fifty minas which he could not pay, so that he left for Ionia and died there (*FGrH* 342 F12). Plutarch doubts the story, but confirms Aristides' poverty at the last, giving details of how, when he had not left enough to defray his funeral expenses, the Athenians at public expense erected his tomb, dowered his daughters, and presented his son with money and land (*Arist.* 26–7).

Solon, great lawgiver though he was, aroused resentment in his lifetime (fr. 34.4–5 West = *Ath. Pol.* 12.3). Attidographers later debated the story of his having trusted three friends with inside information about his forthcoming cancellation of debt, and so enabling them to make their fortunes. The contention of the δημοστικοί (populists), which Aristotle accepted, was that Solon did not profit himself but was outmanoeuvred (*Ath. Pol.* 6.2–3). Plutarch tells us that Solon himself lost loans worth five talents, or according to Polyzelus of Rhodes fifteen (*Solon* 15 = Polyzelus *FGrH* 521 F8).

Miltiades was at the last fined fifty talents for failing to take Paros (Hdt. 6.136 and n. 58 below) – but not for taking bribes. Pericles, as we shall see, kept his reputation for being above gift-taking despite one attempt to frame him.

There was another powerful reason for Eupolis' exclusion of Themistocles. His official rehabilitation must have been still to come. Ostracized possibly in 472, the year into which Diodorus crams his later career, he had chosen to reside in Argos, surely in order to intrigue for Athens against Sparta.¹² The Spartans' bid to have him tried at Athens, for alleged implication in the medism of their regent Pausanias, cannot have been disinterested. But Themistocles did not risk trial: his flight to Epirus and then to Asia, dated to c. 466 (White 1964, 140–52; Milton 1979; Marr 1998b, 144–5), brought about his condemnation to death in absence for treason. By evading the sentence he incurred outlawry, *atimia* in its original sense. Athenian law bore heavily upon anyone who helped a condemned exile, as Apollodorus was to find a century later in the case of Callistratus (ps.-Dem. 50 (*Polycles*) 48: 359 BC). Condemnation for treason entailed confiscation of property. The eighty or hundred talents netted by the Athenian state were only part of the whole; Athens will have continued to have a claim on his smuggled-out fortune. According to the pamphleteer Stesimbrotus, Cimon had Epicrates of Acharnae condemned to death for helping Themistocles' wife and children to join 'the traitor' (*FGrH* 107 F3 = Plut. *Them.* 24.6). Condemnation for treason also meant prohibition of burial in Attica (Thalheim 1919; Hansen 1975, 33–6). At the time of the *Demoi*, Themistocles was still a posthumously marked man.

Even during his ascendancy at Athens, he had incurred political hostility. This was confirmed by the discovery in a well on the north slope of the Acropolis of 191 neatly prepared ostraka against him, inscribed by only 14 hands and evidently unused, dating probably from the late 480s.¹³ He drops out of Herodotus' account in 479, the year of Plataea, having incurred blame for high-handedness during his Aegean expedition of winter 480/79 (Hdt. 8.112). Timocreon of Rhodes castigated his descents upon islanders who had medized, 'restoring some unjustly, expelling some and killing others' and taking a bribe of three talents not to restore his old guest-friend to Ialysus. Timocreon's pasquinade begins with what sounds like the priamel formulation of a grand praise-poem, in the solemn Dorian mode (dactylo-epitrite metre), but turns into a surprise hymn of hate, rather like the 'uglies' which were sent by malicious Victorians on 14 February to look like valentines, but when opened by the eager recipients revealed a spiteful message.¹⁴

Themistocles, according to Thucydides (1.138.1–2), spent a year

learning Persian before presenting himself at the Persian court. The long delay is sometimes dismissed as narrative embroidery; but it is all-important to speak the other side's language in less trying situations;¹⁵ and to learn a new language without textbooks is difficult for the brightest middle-aged monoglot.¹⁶ Artaxerxes I acceded to the Persian throne in 465 and first had to overcome his rivals; it will have taken some time until he granted Themistocles his scattered fiefdom, and more before Themistocles could take it over.¹⁷ Despite recently reiterated denial (Marr 1994) we can be sure that there was nothing nominal about the King's grants to Themistocles of named Asian Greek cities – Magnesia for his bread, Lampsacus for his wine, Myus for *opson* (relish), says Thucydides (1.138.5), to which list Plutarch, quoting Neanthes of Cyzicus (*FGrH* 84 F17) and Phaenias of Eresus (fr. 28 Wehrli), adds Percote and Palaescepsis for bedding and clothing (*Them.* 29.11). A passage quoted by Athenaeus from Heraclides of Cumae explains how the quantities of bread and meat left over from the king's meals went towards payment in kind for the bodyguard and light-armed troops; similar arrangements applied to Persians of rank (*FGrH* 689 F2 = Ath. 4.145a–6a). Thucydides notes that Lampsacus was prolific in wine – a pointless comment if this was not a real grant; and a Lampsacene proxyeny decree of c. 200 BC for a descendant of Themistocles' son Cleophantus, perhaps to be reconstructed as referring to a festival in honour of Themistocles, clinches the matter. It was supposed that Themistocles had remitted Lampsacus' tribute.¹⁸ Lampsacus and Myus figure in the Athenian Quota Lists, apparently from their outset in 454/3. The Athenians must have repossessed them shortly before then, during the last stage of the Athenian-Persian War. The same is true of Myrina and Gryneum.¹⁹ Athens could afford to disregard the inland fiefs of the medizers in the Ca'icus valley, all of them insignificant places, even Pergamum, which was to become prominent only in Hellenistic times. But the Samian exiles who were never winkled out of Anaea, on the mainland opposite Samos, were a nuisance to them (Thuc. 4.75.1, cf. 3.20.1 with Hornblower 1991, 405 ad loc. 3.32.2, 4.75.1, 8.19.2 and 61.2). More galling, even if not a nuisance, will have been Themistocles' residence further inland, and out of reach of the Athenian navy, at Magnesia on the Maeander, for this was a major, long-established Greek city, uncomfortably close to Ephesus and Miletus. Here he issued coins on the Attic standard, of which ten are on record. Two of the four didrachms, silver-plated and from inferior dies, may be forgeries; but one cannot exclude the possibility that his 'wandering hands' issued them to defraud his own bodyguard. Six small-denomination coins survive, two of them with an eagle and four with his monogram ΘΕ on the reverse; one obverse has an Attic owl,

and five have Themistocles' uncovered, helmeted or close-bonneted head in profile. No one had ever been portrayed in his life time on a Greek coin before. The inspiration had evidently come from portraits of satraps such as the marble head from Heraclea Pontica which is now in the Ankara museum.²⁰

Themistocles offended the satrap of Sardis but hastily made his peace with him. He spent the rest of his life in Magnesia. Plutarch (*Them.* 31) says he was 65 when he took his own life rather than fight the Greeks at the King's command after Egypt had revolted with Athenian support. If this indication of age is correct, he died not later than 458, for he cannot have been under thirty when Athenian archon in 493/2 (Davies 1971, 214–5, no. 6669). But Artaxerxes need not have issued orders to Themistocles immediately after the six-year Egyptian revolt began in 460, and the computation of age may derive from guesswork, as did those given in later antiquity for Herodotus and Thucydides in the fifth century, unlike those provided for Plato and Aristotle in the fourth.²¹ At any rate, Themistocles ruled Magnesia ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον (for a long time) – long enough to make his mark.

He must have secured a favourable deal for the Magnesians within the Persian empire. That is evident from what we know of the funeral monument they erected to him in the market-place (Thuc. 1.138.5, Diod. 11.68, Plut. *Them.* 32.3, Nepos *Them.* 10.3), an honour normally reserved for founders and benefactors.²² Transferred to the market-place of the city's post-399 site, it still stood in Plutarch's time (*Them.* 32.4; for ample bibliography on ancient portrayals of Themistocles see Krumeich 1997, 71–89). Under Antoninus Pius, Magnesia issued coins that show on the reverse a male nude bearded figure, labelled ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ, wearing a wreath, girt with a sword-belt and grasping its sheathed sword in his left hand, and holding in his right a patera over a lighted altar, at whose foot lies the forepart of a humped bull.²³ This must represent the monument, as was first pointed out in 1896. While it was standing, the coiner can hardly have drawn Themistocles from the imagination (Rhousopoulos 1896, 18–26). Coins showing patera-holding figures in combination with an emblematic device, and dating from the fifth and fourth centuries, were adduced as parallels in 1906. Examples from Pandosia, Himera and Selinus in the West, Abdera on the Thracian coast, and Side in Pamphylia display a deity or demi-god in the same stance as the Antonine Themistocles, holding a lustral bough in the left hand and a patera in the right over a lighted altar, and with an emblem, usually an animal, below.²⁴ In Greek art of this period, gods as well as men pour libations.²⁵ Among the many early poetic epithets of the gods is χρυσάορος or χρυσάωρ ('of the golden sword');²⁶ but apart from the fully-armed war-god, gods are not normally depicted with swords. Naked Apollo, who is called

χρυσόβροχος most frequently, is shown wielding a sword by the vase-painter Aristophanes when fighting with the gods against the giants (ARV² 1318–19.1, 1690; CVA Berlin 3 pls. 119–21) and by the Penthesilea painter when subduing Tityus (ARV² 879–80.2, 1673), but these are rare exceptions. Apollo was ἄγνός (pure), comments the scholiast on *Iliad* 5.509 and 15. 256, who thinks χρυσόβροχος must therefore have meant ‘of the golden lyre-strap’.²⁷ A naked figure with nothing but a sword is more likely to be a hero. Aeson painted Theseus stark, with nothing but a sword to fight the Minotaur, the Sow of Crommyon, and the ruffian Sinis (ARV² 1174.1 = Simon & Hirmer 1981, pls. 221–3; Boardman 1989, fig. 292). Two heroes in repose, believed to be Theseus and Pirithous, are depicted by the Niobid painter entirely naked and girt with sheathed swords. The Penthesilea painter shows Achilles naked and sword-girt but at war and therefore also equipped with helmet, shield, greaves and spear. The Chicago painter depicts a mortal warrior in the same undress, about to transfix a Persian (ARV² 601.22, 879.1, 631.38 = Boardman 1989 figs. 4.2, 29, 80.1; Simon & Hirmer 1976 pl. 183; Holscher 1973, 177–80, pl. 4.1). But in life, a warrior without divine or semi-divine power cannot afford to be naked. Even Greek idealisation preferred to stop short of so depicting individual mortal warriors, except when putting their armour on (Himmelfmann 1990, 58–9).

The Magnesians, we must conclude, portrayed Themistocles after his death in the 450s as a warrior who had become a hero, honouring him as the Amphipolitans were to honour Sparta’s general Brasidas in 422, when he had given his life in battle to liberate them,²⁸ and as the colonists of Thurii seem between 443 and 414 to have honoured the Spartan exile Cleandridas, in gratitude for his brilliant generalship against foes who outnumbered them.²⁹ The classical coin parallels rule out the notion – though it dies hard – that the patera contained the bull’s blood for Themistocles’ suicide. The bull protome may conceivably refer to it; but heraldic foreparts of animals were common, and the bull device was known to the Magnesians from Croesus’ coins, and currently displayed on those of Acanthus (Kraay & Hirmer 1966, pls. 397, 584). This is not a scene of animal sacrifice, which would require a whole creature and a person with an axe to fell it or a knife for throat-cutting (van Straten 1995, 107–9). Nepos (*Them.* 10.3) writes of Themistocles’ *statua* (codd.: *statuae*), still to be seen *in foro Magnesiae*. Free-standing statuary could not have incorporated the flames on an altar and half a bull. Did the Antonine coiner embellish the reproduction of a statue with additions replicating those of six-century-old coins? Alternatively, Nepos may have written loosely of what was not a statue but a relief.

Posthumous hero-worship of Themistocles would be consistent

with Themistocles' family retaining its influence in Persian-ruled Asia Minor (cf. de Ste. Croix 1972, 38–9). Themistocles installed his daughter Mnesiptolema, who married her half-brother Archeptolis, as priestess of Magnesia's temple of Dindymene, Mother of the Gods (Plut. *Them.* 30.6).³⁰ That was normally an appointment for life.³¹ His nephew Phrasicles came over after Themistocles' death to marry his daughter Nicomache and to take care of his youngest, whom Themistocles had named Asia. The lady Hellas, who with her two sons was still settled in a Persian fief in 400/399 as the widow of Gongylus of Eretria, was surely Themistocles' second-youngest daughter, a sister to Asia; this was noticed in 1890 but is commonly overlooked.³² The choice of this personal name is unique before the fourth century, and never attested for anyone else of high social standing;³³ but it is in keeping with Themistocles' penchant for giving politically-motivated geographical names to his daughters. (His two eldest were called Italia and Sybaris.) Asia and Hellas are significantly paired in early fifth-century Athenian drama. We recall the 'two sisters of the same race' of Atossa's dream in Aeschylus' *Persae*, one dwelling in Hellas, the other in the land of the barbarians, and intended by Xerxes to be yoked together. This maidenly pair had evidently figured in Phrynichus' *Phoenissae*, whose first line is echoed by Aeschylus' *Persae* (181–99, Hypothesis 1–4). The fourth-century Apulian volute-crater in the Naples Museum, known as the Darius Vase, portrays and names them in what Otto Jahn in 1861 recognized as a representation of the *Phoenissae* by Phrynichus,³⁴ who was also the author of a play financed by Themistocles in 476 (Plut. *Them.* 5.5). Hellas' husband, Gongylus of Eretria, had been rewarded for medism with Myrina and Gryneum on the coast and Gambrium and Palaegambrium inland in the Caicus valley. His neighbour was the medizing Spartan ex-king Damaratus, who had been granted Teuthrania, Pergamum and Halisarna.³⁵ As a widow, Hellas and her two sons joined two descendants of Damaratus, who bore the Spartan dynastic names Eurysthenes and Procles, in supporting the attack of Xenophon and the remnant of the Ten Thousand on the castle of a neighbouring Persian magnate in 399, just before the arrival of Thibron's Spartan army to fight the Persians in Asia Minor.³⁶

A sentence of exile did not extend to a man's children, as Callistratus' case shows (Davies 1971, 280, no. 8157). But as long as Athens maintained a claim against Themistocles' estate, it is hard to see how Themistocles' three surviving sons could have returned home. Diocles may conceivably have been exempt from liability by virtue of his adoption by his maternal grandfather Lysander. Of Polyeuctus we know nothing. Cleophantus must for a time have ruled Lampsacus; otherwise he would not have been named along with his father in the

Lampsacene honorific inscription of c. 200. Older Athenians, Plato has Socrates say to his future accuser Anytus, remembered Cleophantus' brilliant horsemanship. This he could have displayed before Themistocles' exile. But Socrates says that he was no good otherwise, according to both old and young (Plato *Meno* 92d-e).³⁷ To earn the latter's disrespect, he must have returned to Athens, not necessarily straight after relinquishing Lampsacus but certainly before Socrates' condemnation in 399. Themistocles' sons, writes Pausanias, 'appear to have returned', for they dedicated a painting of him in the Parthenon, and a bronze statue of Artemis Leucophryene, the goddess of Magnesia, on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.1.2, 26.4). We may hazard a guess that they returned in old age after 412, when Persia was wresting back dominion over the Greek cities of Asia, and the Athenians had been forced to scale down their demands for empire and money.³⁸ Persian control over Magnesia was now tightened. By 399 'Tissaphernes was ruling it', and it was unfortified. The Spartan general Thibron removed Magnesia to the defensible hill of Thorax in the hope of preventing Tissaphernes' reoccupation (Diod. 14.36.2-3). Tissaphernes will between 412 and 399 have squeezed Themistocles' family and fortune out of Magnesia, rendering pointless any continuing Athenian claims against them, and justifying his daughter Hellas' change of side.

Before losing control over her coastal subject-allies, Athens cannot have looked kindly upon the continuing presence of members of that family as Persian vassals nearby. The Athenians counted Persia as an enemy power for decades after the Peace of Callias of c. 449. That peace, so much extolled by the Athenians after the Persian comeback in 386, had not satisfied them at the time. Callias was fined fifty talents on his return from the King's court (Dem. 19 (*Embassy*) 273). Artaxerxes I had promised to hold his land and sea forces east of defined limits, but never gave up his claim to 'his' territory and its tribute, even though prevented from collecting it (Hdt. 6.42.2 with Murray 1966; Thuc. 8.5.5, cf. 56.4, 58.2). There was nothing to stop him from breaking his undertaking at any time. The Athenians could justifiably claim that they themselves needed to collect tribute from members of their League, to help pay for protection by their navy. In the event, the King kept east of the promised sea limits – Cyaneae at the mouth of the Black Sea and the Chelidonian Islands (modern Gelidoniya) off the south-east tip of Lycia³⁹ – even after the resumption of hostilities in 412. But no one could be sure he would. In 440 Pericles hastily detached sixty Athenian ships from the blockade of Samos, seriously weakening it, so as to meet the threat of a Phoenician fleet entering the Aegean in response to the Samian rebels' appeal (Thuc. 1.116-17). The royal army stayed well within the

prescribed land limits. As Isocrates rightly boasted, no Persian King ever crossed the River Halys again,⁴⁰ as had Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes. But the land limits – three days' march (Diod. 12. 4.5) or one day's ride from the coast (Plut. *Cimon* 13.4 = Craterus *FGrH* 342 F13; Dem. 19 (*Embassy*) 273) – were not always respected by the satraps' troops. They could not be, for although Sardis, the residence of the satrap of Lydia, was indeed three days' march from Ephesus (Hdt. 5.54.2), Dascylium, that of the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, was only half as far from Cyzicus on the Sea of Marmara.

So the peace was uneasy, with several violations. In 440 Pisuthnes, satrap of Lydia, interfered to help the revolting Samian oligarchs (Thuc. 1.115.4–5). In 427 Colophon was controlled by medizers with the support of barbarian troops; the Athenians contented themselves with frustrating the medizing party's attempt also to seize the Colophonian port of Notium with Pisuthnes' help. In 422 Pharnaces, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, gave Atramyttium, a coastal town, to the Delians whom Athens had expelled from their island (Thuc. 1.115.4–5; 3.34; 5.1). The Athenians kept sending embassies in the vain hope of enlisting the King's help against Sparta – in 430 (Thuc. 2.67), 426/5 (Ar. *Acharn.* 61–125) and 425/4 (Thuc. 4. 50). They renewed the Peace in 423;⁴¹ now at last building the Temple to Athena victory, decreed in c. 449, and regulating the priestess's salary.⁴² But the denunciation of an individual for plotting with the Medes and the King was still a possibility in 424 (Ar. *Knights* 478); so in 421 was a prosecution for betraying Greece to the Mede (Ar. *Peace* 107–8). The ἀπα (commination) formulated by Aristides after the Persian invasion was still in 414 pronounced by the herald before each Athenian assembly, cursing any citizen who made overtures to the Medes to harm the city, or invited them into the land.⁴³ In that year, Athens supported the rebel Amorges against the Persian King, and so provoked the King's decision in 412 to press the satrap Tissaphernes to produce the tribute 'which he had not been able to collect from the Greek cities because of the Athenians' (Thuc. 8.5). The outcome was the Ionian War, in which Sparta on Persian invitation destroyed Athens' power in Asia.

Themistocles, with his sentence still unrevoked and his descendants still Persian vassals, must have been too hot a potato for resuscitation by Eupolis. Yet the potato was cooling. Aristophanes would hardly have let fall his incidental praise for Themistocles in 424 if his audience had been ill-disposed. The *History* of Herodotus, which gave full recognition to Themistocles' role as saviour of Athens in 480, had recently been published: the last datable event in the work belongs to 430 (Hdt. 7.137, cf. Thuc. 2.67), and Aristophanes parodied its introduction in 425 (*Acharn.* 524–9). Aristophanes in 405

indicated the continued popularity of the *Persians* (Frogs 1026–9), in which, eight years after the Battle of Salamis, Aeschylus had given full credit to Themistocles – without naming him – for ensuring victory by luring the Phoenician navy into the straits. But he was not officially rehabilitated before the end of the fifth century. Thucydides, who was still working on his *History* after 404 (2.65.12; 5.26.1) and probably died about 400, writes that the bones of Themistocles were taken at his request by his relatives from his splendid monument in Magnesia and buried in Attica secretly, because of the prohibition of burial in Athenian soil of those exiled for treason.⁴⁴ The news spread of the bones going missing from Magnesia, though not of their new resting-place. Andocides, writing πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους (to his fellow-aristocrats) before his exile in 415 – possibly in 417, the year of Eupolis’ *Demoi* – asserted that the Athenians had removed the bones by stealth and scattered them to the winds – a lie, says Plutarch, to incite the oligarchs against the democracy (Andoc. fr. 3; Plut. *Them.* 32.4).

Themistocles’ final rehabilitation came with the reversal of the burial prohibition. He was re-interred in the conspicuous tomb described in the lines of Plato Comicus, quoted by Plutarch:

ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος
τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
τοὺς τ’ ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντάς τ’ ὄψεται
χώποταν ἄμιλλ’ ἢ τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.

Your tomb, piled in a fine position, | Is greeted all round by merchants, |
And will watch those sailing in and out | And whenever there is a contest
of ships’ (fr. 199 = Plut. *Them.* 32.6).

We think we know where this tomb was. Plutarch quotes Diodorus Periegetes, *On Monuments*: ‘near the great harbour of Piraeus from the promontory at Alcimus there is an elbow-like projection, and when you have doubled the cape inwards to where the sea is calm, there is a foundation of fair size and upon it the altar-shaped tomb of Themistocles’.⁴⁵ Plutarch comments that Diodorus writes ‘more from conjecture than knowledge’; so we need not be deterred by discrepancies in his description, and in the briefer ones of Pausanias and Aristotle, from accepting the traditional identification of the tomb with a square peribolus, now marked by a thirty-foot unfluted Ionic column reconstituted in 1952, and graced with a modern inscription that mis-spells Themistocles’ patronymic. This stands on an ideal site, crowning the western extremity of the Acte peninsula, overlooking the entrance to Piraeus’ outer harbour and with a view towards the island of Psyttaleia and the scene of the Battle of Salamis.⁴⁶

The date of Themistocles’ re-interment in this conspicuous location

was probably 393/4. The thirty attested plays of Plato Comicus range in date from *Hyperbolus*, which must have been staged before that politician's ostracism in 416 or 415, to *The Envoys*, which refers to the gifts loaded on Epicrates and Phormisius on their mission to Persia soon after the Battle of Cnidus of August 394, in which the Athenian Conon together with Pharnabazus, most chivalrous of Persian satraps, defeated the Spartan fleet.⁴⁷ Shortly before the news of the victory, the Athenians began to rebuild the Piraeus fortifications, demolished in April 404 under the terms of the Athenian capitulation.⁴⁸ In 393 Conon arrived with money from Pharnabazus to complete the work in style. He dedicated a temple to Aphrodite Euploea overlooking Piraeus' inner harbour;⁴⁹ possibly this was a restoration of a shrine to Aphrodite dedicated by Themistocles, which was possibly the Aphrodision mentioned in the inscription of 394/3 that gave directions for the new wall.⁵⁰ More important and beyond doubt is that Conon was rebuilding the walls erected on Themistocles' initiative a century before. Now, in the glow of Pharnabazus' generosity and Conon's valour, was the time for the Athenians to 'repent of their attitude to Themistocles, and the way in which his relatives had taken his bones from Magnesia and conveyed them to Athens',⁵¹ rescinding the condemnation for treason and forgiving the subsequent passing over to the Mede of the great, wronged statesman whose patriotism had remained unshaken even among his country's enemies. But all this was a quarter of a century too late for the *Demoi*: in 417, as we have seen, he was still not yet in the clear.

The last period of Persian rule over the Asian Greeks was mild. Asian Greeks could commemorate past glories with impunity, as did Ephorus of Cyme when he wrote of the Greek victories against Xerxes and Artaxerxes. Themistocles' monument, transferred to the marketplace of the new Magnesia, survived. In Roman imperial times, his descendants were still living at Athens, where, in the house of Ammonius the philosopher, Plutarch made friends with a latter-day Themistocles who had inherited honours at Magnesia. He doubtless contributed to Plutarch's information about the family (Plut. *Them.* 32.6). Themistocles had dedicated a shrine to Artemis of Good Counsel near his house in the Athenian quarter of Melite. It fell into neglect after his exile and was restored c. 330 by a public-spirited demesman of Melite, Neoptolemus son of Anticles (Plut. *Them.* 22.3 and *On the Malice of Herodotus* 37.1 869de; Threpsiades and Vanderpool 1964). We may guess, though we cannot prove, that it was after this restoration that the shrine acquired the εἰκόνιον, small representation, exhibited there in Plutarch's time, in which Themistocles was οὐ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡρωικὸς γενόμενος, 'depicted as a hero not only in spirit but also in

appearance'; and that this was copied from the monument at Magnesia.⁵²

In the fourth century, non-Athenian historians appraised Themistocles variously. Ephorus in his final assessment gave him high praise.⁵³ For Theopompus of Chios, Themistocles was one of Athens' corrupt demagogues; but so was Cimon. Theopompus, who attacked even Plato as a useless plagiarist, had a bad name in antiquity for exaggerated abuse.⁵⁴ In the Aristotelian *Athenian Constitution*, Themistocles is remembered as the initiator of Athens' increased navy in 483, and as an unscrupulous opponent of the Areopagus, partly responsible for Ephialtes' curtailment of its powers.⁵⁵ But by the Athenians Themistocles was held in high esteem. Plato called him ἀγαθὸς καὶ σοφός ('excellent and wise', *Meno* 92d–e). A version of his decree before Salamis was officially inscribed, and recited by Aeschines in 348 (Dem. 19 (*Embassy*) 303); its text was rediscovered in 1959.⁵⁶ Aeschines mentions Themistocles in one breath with Solon, Miltiades and Aristides, and praises him as the commander at Salamis – a model of σωφροσύνη (restraint) who was never crowned (1 (*Tim.*) 25; 2 (*Embassy*) 9; 3 (*Ctesiphon*) 181, 257–9). Isocrates records his rebuilding of Athens' walls against the will of the Spartans; he (5 (*Antid.*) 307–8) and Demosthenes (20 (*Leptines*) 73–4, 23 (*Aristocr.*) 207) remember what he did for the Piraeus. Demosthenes commends Themistocles and Miltiades for living in modest houses and receiving no bronze statues – how unlike modern politicians! (13 (*Syntaxis*) 29, 23 (*Aristocr.*) 196, 207). What shameless fellows these are, exclaims Dinarchus, when compared with Aristides and Themistocles, who erected the city walls and took tribute to the acropolis from eager and willing Greeks! (*Demosth.* 37). But there was sometimes a note of reserve. 'No one', Demosthenes insists, 'will attribute Salamis to Themistocles, but to the Athenians' (Dem. 13 (*Syntaxis*) 22). Hyperides follows the line of common responsibility for Salamis and adds a note of slight disparagement when he claims that Leosthenes in 322 outdid τοὺς περὶ Μιλτιάδην καὶ Θέμιστοκλῶα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, 'the supporters of Miltiades and Themistocles and the rest', who by freeing Greece brought honour to their country and glory to their lives, because he had not only met but also forestalled the onslaught of barbarian power (*Epitaph.* 37). Demosthenes, commending Themistocles' feat of rebuilding Athens' walls while tricking the Spartans, argues that Conon's rebuilding was nobler still, because done openly and by vanquishing those who would have prevented it (20 (*Leptines*) 20). The Athenians' accusations against Themistocles were not forgotten.⁵⁷ Demosthenes says, without regret: 'When they found Themistocles arrogating superiority, they banished him, and condemned him for correspondence with the Mede' (23

2. Pericles and the origins of the Peloponnesian War

Pericles' inclusion in Eupolis' *Demoi* must also be explained, for at first sight it looks as if obloquy was increasingly being heaped upon him throughout the previous one and a half decades. In 430 the second Peloponnesian invasion of Attica and the devastating plague brought about a revulsion of opinion among the Athenians. They blamed Pericles for persuading them to wage war in 432 rather than submit to Sparta's demands, and so being responsible for their misfortunes. In the hope of coming to terms they sent envoys to Sparta, but without success (Thuc. 2.59). Pericles in a vigorous speech defended his policy and persuaded the Athenians to desist from embassies and continue the war. But their personal ill-feeling continued for a time: he was fined, though soon afterwards re-elected to the generalship before dying in 429.⁵⁸ Aristophanes' *Acharnians* of 425 goes further in a 'notorious and popular' passage.⁵⁹ Here Pericles is blamed for provoking the war in the first place. It came about, Dicaeopolis is made to say, because Pericles, over-reacting to pinpricks, persuaded Athens to pass the Decree excluding Megarians from the Attic agora and Athenian-controlled harbours, and the Athenians would not turn it around despite many requests from Sparta. In reiterating the accusation in the *Peace* of 421 Aristophanes has the god Hermes add a motive of self-interest: it was to avoid the fate of his friend Pheidias that Pericles set the city alight by throwing in a little spark of a Megarian Decree, blowing up so great a war that its smoke brought tears to the Greeks and no one could put it out, so that Peace was lost from view (*Peace* 603–14). Ephorus in the fourth century quoted those Aristophanic passages and enlarged upon the theme of Pericles provoking war out of self-interest, to evade exposure of his political misdeeds {FGrH70 F196, cited by Diod. 12.38–41.1}. Plutarch in his *Life of Pericles* (29–30) repeats these charges without committing himself to them, but agrees with the universally held opinion that Pericles was responsible for Athens' refusing to rescind the Megarian Decree, adducing two other relevant decrees.

The passage in the *Acharnians* is admittedly a tissue of jokes and parody. Dicaeopolis makes his anti-war speech to the bellicose Acharnians dressed as the suppliant Telephus of Euripides, with his head on a block. On the other hand, political comedy needs a sound foundation in fact.⁶⁰ The Athenians who watched the play were committed to the war by their own democratic choice; they were to reject the Spartan peace overtures in the following year. They had heavy losses to mourn and knew they might be killed themselves. They would not have been amused in war-time by mere silliness and

flippancy about the war's causes. So we must look carefully at Aristophanes' charges against Pericles. Ephorus, who makes use of them, is shallow and uncritical; but Plutarch's *Pericles*, for all its chronological imprecision,⁶¹ is his most thoughtful and learned biography, and his documentary information deserves respect. I shall evaluate the charges, and hope to show that though they are not to be lightly dismissed, they were no barrier to the resurrection of Pericles in the *Demoi*, though this was only eight years after the *Acharnians* and four after the *Peace*.

Thucydides' account of the causes of war, if we will only follow it, provides a clear path through a field that modern critics have unnecessarily muddled. Thucydides was far from faultless, but his reputation as the most accurate historian of his own time was unchallenged, as Josephus wrote on good advice (*against Apion* 1.18). The application of recent techniques in the study of story-telling has brought into relief the internal consistency and strength of Thucydidean narrative: Tim Rood (1998) in particular has done this excellently. Over-zealous attempts to discredit his good faith lead deep into the mire.⁶² Yet his story leaves gaps which we rightly want to fill. Some will be due to deliberate omission. What we want to know, Thucydides may often have wished to exclude for the sake of narrative economy.⁶³ In his first book, however, some gaps must have been due to his not having lived to finish his work. After expressing his wish to improve on Hellanicus' account of the fifty years between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, with which he finds fault for being too brief and τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβές ('inaccurate with respect to dates'⁶⁴), Thucydides gives his own account with next to no dates at all – surely because he never got round to inserting them – and with signal omissions. Since his further purpose is to explain how Athenian rule was established, deliberate 'ellipse' cannot explain his missing out such crucial steps as the transference of the Delian League's treasury to Athens in 454, the abandonment of its common synods, and above all, the events of the half-decade between 439 and 435, in which Athens confirmed her power by founding Amphipolis.⁶⁵ He would presumably have completed the account if he had been given time.

By contrast, from 435 on, his narrative unfolds compellingly. It tells in detail how Corinth and her hostile ex-colony Corcyra fell out over possession of distant Epidamnus, how Corinth, Sparta's ally, spent two years in preparing an armada against Corcyra, and how the Athenians in 433 heard embassies from both sides and after two assembly debates concluded that they must prevent Corcyra's warships from falling into the hands of Corinth and thereby providing the Spartan alliance with a combined navy as strong as Athens' own. In Thucydides' version of the speeches made at Athens in 433, two

points are made which he might have substantiated further if he had not left 439–435 blank. The Corcyreans say, and the Athenians believe, that Sparta out of fear intends to make war on Athens anyhow; and the Corinthians refer to successful opposition to intervention against Athens during the Samian revolt of 440, when the Peloponnesians had been split in their votes (Thuc. 1.33.3, 44.2, 40.5). Sparta must have convened the Peloponnesian representatives for voting on that occasion, and would not have done so if not herself ready to attack.⁶⁶ Hence Athens' reluctant alliance with Corcyra after two assemblies – only a defensive alliance, but one that resulted in an Athenian squadron intervening in battle to save Corcyra from Corinthian domination.

This infuriated Corinth; so the Athenians decided to destroy the fortifications of their subject ally Potidaea and take hostages from it. Potidaea was a loyal Corinthian colony strategically sited, already restless, like the other two towns of the Pallene peninsula,⁶⁷ and now thought likely to revolt. The Potidaeans won the support of the Corinthians, who in their turn secured a promise from the Spartan τέλη (authorities), to invade Attica if Athens attacked Potidaea. Potidaea now revolted; Athens sent thirty ships; Corinth responded by sending a force which was soon openly at war with Athens over Potidaea (Thuc. 1.56–66). The stage was set for Corinth's appeal to Sparta to help by invading Attica. Thucydides reports two Corinthian speeches. The first, to the Spartan assembly, threatened secession 'to some other alliance' (1.71.4) – a thinly veiled reference to Argos, Sparta's hereditary enemy in the Peloponnese, now lying low. The Spartan ephor Sthenela'idas, in his decisive summing-up, insisted that Sparta could not afford to let her allies down. The assembly's majority voted that Athens had broken the treaty and summoned representatives of the Peloponnesian League 'to make war after common deliberation' (Thuc. 1.66–87).

Wealthy Corinth commanded the Isthmus and was the strongest Peloponnesian sea-power. Had Corinth joined Argos against Sparta in 432, disaffection would have spread through the Peloponnese and Spartan rule over Messenia would have been endangered. This nightmare was later to come true. An anti-Spartan coalition was to form across the Peloponnese in 420; Corinth was to join Argos in 394; and Sparta, having surmounted these crises, was in due course to weaken and lose the Battle of Leuctra in 371, forfeiting Messenia and never again becoming more than a sulky small nation. Sparta's fears in 432 were all too understandable. When the allied representatives met at Sparta, many made speeches against the Athenians. Once again, Thucydides singles out the Corinthian speech for report. The majority of the League voted for war, though not for immediate attack (Thuc.

1.118–25).

Plutarch assumes it was Pericles who talked the Athenians round to help Corcyra (*Per.* 29.1), perhaps only because this was still in the period when Athens was ‘a democracy in theory, the rule of the first man in practice’ (Thuc. 2.65.9). Pericles, according to the most frequently quoted passage of the *Demoi*,

κράτιστος...ἐγένετο ἄνθρώπων λέγειν·
ὁπότε παρέλθοι <δ>, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς,
ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἤρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας.
...πρὸς δέ <γ> αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει
πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθειζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν,
οὕτως ἐκῆλει καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων
τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

was the best at speaking. Whenever he came, he was ten feet ahead of the speakers, as are good runners... In addition to his speed, a certain persuasion sat on his lips, and in this way he alone of speakers charmed, and left his sting among the hearers’ (fr. 102).

Thucydides does not say who spoke on which side over Corcyra, and says nothing about any doubts among the Athenians over Potidaea. What alternatives had they? Their initial concern not to alienate Corinth is understandable; but the Athenians could not risk losing their naval predominance. As for Potidaea, the Athenians never looked back until they had destroyed the city, after a hugely expensive siege, in 429. A successfully defiant Potidaea could have cost them the Thraceward region of their empire, vital for overland communication and as a source of metals (gold and silver mines: Hdt. 6.46.3, 7.112; Thuc. 1.101.2–3; Strabo 7. 331 p. 34; Meiggs 1972, 571–2) and for shipbuilding timber (Meiggs 1982, 126–7). We may take it that, even when sending envoys to Sparta in 430, they could make no concessions on this front.

Ἀνάγκη, necessity, in Thucydides’ view compelled both sides to make war.⁶⁸ Introducing the story of Corcyra and Potidaea as the ἐς τό φάνερρον λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι, the openly discussed causes, Thucydides writes: ‘I hold the truest πρόφασις, but the least apparent in what was said, to be that the Athenians, becoming great and giving fear to the Spartans, forced them to make war’ (1.23.6). Πρόφασις usually means ‘pretext’, but here seems to mean much the same as αἰτία, ‘cause’.⁶⁹ This ‘truest cause’ figures largely in the speeches of Thucydides’ first book. He spells it out: Athens’ ‘clear growth of power and encroachment on the Spartans’ alliance made them think the situation no longer tolerable and induced them to fight with all their might’. It still makes sense for him to say that this growth of power was least apparent in what was said. Hundreds of speeches in 432 will have ignored or belittled it. Thucydides selected only the most biting

relevant.⁷⁰

The Megarian Decree only becomes a link in the chain of causation well after the Spartan ‘authorities’ had promised to help Corinth, when Athens was besieging Potidaea by land and sea and a Corinthian-led force was openly at war in the area with the Athenians.⁷¹ It is now mentioned explicitly: the Spartans, under Corinthian pressure, invited any state to bring forward any grievance it had against Athens. The Megarians took the opportunity to complain of their exclusion from market and harbours; and the Aeginetans, who no longer belonged to the Peloponnesian League, complained, behind the scenes, of inroads on their independence. Megarian as well as Corinthian envoys spoke to the Spartan assembly, and doubtless also at the Peloponnesian League meeting that declared war. Some of those who heard the debates may have thought the Corinthian and Megarian speeches equally important. Thucydides, for his part, did not choose to report the Megarian speeches. It was, after all, Corinth that the Spartan ‘authorities’ had promised to help, while still overlooking the sufferings of Megara, which could not match Corinth’s threats. But they now needed to make the strongest possible case to the Spartan assembly; and they could hardly expect all the other members of the Peloponnesian League to vote for war just because Sparta could not afford to lose Corinth. They had to widen their ground.

Thucydides does not explicitly attribute the original Megarian Decree to Pericles; but we may believe Aristophanes, who does, followed by Ephorus and Plutarch. If it had been passed in the period of crisis 433–432, or at any time after 435, when Thucydides’ detailed narrative begins, the ‘ellipse’ (Rood 1998, 10 and n. 21) is hard to explain. It would have been a bizarre way for Thucydides to shield Pericles, when he could instead have reported the Decree and exerted himself to justify it. A date earlier than 435 should be seriously considered: one was proposed long ago by Brunt (1951). It may have been in the gap-years 439–435, perhaps in the wake of the revolt from Athens of Megara’s colony Byzantium along with Samos in 440. Great bitterness had followed the Megarian oligarchs’ rising against Athens in 446 and their massacre of an Athenian garrison. Had the Megarian oligarchs taken a stand against Corinth in 440 in favour of Peloponnesian intervention against Athens? If so, with so many League delegates present, it could not have been kept secret.

Whatever its date, the point of Athens’ embargo, like that of sanctions today, was to stop short of war. The Thirty Years’ Peace of 446, as Pericles was to insist, did not prevent Athens – or Sparta – from excluding aliens (Thuc. 1.144.2; n. 82 below). When the Decree was first enforced, the Megarians could not invoke Sparta’s help under

the terms of their alliance and the treaty, for they had not been physically attacked. The *effect* of banning Megarians from the Attic market and Athenian-controlled harbours was to damage their trade. No other satisfactory explanation can be given for Dicaeopolis' *ᾤείνων βάδην*, 'they were slowly starving' (Ar. *Acharn.* 535), and for his comparison of Sparta's eventual response on Megara's behalf with the way that the Athenians would have responded to the confiscation of a small dog from their tiny subject-ally Seriphus (541–55). The Megarians sold local produce to the Athenians. Thucydides twice puts their exclusion from Athenian-controlled harbours first and that from the 'Attic agora' second (1.67.4, 139.1; harbours come second in 1.144.2). It is hard to believe that 'Attic agora', an expression without parallel, meant only Athens' sacrosanct main square, not markets throughout Attica. Possessed of the largest Peloponnesian war-fleet after Corinth's, and two ports looking west and east, Megara cannot fail to have had many merchantmen.⁷² De Ste. Croix argued that the exclusion of Megarians did not necessarily imply that of Megarian metics – though ship-owning metics are not attested at Megara as at Athens, and all-metic crews are in any case inconceivable – and that the Piraeus did not necessarily count as an Athenian-ruled port. A barrister might today carry such fine arguments with an English court; the Athenians would not have tolerated them for a moment.⁷³ The Megarians reared sheep (already in the seventh century, Arist. *Pol.* 5.5.1305a24) and manufactured coarse woollen clothing;⁷⁴ they sold salt from the pans on their south coast,⁷⁵ and exported across their border pigs, game, figs, onions and garlic.⁷⁶ Megara will also have fostered a carrying trade, like Aegina's, but with the advantage of being the mother city of friendly colonies. The Decree would now deny her traders access to her colonies Byzantium and Chalcedon, the Athenian-controlled keys to the Black Sea. They would not now easily pass through to fetch grain from Crimean Chersonesus, or ships' timber from Heraclea Pontica.⁷⁷ Only Selinus, a grand-daughter city, would remain accessible as a source of grain in distant Sicily.⁷⁸ We cannot accept the suggestion that they would be allowed to trade in the Athenian Empire without putting into harbour. They could indeed still trade elsewhere. Their obvious course would be to sell in neighbouring Corinth at lower prices. Corinthian merchants would benefit from the deal, and Sparta would be serenely indifferent.

What was the original reason for the Decree? Here de Ste. Croix is on stronger ground, taking seriously Thucydides' statement that the Athenians 'charged the Megarians with cultivating sacred ground and undetermined land and sheltering escaped slaves'.⁷⁹ They had violated the *ἱερὰ ὀργάς*, the Sacred Tract. To understand Athens' deep resentment, we should recall that four 'sacred wars' were fought to

punish encroachment by Delphi's neighbours upon land consecrated to Apollo: in c. 595, c.448, 355–347 and 340. The last was incited by Aeschines' indignation against the Amphisseans for cultivating the sacred plain of Cirrha: 'with what words, with what conscience, with what faces, with what confidence, can you dare to make your supplication if you have left this accursed people unpunished?' (3 (*Ctesiphon*) 121). Within Attica it was an offence even to dig up a sacred olive stump on one's own land (Lysias 7). The Megarians had by their impiety exacerbated one of the perennial quarrels between adjoining Greek states περὶ γῆς ὁρῶν, about national borders. In 352/1 Athens was to make careful provisions for the Sacred Tract, and soon after respond with rage to another sacrilegious inroad on it by the 'accursed' Megarians.⁸⁰

Exclusion from the civic agora is widely attested as a punishment for disgraceful crimes, and sometimes associated with exclusion from temples (de Ste. Croix 1972, 397–8). The Decree extended the exclusion from the civic to the Attic agora, added harbours, but omitted temples. A possible explanation is suggested by the first clause of the Peace of Nicias, 421, providing for general access according to national traditions (κατὰ τὰ πάτρια) to common shrines (τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ κοινά: Thuc. 5.18.1). The Thirty Years' Peace of 446 may have begun with a similar clause, which Athens wished to stop short of violating outright. Athens had an interest in access to the great panhellenic sanctuaries within Sparta's sphere of influence: Olympia, Delphi, the Isthmus, Nemea. Was Athens perhaps expected to provide in return access to such sanctuaries in her empire as the temple of Athena in Rhodian Lindus, where most of the foreign dedications in historical times were from Dorian states (*FGrH* 532 F1 paras. 17, 23–31), and the temple of Poseidon in Byzantium, where those entering or leaving the Black Sea might wish to sacrifice? The Megarians, when claiming in 432 that their exclusion was 'against the treaty', may conceivably have argued that exclusion from harbours meant exclusion from the shrines behind them.⁸¹ However, there is little profit in seeking a pretext for the accusation of Athenian treaty-breaking over Megara, for the Athenians were also accused of breaking the treaty over Corcyra, Potidaea and Aegina – accusations which they rejected each time, and which cannot have been well grounded, or Sparta would not have had a bad conscience in 414/3 for being the first to violate the Peace.⁸² It has been suggested that the Thirty Years' Peace contained a clause providing for the Freedom of the Seas, like that which Philip of Macedon was to impose on the defeated Greeks in 338/7.⁸³ But that clause did not require every Greek harbour to admit every ship; and Sparta was in no position to impose it in 446 on Athens, whose sea-power was then paramount.

We cannot get away from the importance of Corinth to Sparta. We could not remove the Corcyra and Potidaea campaigns as the principal cause of the war even if we were convinced that Thucydides omitted the original passing of the Megarian Decree so as to shield Pericles. But after the Peloponnesian decision to go to war, there is a surprising change of emphasis. From now on, in Sparta's diplomatic offensive, the Decree was of first importance. As Plutarch writes, 'though its origin is hard to establish, all combine in blaming Pericles for the Decree not being repealed' (*Per.* 31.1).

Sparta's first and last demands in the diplomatic offensive imply at first sight an even more surprising change of emphasis. The Athenians could not possibly comply with either. The first, 'to drive out the curse of the goddess' incurred by the killing of Cylon's asylum-seeking supporters two centuries earlier (Thuc. 1.126–7), had not been mentioned, as far as we know, in the debates at Sparta. The Athenians could not 'drive it out', because too many of them were descended from possible killers. Many had been involved in the melee besides the Alcmaeonids who had received the most blame. When Sparta invoked the curse in c. 508, seven hundred Athenian households were affected. By 432 the number would have multiplied further, since a curse descended through both the male and the female line. The Athenians could not afford to doubt that the Cretan Epimenides, before Solon's time, had successfully purified the city.⁸⁴ The curse was almost a taboo subject in Athens. In speeches and plays, only Aristophanes' sausage-seller comes near to invoking it, but shies away (*Knights* 445–8). Pericles, the Spartans thought, was vulnerable because descended from the Alcmaeonids on his mother's side (Thuc. 1.127). So was Alcibiades; but though we have one speech against him (ps.-Andoc. 4) and two against his son (Lysias 14, 15), neither hints at his accursed ancestry. The last demand, by three named Spartan envoys, for Athens to 'leave the Greeks autonomous', cannot have been thought to have any chance of success. 'Autonomy' then, as now, was a weasel word, falling short of independence; but any approach to abandoning the Empire was unthinkable for Athens in 432, and as Pericles insisted, dangerous (Thuc. 2.63.2). It looks as if these impossible demands were made to bolster the justification for war. Neither was an ultimatum. After the last and most exigent demand the Athenians went back to debating the Megarian Decree.⁸⁵

The demand for its repeal had been made by numerous embassies between the first and the last, along with stipulations that Athens should withdraw from Potidaea and leave Aegina autonomous. All these grievances had been aired at Sparta. Megara's had therefore to be taken up as well as Corinth's; but it is surprising that it now assumed prime importance. The Spartans 'above all, insisted that there

would be no war if the Athenians rescinded the Decree about the Megarians'. Plutarch tells the story of the Spartan envoy Polyalces, in reply to Pericles' claim that Athens could not legally repeal the Decree, retorting: 'turn it to face the wall, then' (στρέψον εἴσω τὸ πινάκιον, Plut. *Per* 30.1). That chimes in with Aristophanes' wording: 'the Megarians, when they were starving by degrees, asked the Spartans that the decree should be *turned round* (μεταστραφείη); but we would not, though they asked frequently' – a point brought back to public notice by David Lewis (1977, 49). Sparta's inveterate 'political secrecy' of which Thucydides complained (τῆς πολιτείας τό κρυπτόν, 5.68.2) prevents us, now as often, from fathoming Spartan decision-making. It may be that Polyalces, like Prince Lichnowsky, the high-minded German ambassador to Britain in 1914, was chancing his arm in a genuine last-minute effort to prevent hostilities. Even if it is only an intelligent guess, there may be something in Plutarch's attribution of the conciliatory nature of this embassy to King Archidamus, who had counselled moderation at Sparta. Powerful Spartiates could sway policy without reference to the Spartan assembly, which was convened by the kings and elders 'from time to time', ὥρας ἔξ ὥρας (Great Rhetra, Plut. *Lyc.* 6) and so was weaker than the Athenian sovereign assembly which met at stated intervals.⁸⁶ The ephors Cleobulus and Xenares in 421/0, and the commissioner Lichas in 412/11, conducted diplomacy with a remarkable degree of independence (Thuc. 5.36–7; 8.43). But in 432 both the Spartan assembly and the League had already voted for war. If the Athenians had given way over Megara, but only over Megara, how could the Spartan authorities at this late stage have appeased implacable Corinth and reversed the decisions of the Spartan assembly and the League?

When, after the last Spartan embassy, the Athenians debated the Megarian Decree, 'many gave their opinions on both sides, both that war was necessary, and that the Decree should not be an obstacle to peace but should be rescinded'. Pericles won over the majority to stand firm. 'I remain of the same opinion, not to give way to the Peloponnesians... Let no one of you think that you would be fighting for a trifle if we do not take down the Megarian decree, when they make it an especial inducement, saying there would not be war if we did. Nor should you leave blame among yourselves as waging war over a small matter. For this trifle holds all assurance and proof of your resolution. If you give in, you will be at once burdened with a greater demand, as having obeyed through fear' (Thuc. 1.140.1, 4–5).

The doubts of the minority may explain why Pericles proposed the 'benign and humane' decree, which Plutarch almost certainly found in Craterus' collection, sending heralds to Megara and Sparta to put

Athens' case with all reasonableness.⁸⁷ Plutarch is chronologically imprecise (n. 33). But now, during the diplomatic campaign, is the most appropriate time for it. There would have been no case for sending a messenger to Sparta as well as Megara before the Spartans had taken up Megara's cause. At this stage, Pericles was being unprovocative though resolute, in keeping with what Thucydides reports him to have said to the Athenians: 'we shall not begin war, but will defend ourselves against those who do' (1.144.2).

Plutarch, or his source, identified the herald Anthemocritus, whom the Megarians were accused of murdering, with the herald carrying the 'benign and humane' message. This murder was followed by Charinus' decree proclaiming truceless, heraldless war on Megara and death to any Megarian crossing into Attica, and imposing an oath upon the generals to invade Megarian territory twice yearly. If we press the proposed sequence of events, then the Athenians were the first to start the fighting. That would be in startling contradiction to Thucydides, who says the Thebans were the first when they descended on Plataea in spring 431. There is much to be said for the modern view that Plutarch, or Craterus before him, made a mistaken identification, and that Anthemocritus was not the herald of the 'benign and humane' decree but died on some other mission to Megara. We need not resort to the extreme solution of transposing Charinus' decree to the mid-fourth century (Connor 1962; *contra* Dover 1966/1988), nor to de Ste. Croix's proposed date of 432/1, which is at strange variance with his anxiety to absolve Athens from the charge of aggression (1972, 386–8), nor to the desperate remedy of identifying Pericles' Megarian decree with that of Charinus (Stadter 1984). It is simpler to suppose that Anthemocritus was one of the heralds who went to and fro in war-time. His death should be placed after 431 and before 424, when twice-yearly invasions were in force (Thuc. 4.66.1). The Megarians denied responsibility for it. For all we know, he fell dead of a heart attack on their territory. The Athenians, believing them guilty, reacted understandably in decreeing that war with Megara should continue, intensified, without any heralds. Charinus' decree should be dissociated from Pericles, and may well have been passed after Pericles' death in 429.

Let us now try to put ourselves in the place of the comic poet pleading for peace before a belligerent audience in 425. The Athenians cannot have forgotten or regretted their decision to save Corcyra and repress Potidaea. Corcyra, embroiled in civil war, had not proved a useful ally; but the Athenians had prevented the aggrandisement of the Corinthian navy and brilliantly defeated it. They had crushed Potidaea at huge expense in blood and treasure. No mileage for Aristophanes there. Megarian sacrilege was no laughing matter either.

Some political issues were beyond the reach of comedy. Nowhere, for instance, does Aristophanes, when reviling Cleon in the *Knights*, touch on Cleon's worst misdeed to date: his proposal, at first accepted and then reversed in the nick of time, to massacre all male Mytileneans, loyal and disloyal, after the suppression of revolt in 427. Compare the predicament of Tom Lehrer when asked why he did not compose a satire about the Vietnam war. 'Tell me what's funny about it,' he said, 'and I will.'

What was left for Aristophanes was the Decree without the sacrilege. No Athenian could be quite sure that its repeal would not have averted war in 432. Aristophanes could cheerfully turn it into a prime cause and blame its author Pericles, now dead. It had originally been provoked not only by unmentionable sacrilege but by happily mentionable events. Smuggling to avoid duty, and consequent confiscation, commonly caused friction between neighbouring states. Too trivial, too, for Thucydides to adduce, the denunciation by Athenian busybodies of allegedly contraband Megarian produce will certainly have caused bad blood. 'Little cloaks, a fig, a hare, a piglet, a head of garlic, coarse salt: they were "Megarian" and were sold off the same day' (*Acharn.* 519–22). More serious and no taboo subject was Megara's harbouring of runaway slaves, which Thucydides does adduce. A slave state is bound to resent such behaviour by its neighbour: witness the anger of the South against the North before the American Civil War. Slave women in antiquity were often employed as prostitutes; attempts by high-spirited young freemen to liberate them became a favourite topic for literature and art.⁸⁸ There must be a kernel of truth in Dicaeopolis' story of the Megarian theft of two strumpets in return for that of Simaetha by drunken Athenian banqueters – why else name her? At the same time he turns the story into a parody of the opening '*cherchez la femme*' chapters of Herodotus' *History*, just published, and likens the terms of exclusion in the Decree to Timocreon's wish, in a drinking song, that 'Blind Wealth' could be excluded from land, sea, and air (Timocreon, Page *PLG* 731 = schol. *Ar. Ach.* 532). To this display of jocose fireworks he adds some well-tried comic hits against Pericles, the imperious Olympian Zeus, paramour of Aspasia.

Plutarch's *Life* documents many of those hits, delivered in Pericles' lifetime. Pericles was sensitive about his onion-shaped head, always good for a laugh.⁸⁹ More spiteful charges than this aroused Plutarch's indignation. There was some justification for the restrictive law on comedy between 440/39 and 437/6 which may have been against lampooning by name, *περὶ τοῦ μὴ <ὀνομασι> κωμῶδειν* (schol. *Ar. Acharn.* 67).⁹⁰ Pericles was accused of engrossing too much power (Telecleides fr. 45 = *Plut. Per.* 16.2). He was portrayed as a tyrant,

the offspring of *stasis* (Cratinus fr. 258 = *Per.* 3.3), with ‘Peisistratids’ as his supporters (fr. adesp. 703 = *Per.* 16.1). He was the imperious ‘Zeus’ (Cratinus frs. 258 (= *Per.* 3.3) and 118 (*Per.* 3.5)) and his Milesian mistress Aspasia was his ‘Hera’, or Omphale or Deianeira who had been so injurious to Heracles’ manhood (Adesp. fr. 704 = *Per.* 24.9) – or both Hera and strumpet (Cratinus fr. 259 = *Per.* 24.9). He was ‘king of satyrs’ (Hermippus fr. 47 = *Per.* 33.8). Connections of citizens with non-Athenian courtesans were not well regarded, as we know from the speech of 343/0 against Neaera. In Eupolis’ *Demoi*, where the revived Pericles asks if his bastard son is still alive, Aspasia is a strumpet only (fr. 110 = Plut. *Per.* 24.10).⁹¹

But note what was *not* said against Pericles. Once Pericles is attacked for ‘words not deeds’ – for the time it took to finish the Long Wall from Athens to the Piraeus (Cratinus fr. 326 = *Per.* 13.8). Yet we hear of no comic attack in principle upon his building programme, although it was denounced in the assembly by Thucydides son of Melesias, who said that Athens was misusing allied tribute-money to adorn herself like a pretentious woman with thousand- talent temples.⁹² Defeat in debate over the plan for the Odeon eventually led to Thucydides’ ostracism in 443, four years after the Parthenon was started. ‘Here comes this onion-headed Zeus carrying the Odeon on his skull’, wrote Cratinus, ‘since the *ostrakon* has passed him by’ (Cratinus fr. 73 (*Thracian Women*) = *Per.* 13.10). Cratinus seems not to be criticizing Pericles but congratulating him. His generalship was above criticism for fifteen continuous years. Aristophanes in 423, two years after the *Acharnians*, recalled how Pericles had stretched Euboea flat in the crisis of 446 (*Clouds* 213). As commander he once came under comic attack, at the end of his ascendancy when the Athenians had reluctantly taken his advice to stay within their walls rather than fight the Peloponnesian invader. The king of Satyrs, Hermippus wrote, was now refusing to wield the spear but taking refuge in words, and Cleon was making his debut by railing against him (Hermippus fr. 47 = *Per.* 33.8). Never in comedy, and only once in political life, was Pericles accused of corruption. Pericles, Thucydides writes, was pre-eminent in esteem and judgment and transparently above taking money, *δυνατὸς ὢν τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ, χρημάτων τε διαφανῶς ἄδωρὸς;τατος γενόμενος* (Thuc. 2.65.8). When rendering his accounts in 446, his payment of ten talents out of public funds ‘for a necessary purpose’ was allowed without question, for the young Spartan king Pleistoanax and his general Cleandridas were on trial at Sparta for taking the money to desist from invading Attica (Plut. *Per.* 23). Aristophanes in 423 could assume that an oblique reference to this grand gesture of confidence was still intelligible (*Clouds* 859). An attempt to involve Pericles in Pheidias’ defalcations of 438/7

evidently failed.⁹³

In 421, celebrating the treaty believed to have ended the war, Aristophanes' play welcomed Peace, the lost goddess, back to earth. This time there was no need for a speech against Athenian warmongering. The causes of the war required only a passing mention. The Decree re-appears only briefly. Hermes, explaining how the trouble started, says that Pericles, afraid of sharing the ill fortune of Pheidias, 'threw in a tiny spark of Megarian Decree' and started a fire in whose blinding smoke Peace disappeared. The connection with Pheidias immediately dissolves in laughter. 'By Apollo,' says Trygaeus, 'I've never learned this from anyone before, nor heard that Pheidias was related to her (Peace).' 'Nor I,' says the Chorus leader, 'until now. So that's why her face is so pretty! – it's because she's a relative of his. Well, many things escape us.' Hermes goes on to say – what would have spoilt the plot of the *Acharnians*, but here went down well – that Athens' estranged subject allies, fearing the tribute, had bribed the greedy and guest-cheating Spartans to make war (*Peace* 615–24). So Pericles was not so much to blame after all.

The scholiast notes that Pheidias was exiled in the archon-year 438/7 according to the Atthidographer Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F121): 'So the suspicion against Pericles appears unreasonable, the Pheidias affair having taken place seven years before the beginning of the war.'⁹⁴ That does not rule out a date for the Decree in the early 430s. Cawkwell (1997, 27) thinks it does; but to judge by the extensive verbatim quotations in Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes' *Fourth Philippic*, Philochorus' concise annals were not exhaustive. When recording the outbreak of war, they need not have noted when the Decree was originally passed. Ephorus, writing some decades before Philochorus, needed for his Universal History something different from Thucydides' standard work. So he reproduced the passages from the *Acharnians* and the *Peace* which deal with the Decree, and made the best history out of them that he could. How dependent we should be on him today, if those plays had been lost! But he disingenuously cuts short his quotation from the *Peace* just before the Pheidias connection is dissolved, and is unaware of the chronological objection. We cannot take seriously the story that Pericles, prompted by young Alcibiades, embroiled Athens in war to escape being called to account for public money spent on private use. The historicity of the prosecutions for impiety of Aspasia and Pericles' scientific associate Anaxagoras is doubtful.⁹⁵ It was not stupid to charge Pericles with provoking war to escape from personal trouble;⁹⁶ but the charge does not stick.

It was never again brought in comedy or speeches, though Andocides could still say in 392 that the Athenians had gone to war,

bringing devastation and hardship on themselves, 'because of the Megarians' (Andoc. 3 (*Peace*) 1, 8). Pericles' incorruptibility, buildings policy and generalship won unqualified praise from Athenian spokesmen for a century. 'All would agree that he was the most temperate, just and wise of the citizens', said Isocrates in 397.⁹⁷ In 355 he recalled how Pericles did not hold office to make money for himself, but left his father's estate smaller than he received it, and brought into the Acropolis eight thousand talents apart from the sacred treasures. What a contrast to our debased modern demagogues who claim their property is 'neglected' but have acquired wealth beyond their dreams! (Isocr. 8 (*Peace*) 126). Pericles, he writes in 354/3 in connection with his reduction of Samos, 'won the greatest glory for wisdom and justice and temperance', and followed Solon, Cleisthenes and Themistocles, eloquent speakers who did plentiful good to Athens; he was 'an excellent demagogue and the best of speakers', who adorned the city with temples and monuments and all else, so that visitors coming now think her worthy of ruling not only the Greeks but all mankind – and he brought not less than ten thousand talents to the acropolis (15 (*Antid.*) 111, 232–5). So temperate, says Aeschines, were those speakers of old, Pericles, Themistocles and Aristides, that they kept their arms inside their cloaks as does Solon in his statue in the Salaminian agora (1 (*Timarchus*) 25; Attic vases depict good boys doing this). Lysurgus in c. 334 contrasts the bronze statue and free meals in the town hall, granted to Demades for saving Athens from Alexander's anger, with the simple olive wreath awarded to Pericles who took Samos, Euboea and Aegina, who built the Propylaea, the Odeon and the Hecatompedon, and deposited ten thousand talents of silver in the acropolis (14 (*Cephis.*) fr. 2 Blass = fr. 91 Sauppe). In no surviving speech does Pericles come in for disparagement.

No Athenian statesman was a stronger candidate for resurrection. Eupolis was right.

Comic writers and orators alike professed the wish to save their free city from the aggrandisement of politicians. Their attempts were to fail. The entire Graeco- Roman world was eventually to become the empire of one man, sometimes a monster. Its long last phase was dominated by the Cult of Personality. In the reign of Augustus, the poets Eupolis, Cratinus and Aristophanes counted as canonical (Hor. *Sat.* 4.1–5), but outspokenness such as theirs was no longer acceptable. Eupolis' *Demoi*, outspoken against political corruption, and Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, against war mongering, typify Old Comedy at its best. To what extent its attacks are sincere or opportunist, how to strike the right balance between foolery and conviction, how much

to allow for the desire to please the public and win the prize – these are questions which have given rise to much thoughtful dissension; no one will ever have the last word.⁹⁸ But we must all agree to admire not only the quality and exuberance of Old Comedy, but also its happy appropriateness. Eupolis' choice of dead politicians is a case in point.

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Notes

¹Athenian memories: Rosalind Thomas 1989 *passim*, esp. ch. 4 (196–237). Synoecism: 1259/8 according to the Parian Marble of 264/3 BC (IG xii 5. 444 = FGrH 239 section 20).

²Thuc. 8.73.3; Plut. *Arist.* 7, *Nic.* 11, *Alcib.* 13; Theopompus FGrH 115 F96b. Rhodes 1994 argues for 415; Andrewes 1981, 259–64 on Thuc. 8.73.3 had preferred 416.

³T i K-A V p. 342 (= schol. ad loc. III p. 672, 5 Dindorf): Εὐπολις ἐποίησεν ἀναστάντα τὸν Μιλτιάδην κὶ Ἀριστείδην καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Περικλέα.

⁴This may be a variant reading of the same scholion, as Robert Fowler of Bristol University has explained to me, for Marcus Musurus padded out his Aldine edition of 'Suidas' (1498) with extracts from the Aristophanic scholia, and subsequent editors have copied from him.

⁵T i: Ael. Aristid. 3.365: τῶν κωμικῶν τις ἐποίησεν τέτταρας τῶν προστατῶν ἀνεστῶτας, ἐν οἷς δύο τουτῶν ἐνεῖσιν. Schol. ad loc. III. p. 672, 5 Dindorf: text as in n. 3, continuing: ἐν τουτοῖς οὖν ἐνεῖσι δύο, φησί, Περικλῆς καὶ Μιλτιάδης.

⁶This method of suicide is infallible if the blood has been exposed to air for several days: Lenardon 1978, 197. Cicero, relying on Thucydides (1.138.4), who only says that Themistocles *may* have died by taking poison, did not take account of Aristophanes when dismissing the bull's blood story, *Brutus* 43–4.

⁷The modern literature on Themistocles is extensive, but largely irrelevant to the question discussed here. Bibliography will be found in the notes in Marr 1998b.

⁸Harvey 1985. There is no serious attempt to define bribery in the 209 pages of the final report of the Royal Commission on Standards of Conduct in Public Life (1976).

⁹The law punishing the receipt of gifts επ? βλάβη το? δημο? (to the public hurt: Dem. 21 (*Meidias*) 113) was the oldest Athenian law against bribery, dating to the sixth century, according to MacDowell 1983, 74–5.

¹⁰τοῦτο μὲν ἀναγκαῖον, ὡς Θεμιστοκλῆς, καλὸν δὲ καὶ στρατηγικὸν ἀληθῶς ἢ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐγκράτεια (Plut. *Arist.* 24.7).

¹¹Fr. 1 Page PMG (Campbell IV (1992) 727) = Plut. *Them.* 21.3. The point of Timocreon's Θεμιστοκλέα γ' ἤχθαρε ἄτῳ; is usually missed, e.g. by Bowra 1961, 353.

¹²Forrest 1960, 221–2. Though over-ingeniously elaborated, Forrest's main point seems to me valid, despite the scepticism of O'Neill 1981.

¹³Broneer 1938; briefly Vanderpool 1973, 225–7. Of these ostraka, 74 are displayed in a dresser in the Agora Museum: photograph in Vanderpool fig. 31 (a selection in fig. 30) and Lenardon 1978 pl. 14.

¹⁴'To an unloved spinster', 'to a school-marm'. There is a display of 'uglies' in the Castle Museum at York.

¹⁵In 1981 I was the guest in Peking of one of India's most distinguished ambassadors. His and his staff's ignorance of Chinese caused them endless difficulty. Their interpreter was a Chinese government stooge.

¹⁶King Moshoeshoe I of Lesotho (1786–1870), the most intelligent African statesman of his age, first encountered the alphabet when over forty, but never mastered it, though he fostered literacy and loved to have Plutarch read to him.

¹⁷Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus (*FGrH* 262 F11) were right to name Artaxerxes I as Themistocles' benefactor, as opposed to Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F190) and many others who named Xerxes: Plut. *Them.* 27.1 with Marr 1998, 149 ad loc.

¹⁸Proxeny decree: Hill² B122 (p. 324) = *ILampsakos* 3 (pp. 9–14 and pl. 1); see *ATL* III 111–13. Remission of tribute: *Epistles of Them.* 20 (p. 761 Hercher, trs. Lenardon 1978, 192). These imaginative reconstructions contain some nuggets of fact. This one may derive from Charon of Lampsacus, who narrated Themistocles' adventures in Asia (*FGrH* 262 F11).

¹⁹Lampsacus probably paid 12 talents in 452, and certainly did in 450 and 449. Myus paid one and a half talents in 451 and one talent in 449. Myrina paid one talent from 451, Gryneum 1000 drachmas from 452. (The figures are most easily found in Hill² 404–26 = Meiggs 1972, 540–61.)

²⁰Cahn & Gerin 1988, with Cahn & Mannsperger 1991. See also Kraay 1976, 249 with fig. 906; Podlecki 1975, 169–70 with pl. 3a–b; Lenardon 1978 151–2 with pls. 27–29; Carradice & Price 1988, 84 ('by far the earliest datable portrait coin'). But the portrait coins remain controversial: their date and attribution are not secure, according to Howgego 1995, 64 (with fig. 31).

²¹Pamphila's figures for the ages of Herodotus and Thucydides at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Aulus Gellius 15.23) must derive from the guess that they were at their ἀκμή (prime) of 40 at the time of the foundation of Thurii (443) and the outbreak of war (431) respectively. No such guesswork was needed for the dates in the lives of Plato (Diog. Laert. 3.2–3) and Aristotle (Apollodorus *FGrH* 244 F38).

²²e.g. Battus, founder of Cyrene, c. 599 Bc (Pindar *Pyth.* 5.93–5), Hagnon and Brasidas at Amphipolis (below, n. 28), and Euphron at Sicyon, 366 Bc (Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.12); see Malkin 1987, esp. 228–31.

²³Only three survive: Schultz 52–3, pl. 7 no. 103, pl. 19 no. 244. For earlier discussions (with illustrations) see Podlecki 1975, 170–1 with pl. 3c and Lenardon 1978, 197–9 with pl. 30.

²⁴Weil 1906, 300–9. Pandosia (river-god with fish leaping): Gardner 1883, pl. I.17. Himera (nymph with satyr or caduceus): *BMC Sicily* Himera 31–39, pp. 78–9, Gardner 1883, pl. VI 2. Selinus (river-god with cock and bull): *BMC Sicily* Selinus 23–33, pp. 139–41. Abdera (Apollo with deer): May 1966 nos. 449–51, pl. 21. Side (Apollo with raven): *BMCLycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia* Side XXVI 10–19.

²⁵Men, especially athletes, in the second quarter of the fifth century: Renate Thomas 1981, 99–126, pl. 55–76. Gods: Himmelman-Wildschutz 1959, 26–31, figs. 12, 13, 16b.d., 31, 32.

²⁶Apollo: *Iliad* 5.509, 15.256, Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* 123, 395, Hesiod *Works and Days* 771, Pind. *Pyth.* 5.104. The epithet is also applied to Demeter, *Homeric Hymn* 4 with Richardson 1974, 139 ad loc., and once each to Artemis, Orpheus and Perseus. The cult of Ζεὺς χρυσσαορέυς, centre of the Chrysaoric league in Caria, was non-Greek and Hellenistic, Hornblower 1982, 62–3.

²⁷Richardson 1974, 139. Apollo's many other attributes are listed by Wernicke 1896, 109–11.

²⁸Thucydides 5.11.1 implies, as Hornblower 1996, 452–5 ad loc. points out, that Hagnon, the Athenian founder of 437, had previously been receiving similar τιμαί (honours) in his lifetime.

²⁹Traces of a heroon were found two and a half miles from the mouth of the

Crathis in 1932, with roof-tiles stamped CLEANDRIDA, Zancani Montuori 1962, 36–40; Zuntz 1971, 287; Hornblower, loc. cit. in n. 28. Cleandridas had rescued Thuri from the Terinaeans and Lucanians, using a vixen's tactics where those of a lioness could not prevail, Polyaeus 2.10.

³⁰By other accounts, it was his wife that Themistocles installed, Strabo 14.1.40, p. 647.

³¹This was why Hellanicus used the successive terms of office of the priestesses of the Argive Heraeum as the framework of a chronicle that covered even Sicilian history (*FGrH* 4 F 74–84), and Thuc. 2.2.1 dates the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war to the 48th year of Chrysis as priestess of the Argive temple of Hera. But Chrysis lost her job when she accidentally burnt the temple down in 423 (Thuc. 4.133.2–3).

³²As conjectured by Six 1890, 192 n. 27. Hellas was not necessarily, as Six thinks, born as early as the Greek victory years of 480–79.

³³*LGN* II gives only a few instances, of the late 4th cent. Bc or later. Three humble tomb-markers at Athens, with the name only, would seem to be of slaves, *IG* ii² 11259–61. Hellas of *IG* ii² 1570.51 (c. 330–20) is a freedwoman. E^ΛAE (corrected by Fraser from EMIAΣ), who made a dedication to Apollo in Cypriot Salamis, can hardly have been freeborn in the absence of a patronymic, *BMI* 2. 387. Ἑλλάς Αἰμυλία, who with Sappho and Sporios made a votive offering to the Egyptian gods at Delos in 106/5 BC (*Inscr. Delos* 2127), will have been a freedwoman of the Aemilii who had settled at Delos earlier in the 2nd cent. BC Her hybrid name reappears on a tombstone at Athens, reportedly of the 1st or 2nd cent. AD, *IG* ii² 11262. Among the foreign residents of Attica we find the name Hellas, with patronymics, on three modest gravestones, from Miletus (Hellenistic), Alexandria and Tarsus (imperial): Osborne & Byrne 1996, s.v.

³⁴Naples 3253 = Trendall & Cambitoglou 1982, 2. 495 (Darius Painter no. 38, pl. 176), c. 340–30 BC; Trendall & Webster 1971, 112 (III.5,6). See Jahn 1861, 702; the scene on the vase is perceptively explained by Holscher 1973, 177–80 with pl. 14.2. However, Jahn's identification, followed by Anti 1952, and others, is not universally accepted: see e.g. Schmidt 1982 and Boardman forthcoming.

³⁵Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6. The grant was not by Xerxes, as Xenophon thought, but by Darius between 491 and 486: Hdt. 6.70.2, 7.104.2.

³⁶Hellas' son Gongylus II was ruling over Myrina and Gryneum, and his brother Gorgion over Gambrium and Palaegambrium, Xen. *Anab.* 7.8.8–24, *Hell.* 3.1.6. Coins of Eurysthenes and Procles, Gorgion and Gongylus II: Babelon 1910, 83–98, nos. 41–50 (bis), pl. LXXXVIII 7–9.

³⁷For Cleophantus and Themistocles' other progeny, see Davies 1971, 217–20, no. 6669.

³⁸Compare the massive expenditure of 433/2 to 423/2 (*IG* i³ 369 = ML 72, with tables on p. 214) and the inflated demands for tribute of Thudippus' decree of 425 (*IG* i³ 71 = ML 69).

³⁹Cyaneae is a constant in our sources for the treaty limits; the Chelidonian Islands and Phaselis are variables. I believe that Craterus *FGrH* 342 F13, quoting directly from the inscription (Plut. *Cimon* 13.4–5), is correct in choosing to name the Chelidonian Islands, as is Dem. 19 (*Embassy*) 273. The nearby port of Phaselis, on a north-south coastline, cannot have been a suitable western sea limit, but must have been preferred as more familiar to their audiences by Isocrates 4 (*Paneg.*) 118, 7 (*Areop.*) 80, 12 (*Panath.*) 59 and Lysurgus *Leocr.* 73. Lysurgus, when giving the text of the Greek oath before Plataea (*Leocr.* 80), similarly missed out the undertaking to 'tithe' Thebes, awkward for his patriotic argument because it was never carried out, though it was faithfully reproduced in a fourth-century inscription (Tod II 204.32–3: see Meiggs 1972, 504–7; Siewert 1972, 63–75).

⁴⁰Isocrates 7 (*Areop.*) 80 and 12 (*Panath.*) 59. In both speeches Isocrates is

speaking of the *effects* of the Peace, not of the written terms, as he does in 4 (*Paneg.*) 120. The effects and the terms are commonly confused, even by Meiggs (1972, 149). For a general discussion of the notoriously controversial Peace see Lewis 1992, 121–7, with copious bibliography.

⁴¹Andocides 3 (*Peace*) 29; cf. the decree of 423, mentioning the King and a treaty, and honouring a Heracleides now proved from a new fragment to be Heracleides of Clazomenae, who was nicknamed βασιλεύς (*Ath. Pol.* 41): *IG* i³ 36 = *ML* 70 with addenda in *ML*² p. 313.

⁴²*IG* i³ 35, 36 = *ML* 44 (?450/49) and 71 (424/3) with addenda in *ML*² p. 311. The Nike temple may date from the preceding year, 425/4 (Boersma 1970, 85). See Parker 1996, 126–7, with n. 16 for the chronological problems.

⁴³Ar. *Thesm.* 335–8: εἴ τις ἐπιβουλεύει τι τῷ δημῷ κακὸν □ τῷ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἢ πικριτοκεύεται □ Εὐριπίδῃ Μήδοις τ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τινη □ τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν... and 365: ἢ Μήδους ἐπάγουσι γῆ. *Isocrates* 4 (*Paneg.*) 157 says this continued even in 380 BC: ἐν δέ τοις συλλόγοις ἔτι νῦν ἀράς ποιοῦνται, πρὶν ἄλλο τι χρηματίζειν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύεται Πέρσαις τῶν πολιτῶν.

⁴⁴Thuc. 1.138. The bones were carried off by the Athenian state, according to the scholiast on Ar. *Knights* 84. 'The god [Apollo] directed the Athenians, who were suffering from a plague, to bring back the bones of Themistocles; when the Magnesians objected, they claimed the right to sacrifice at the tomb after thirty days; they encamped about the place, and having dug up the bones carried them off secretly.' But this is a dubious version of a familiar type of story, such as that of Hdt. 1.67–8.

⁴⁵Διοδώρος δ' ὁ περιγηγῆς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μνημάτων (*FGrH* 372 F35) εἶρηκεν ὡς περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ Πειραιῶς; ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν "Ἀλκιμον ἀκρωτηρίου πρὸκειραῖ τις οἶον ἀγκῶν, καὶ κάμψαντι τοῦτον ἐντὸς, ἡ τό; ὑπεῦδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπὶς ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθης καὶ τὸ; ἐπ' αὐτῇ βωμοειδὲς τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, *Plut. Them.* 32.5.

⁴⁶πρὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ λιμένι τάφος Θεμιστοκλέους, 'beside the largest harbour is the tomb of Themistocles', *Paus.* 1.1.2. Nowhere in Peiraeus is it marshy; so Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 6.15 569b12 must be referring to some other building or be plain wrong when he writes of 'sheltered and marshy districts..as, for instance, near the Themistocleum'. For the peribolus, already known as Themistocles' tomb to Byron in 1813 (*The Giaour* 1–6), see Wallace 1972; Lenardon 1978, 205 and pl. 34; and von Eickstedt 1991, 138–140, 256, pl. 78–9, Kat. III 4.8.

⁴⁷*Plato Comicus* fr. 127: see K-A VII 485, top of page and n. on fr. 127; *contra* Dover 1950/87.

⁴⁸*IG* ii² 1656–7 = *Tod* II 107 (June 394 and 394/3); with the help of volunteers from Boeotia and other states, *Xen. Hell.* 4.8.10.

⁴⁹*Paus.* 1.1.3, cf. Callicles-Menecles *FGrH* 370 F1, *IG* ii² 1035, 2872. The Aphrodision has not been found (von Eickstedt 1991, 15–16). Was it on the commanding site now occupied by St Nicolas' church?

⁵⁰Ammonius, author before 50 Bc of a treatise *On altars and sacrifices*, wrote that Themistocles dedicated this temple because one of Aphrodite's doves had auspiciously alighted on his trireme, *FGrH* 361 F5. But Aphrodite's dove becomes Athena's owl in *Plut. Them.* 12. Moreover, the 'Ἀφροδίσιον of *IG* ii² 1656.5 may have been a projected, not a pre-existing building. Conon's victory was sufficient reason for him to honour the goddess of Cnidus. For a discussion in all their complexity of the problems connected with Conon's return, see Funke 1983, esp. 175–89.

⁵¹*Paus.* 1.1.2. The timing was first suggested by Lenschau 1927, 93.

⁵²*Plut. Them.* 22.3. Krumeich, who provides a full discussion, would date the ἐ? κον?ον to Themistocles' lifetime (1997, 78–9 n. 228, pl. 35).

⁵³Diod. 11.58–9. In books 11 to 15, derived from Ephorus, Diodorus provides ἐγκώμια and ψόγοι, expressions of praise and blame, that are untypical of the rest of his work, despite his claim (11.46.1) that he makes them his practice throughout. Such assessments were Ephorus' forte (Polyb. 12.28.10). So it is not Diodorus himself who is speaking here, but Ephorus through him: Schwartz 1905, 681.

⁵⁴Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F85–87 (= Plut. *Them.* 19.1, 25.3, 31.2) on Themistocles, F89–90 on Cimon, F237 on Plato. Theopompus was βάσκανος, slanderous, according to Dion. Hal. *Letter to Pompeius Geminus* 7–10 (= *FGrH* 115 T 20). The verdict of antiquity is spiritedly though not quite accurately endorsed by Gilbert Murray 1928/46. More recent assessments in Connor 1968, Lane Fox 1986 and Flower 1994.

⁵⁵*Ath. Pol.* 22.7, 23.3, 25.3–4 with Rhodes 1981, 279–80, 293–4, 319–22 ad locc.; Lewis 1997. But in *Ar. Pol.* (1274a 7–11) Pericles, not Themistocles, is associated with Ephialtes' reform.

⁵⁶ML 23. For the debate on its authenticity that followed publication, see especially Burn 1962, 3654–77 and Murray 1993, 298–9.

⁵⁷Linked with those against Alcibiades by Aesch. 2 (*Embassy*) 9.

⁵⁸Thuc. 2.59.2–65.6. The fine will have been not for corruption but for 'misleading the people', under a law still in force in c. 354 (Dem. 20 (*Leptines*) 100, 135), or for 'wronging the people' (decree of Cannonus: Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.20, *Ar. Eccles.* 1089–90 and scholia ad loc.). That was the charge against Miltiades after the Parian debacle, according to MacDowell 1978, 179–81.

⁵⁹*Acharn.* 313–35. Plut. *Per.* 30.4: Μεγαρεῖς δὲ τὸν Ἀνθεμοκρίτου φόνον ἀπαρνούμενοι, τὰς αἰτίας εἰς Ἀσπασίαν καὶ Περικλέα τρέπουσι, χρωμένοι τοῖς περιβο- ῆτοις καὶ δημῶδεσι τοῦτοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνέων στιχιδίοις (324–7)...

⁶⁰Fornara 1975, esp. 226, criticizing de Ste. Croix 1972: it is a mistake to 'wrench. Aristophanes' humour out of contact with the reality it needs in order to be funny', and to 'infer that the occasion for jesting is also a jest'.

⁶¹The classic discussion is Gomme 1945, 54–84; briefly, Stadter 1989, xxxv–vi. Stadter's commentary on Plutarch's *Pericles* (1989) provides helpful notes on all relevant passages.

⁶²As does Badian 1990. Point by point, he tries to show that Thucydides' first book is a disingenuous apologia for Athens, unfairly incriminating Sparta. But such success as he has in finding touches of pro-Athenian bias cannot undo the effect of Thucydides' repeated references to Athens' subjection of her allies as 'enslavement': see Rood 1998, 238–9 n. 50. An apologia for Athens would not have highlighted the hardline attitude of the Athenians who spoke to the crucial Spartan assembly in 432. An incriminator of Sparta would not have reported the Corinthian reproach of Spartan 'slowness'.

⁶³See Rood 1998, index s.v. 'omissions' and 'selectivity'. The classic instance of Thucydides' 'superb silence' (Gomme's expression, 1945, 27) is his mention without comment of the massacre of all the males and the enslavement of the women and children of re-subjected Scione, decreed by Cleon but carried out after his death in 421 (5.32.1). In giving Cleon's arguments for massacring the Mytileneans in 427, and Diodotus' successful counter-arguments (3.37–49), Thucydides had already done enough.

⁶⁴Thuc. 1.97.2. 'The pot calls the kettle black', comments Hornblower 1991, 148 ad loc. Many have followed Gomme's view (1945, 361) that Thucydides only meant that Hellanicus got his events in the wrong order. But to judge from *FGrH* 4 F172 (= 323a F26), Hellanicus provided archon-dates.

⁶⁵His 'great gap', Hornblower 1996, 324 on Thuc. 4.102.3.

⁶⁶De Ste. Croix 1972, 200–3. The Spartans had similarly called a League meeting in c. 505 when seeking to restore Hippias to the tyranny of Athens, but were voted

down (Herodotus 5.91–3); they were to call another successfully in 432 (Thuc. 1.118–25, below). For the ‘constitution’ of the League, with Sparta as convenor, see de Ste. Croix 1972, 105–23, 339–40.

⁶⁷Significant variations in the tribute assessment of Potidaea, Scione and Mende in the 430s: Meiggs 1972, 528.

⁶⁸Sparta, 1.23.6; Athens, 1.144. ‘?νάγκη is a Thucydidean buzz-word, with 25 instances (including derivatives) in his first book alone.

⁶⁹De Ste. Croix 1972, 54–5, drawing attention to Dion. Hal. *On Thucydides* 51, *Letter to Ammaeus* II. 6; Hornblower 1991, 64–6.

⁷⁰Or rather, *would* have thought: ὥς δ’ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν (Thuc. 1.22.1). The ἂν pulls against the rest of the passage, presenting a problem of great importance but not germane to this discussion.

⁷¹The Corinthians’ ‘formerly existing suspicions on account of Megara’, which they told the Athenians to remove in 433 (Thuc. 1.42.3), were most probably of democratic subversion. This had succeeded in winning Megara to Athens’ side in 460–46, arousing Corinth’s intense hatred (1.103.4), and was to be tried again in 424 (4.66–74).

⁷²Megara’s colony Heraclea Pontica had plenty in the fourth century: ps.-Arist. *Oecon.* 2.2.8, 1347b2–15.

⁷³In belittling the effect of the Decree on Megarian trade, de Ste. Croix, a former barrister himself, did not persuade the authors of thirteen reviews listed by Legon 1981, 214 n. 51; see also Gautier 1975 and Lewis 1994, 377. That is no reason to undervalue the other arguments in de Ste. Croix’s powerful book. After his death in his 90th year in February 2000, his *Guardian* obituarist (10 Feb.) wrote ‘For any serious student of the subject, there are two authors who are essential reading: Thucydides and de Ste. Croix.’

⁷⁴Xen. *Mem.* 2.7.6. The art of fulling was a Megarian invention, Pliny *NH* 7.196. Three Megarian sellers of slaves’ clothing are named at Eleusis in 329/8 and 327/6: *IG* ii² 1672.103, 1673.45–6; de Ste. Croix 1972, 264. Megarian commerce: Meyer 1931, 171–4.

⁷⁵Ar. *Acham.* 521, 760–1 and scholia ad loc.; on the salt-pans near Nisaea, Pliny *NH* 31.87, 37.18.

⁷⁶Pigs: *Acham.* 521, 736–49. Game, figs: *ibid.* 520. Onions and garlic: *Peace* 1000 with scholia and Olson 1998, 260–1 ad loc.; Cato *On Agriculture* 8.2, Pliny *NH* 19.93, 20.105, Ath. 1.64d. The mountainous stacks in the Cairo garlic market have left me in awe of this trade. MacDonald 1983 argues, in support of de Ste. Croix, that Megara was self-sufficient in cereals and so not dependent on overseas trade. But Megarian arable land could not have been half devoted to wheat and half fallow (MacDonald 394) when neighbouring Attica’s wheat harvest was a tenth of her barley, *IG* ii² 1672, analysed by Garnsey 1988, 98.

⁷⁷Xenophon admired the fine ship-building timber behind Calpe, westward of Heraclea (*Anab.* 6.4.1). The region was called ‘the sea of trees’ towards the end of the nineteenth century: Cuinet 1900, 499 (quoted by Meiggs 1982, 519, note to 393). Chersonesus, near Sebastopol, was settled by Megarians from Heraclea; possessed of an excellent harbour, it was a source of salt and salt fish as well as grain, Brandis 1899. For grain imports into the Peloponnese from the Black Sea see Hdt. 7.147 (cf. Thuc. 1.120.2); fish from all parts of the Black Sea came to Greece via Byzantium too (Braund 1995). I have not yet seen Saprykin 1997.

⁷⁸The exergues of fifth-century Selinuntine coins display grains and ears of barley: Kraay & Hirmer 1966 nos. 189, 191 (c. 410 Bc). The Greeks in classical times willingly used barley for food as well as wheat: see Braun 1995. Selinuntine wheat, Theophrastus *Causes of Plants* 3.21.2, Pliny *NH* 18.64. Sicily, self-sufficient in wheat

in 415 (Thuc. 1.20), became the bread-basket of the Romans, who allowed their Rhodian allies to import a hundred thousand medimni (over five million litres) in 270/69 BC (Polyb. 28.2).

⁷⁹ἐπικαλούντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσιν τῆς γῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχὴν τῷ;ν ἀφισταμένων, Thuc. 1.139.2.

⁸⁰SIG³ 204 (352/1); Dem.12 (*Letter of Philip*) 4, with Didymus' commentary (ed. Diels & Schubart, Teubner 1904), 33–5 quoting Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F155 (350/49 BC) and, under the lemma περὶ τοῦ ὁ;ργάδος, διὰ τί τοὺς Μεγαρέας [κατα]ράτους ἔφη, Androtion *FGrH* 324 F30.

⁸¹Megarians are not at any time said to have been specifically excluded from Athenian- controlled shrines. But there is a story that after Anthemocritus' murder they were excluded from participating in the Eleusinian mysteries: Dem. 12 (*Letter of Philip*) 4.

⁸²Athens was not in breach of the treaty over Megara, Thuc. 1.144.2 (p. 208 above). The Spartans broke the treaty in consistently refusing arbitration (1.140), for which they were later remorseful (7.18.2). 'One may wonder how seriously Sparta was bent on negotiations', Cawkwell 1997, 35–6.

⁸³Cawkwell 1997, 31, adducing ps.-Dem. 17 (*Treaty with Alexander*)19: 'those sharing in the Peace should sail the sea, and no one should prevent them or force a ship of any of them to beach'.

⁸⁴The Alcmaeonids had been wrongly blamed instead of the *prytaneis* of the naucraries, says Herodotus (5.71.2) when recounting the Spartan king Cleomenes' invocation of the curse and banishment of seven hundred families in 508. There were 48 naucraries, *Ath. Pol.* 8.3. The nine archons (i.e. not only the chief archon, the Alcmaeonid Megacles) were responsible, according to Thuc. 1.126.8. For Epimenides' purification, see Plut. *Solon* 12, Diog. Laert. 1.110, Epimenides *FGrH* 457 T 4 with Jacoby's commentary ad loc.; Parker 1983, 198–206 (inherited family guilt), 209–11 (Epimenides). The 700 families: Hdt. 5.72.1. The Athenian counter-demand (Thuc. 1.128.1–2, 135.1): Marr 1998a.

⁸⁵τέλος δέ ἀφικομένων τῶν τελευταίων πρέσβων ἐκ ἁκεδαίμονος (Thuc. 1.139.3) is rendered by Rex Warner in his Penguin Classics translation (1954) as 'Finally an embassy arrived with the Spartan ultimatum.' Here, as elsewhere at crucial points in Book 1, this vigorous version is misleading.

⁸⁶One κυρία ἐκκλησία, sovereign assembly, met in each of the year's ten prytanies, Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 43.4 with Rhodes 1981, 521–3.

⁸⁷Plut. *Per.* 30.3: τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ψηφίσμα εὐγνώμονος καὶ φιλανθρώ;που δικαιο- λογίας ἐχόμενον. [This judgment is Plutarch's own, not drawn from any earlier source: the multiple compounds and the approval of φιλανθρωπία are both characteristic of Plutarch. – FDH] Plutarch elsewhere refers to Craterus' Ψηφισμάτων συναγωγή, the only Collection of Decrees attested in antiquity (*FGrH*342): *Arist.* 26 1.4 (F 12), *Cimon* 13 5.2 (F 13).

⁸⁸For example, in Terence's *Eunuchus*, derived from Menander's *Kolax*, and on a 4th- cent. gold amphora rhyton found in Bulgaria, Griffith 1988, 44–9 (though other interpretations of that scene have been proposed: Simon 2000, 284–6 with 289 n. 9).

⁸⁹Cratinus fr. 73 (*Thracian Women*) = Plut. *Per.* 13.10) was giving this joke its head in 443; Plut. *Per.* 3.3–6 also quotes Cratinus frs. 258 and 118, and Teleclides fr. 47: see Revermann 1997. Eupolis used it a quarter of a century later: *Demoi* fr. 115 = Plut. *Per.* 3.7.

⁹⁰The decree has been the subject of much discussion: see Sommerstein 1986, Halliwell 1991, Atkinson 1992 and Carey 1994.

⁹¹On Aspasia see Stadter 1989, 233–7, 282 and Henry 1995, esp. 9–28, 131–43 [non *vidi*]. Sympathy with Pericles after his political setback in 430 had in fact led the Athenians to legitimise his son and make him a citizen (Plut. *Per.* 37.5 with

Stadter 1989, 339–41).

⁹²Plut. *Per.* 12.1–2 with Powell 1995 ('pretentious' rather than 'wanton': Powell 250–1). Andrewes 1978 argued that opposition that stood so little chance of success must have been a later invention; but there are often good reasons for politicians to adopt hopeless positions. Thucydides' aristocratic guest-friends in the allied cities may for instance have made it worth his while to speak in their interest as reluctant tribute-payers.

⁹³Dracontides' motion required special terms for a judicial investigation into Pericles' accounts, Plut. *Per.* 31–2. Frost 1964 argues that this was in connection with the Pheidias case, and that Pericles must have been exonerated. But these trials remain controversial: see e.g. Stadter 1989, 284–9 (with bibliography on p. 284).

⁹⁴Schol. on Ar. *Peace* 606a α: ἄλογος δέ φαίνεται ἢ κατὰ Περικλέους ὑπόνοια, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτεσι πρότερον τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἀρχῆς τῶν περὶ Φειδίαν γενομένων.

⁹⁵See Dover 1975/88; Stone 1988, 231–47; Parker 1996, 208–9; further bibliography in Henry 1995, 135 n. 22; and now Gilula in this volume, p. 76.

⁹⁶Thuc. 5.16.1 brings a similar charge against Cleon: 'he thought that in peacetime his evil deeds would be more noticeable'.

⁹⁷Isoc. 16 (*Chariot team*). 28, ὃν πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν καὶ σωφρονέστατον καὶ δικαιοτάτον καὶ σοφώτατον γενέσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν.

⁹⁸Two contrasting assessments from an earlier generation remain worth reading: Gilbert Murray 1933, and Gomme 1938.

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EUPOLIS AND THE PERIODIZATION OF ATHENIAN COMEDY

Heinz-Gunther Nesselrath

In a memorable passage, the Roman poet Lucan remarks of Pompey the Great (with a subtle play on his cognomen *Magnus*) *Stat magni nominis umbra* (*Phars.* 1.135). It would not be inappropriate to apply the same words to the Old Comic poet Eupolis. While he was probably the most serious rival of the master poet Aristophanes during his lifetime, and while for many centuries Eupolis' name symbolized Old Attic Comedy just as much as the names of Aristophanes and Cratinus,¹ after antiquity all the seventeen plays attested for him perished, and the more or less meagre scraps of quotations from them which survive – during the last decades somewhat augmented by papyrus finds – have not made it possible for us to gain a reasonably clear picture of even one of his plays.

It is not the main (or most immediate) purpose of the present chapter to inquire into the reasons why Eupolis failed where Aristophanes succeeded (though this may become somewhat clearer later on), namely in getting at least a number of his plays across the vast gulf of time that divides us from classical Athens. What I would like to show is that this decision seems to have come only after a rather long (and sometimes probably quite heated) discussion (the high point of which may already have been reached in the third century BC), and that for a very long time – during the whole of the Hellenistic age and even beyond – Eupolis held his own against Aristophanes and perhaps even more than that. For a considerable time and by a number of not unimportant people, Eupolis may have been regarded as *the* representative poet of Old Comedy – more than Aristophanes, in fact: so much so, indeed, that the end of his life came to be identified with the end of Old Comedy itself.

It is a sad fact that Eupolis apparently died rather young and in the middle of a successful career² as a comic dramatist who showed no sign of flagging poetical power. It was reputedly at the tender age of 17 that Eupolis brought his first play on to the stage, some time between 429 and 425,³ during the very years in which the young Aristophanes also made his theatrical debut; and for perhaps more than a decade and a half the two vied constantly (and sometimes

ferociously, if we can trust the stories about their mutual recriminations concerning plagiarism)⁴ for the favour of the Athenian theatre-going public. During the seventeen years of his career Eupolis won four victories at the Great Dionysia and three at the Lenaea, which made him a markedly more successful poet than Aristophanes, who in his forty years of writing comedies won perhaps only two Dionysian and four Lenaeian victories.⁵ The last play of Eupolis that we know of was one of his most famous: the *Demoi* (*Demes*, probably of 412⁶), in which – against the background of Athens' worsening plight in her war against the Spartans – four great Athenian statesmen were miraculously recalled out of Hades back on to the earth to advise and assist their troubled countrymen (see Storey and Braun in this volume). After 412, there is no certain piece of evidence attesting that Eupolis himself was still among the living; the *Suda* lexicon in its short biography of our poet reports that he died in a naval battle 'in the Hellespont area during the war against the Spartans'. Furthermore, a casualty list which records the names of Athenian soldiers who apparently died in such a battle c. 411 lists among other names that of Eupolis (*IG* i³ 1190 (= i² 950) line 52), and this may well have been the comic writer, who at that time cannot have been more than 35 years old.⁷

The bare fact of Eupolis' death at sea on military service seems thereafter to have been embellished before long with details that tended to endow this sad event with profound symbolism for the art that he practiced. At least as early as the first part of the third century BC, a story was current that Eupolis had indeed died when doing duty on an Athenian warship – not, however, during a battle against enemies, but because he was pushed overboard by none other than the famous Athenian general Alcibiades (or at least on his orders), when he was commander of the Athenian fleet on its way to Sicily in 415. This rather cruel story⁸ is ascribed to the early Hellenistic historian Duris of Samos, a pupil of Theophrastus (*FGrH* 76 F73). Soon after, it came under severe criticism from the great Alexandrian scholar Eratosthenes (fr. 48 Strecker = *FGrH* 241 F19), who pointed out that Alcibiades could not possibly have been responsible for drowning Eupolis, if only because of the simple fact that plays written by Eupolis were still performed on the Athenian stage in the years after the Sicilian expedition (the famous *Demoi* probably being among them).

This very sensible refutation, however, significantly failed to remove the story told by Duris (and others⁹) from circulation for good. There are several texts (of somewhat uncertain date, but probably not composed before late antiquity, and perhaps even later) which relate the story of Eupolis' death as Duris did and connect it

with a far-reaching change in the nature of Athenian comedy. One of these texts is a scholion on Aelius Aristides' speech Ὑπέρ τῶν τεττάρων (*In defence of the Four: Oration 3* Lenz-Behr), which gives two reasons for the abolition of ὀνομαστί κωμῳδεῖν ('mocking individuals by name'), one of the hallmarks of Old Comedy: either because the politician Kleon had brought Aristophanes to court for slandering him and ὀνομαστί κωμῳδεῖν was prohibited by law thereafter, or because Alcibiades had reacted to the mockery of Eupolis by drowning him off Sicily.¹⁰ Similarly, Eupolis' violent death is connected with a profound change in comedy by Platonius, a rather obscure author,¹¹ in an essay Περίδιαφορᾶς κωμῳδιῶν, of which an epitome survives.¹² In this work, the author cites Eupolis' drowning as the most significant instance of a 'policy' of Athenian oligarchs to inject fear into Athenian comic poets and thus stop them from ridiculing the mighty.¹³ For Platonius, this marks, as it were, the sea-change from Old to Middle Comedy.

It may have been at some time in late antiquity that the author of the scholia to Aristides and Platonius referred to the death of Eupolis, and certainly they took their material from earlier sources. That the story was current in the later fourth century AD seems to be shown by a probable allusion to it made in a speech addressed to the Emperor Valens by the rhetor Themistius.¹⁴ The next approximately datable occurrence of the story is very much later, in the writings of the prolific Byzantine scholar John Tzetzes (twelfth century). In his *Comic Prolegomena* Tzetzes, too, sets up boundaries between different phases of Attic comedy: the first phase he sees as characterized by τὸ ἀπαρακαλύπτως κωμῳδεῖν (unveiled, i.e. open mockery), the second by τὸ συμβολικῶς (or συμβολικέτερος or ἐσχηματισμένως) (mockery by way of suggestion or innuendo), which Tzetzes identifies with a μέση κωμῳδία, and the end of the first phase is marked by Alcibiades' cruel treatment of Eupolis. Now it is interesting to note that Tzetzes actually knows of two different versions of this event. In one, Eupolis is simply and definitively drowned (as in the story told from Duris to Platonius), in the other he is repeatedly pushed into the water and pulled up again, but finally saved.¹⁵ It seems obvious that in this second version we may still perceive the influence of Eratosthenes' criticism of the story that wrongly dated Eupolis' death in 415 BC (so already Kaibel 1898, 47). As the reasoning of the great Alexandrian proved unassailable, the tale of Alcibiades simply killing the poet who had mocked him could no longer stand; but as the story itself apparently seemed too impressive to be simply abandoned, it was toned down from death to a crude practical joke, and thus made to harmonize with Eratosthenes' correction of the chronology. What in either case was *not* given up was the interpretation that had become

attached to the story. Once Eupolis had been made to swallow so much seawater by Alcibiades, Old Comedy itself no longer enjoyed its licence to lambast the high and mighty with impunity, but had from now on to be more circumspect. In this interpretation, Eupolis and his plays still come across as representing the very essence of Old Attic Comedy.

If Tzetzes' second version were accepted as fact, it would, of course, carry a further implication. If Eupolis really lived on after his contact with the seawater off Sicily and then started to write a different kind of comedy, then he himself, in these later plays, must have belonged to this second phase of Attic comedy that had now been inaugurated; and this, in fact, is stated not only by Tzetzes himself,¹⁶ but is also found in a commentary on the Τέχνη γραμματικὴ of Dionysius Thrax. This commentary – which is variously ascribed to an author called Melampus or to another called Diomedes – is probably earlier than Tzetzes,¹⁷ but like Tzetzes it states that both Eupolis and Aristophanes belonged to Old Comedy only 'for a while', while Cratinus belonged squarely in it and was in fact its ἐπίσημος,¹⁸ its most notable exponent. It seems, therefore, that Melampus/Diomedes had a source in front of him which attributed this major change in the nature of comedy to a specific event *within* the careers of Eupolis or Aristophanes (or both), and this may well have been Eupolis' ducking by Alcibiades.

In two other texts, Eupolis (this time together with Cratinus and Aristophanes) is simply declared to be a comic poet of a 'second' phase. In both cases, this is because before the period we commonly know as 'Old' Comedy the authors place another more 'primitive' period of comic writing mainly characterized by the name of Susarion (alleged from the Hellenistic period onwards to have been the inventor of comedy¹⁹). Apart from that, however, the 'second' period is described very differently in the two texts. In the treatise *De poematibus* written by the late Latin grammarian Diomedes (not identical with the commentator on Dionysius Thrax mentioned above) the comedy of Aristophanes, Eupolis and Cratinus is quite correctly stated to be highly and openly political;²⁰ whereas in John Tzetzes' Στίχοι περὶ διαφορᾶς ποιητῶν (*Verses about the different types of poet*) the very same authors (plus some others) are wrongly credited with only a veiled and muted type of attack.²¹

This latter text of Tzetzes (which cannot be wholly harmonized with his other account cited above (n. 15)), by the way, reveals a remarkably distorted picture of those poets who are rightly regarded as the most aggressive and political comic writers of antiquity. Glaring factual errors and contradictions of this kind are, however, found not only in Tzetzes, but in the other – mostly rather late – texts that deal

with the history of comedy. Such errors make it obvious how very far removed they are from the dramatic form they discuss. A case in point is Platonius, whom I mentioned just now (p. 235 with nn. 11 and 12). Two texts by him on comedy, *Περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμωδιῶν* (On *different types of comedy*) and *Περὶ διαφορᾶς χαρακτήρων* (On *different types of character*), have survived in apparently abbreviated form. In the former, Platonius describes how Eupolis gets killed by Alcibiades, and how thereafter Aristophanes and even Cratinus start to produce much ‘tamer’ comedies towards the end of their careers. This chronological constellation, however, is patently absurd, because Cratinus had very probably died before 420, that is, at least eight years before Eupolis and at least 32 years before Aristophanes (see Sommerstein on *Peace* 700–1 (1985, 165–6)).²² Moreover, in this text Platonius detects no significant differences between the ‘Big Three’ of Old Comedy, but treats them all as almost identical ‘cultural’ representatives of the radical Athenian democracy, which after Eupolis’ death went into steep decline. A rather different picture of the three emerges in Platonius’ other work, *Περὶ διαφορᾶς χαρακτήρων*. Here, in a tripartite pattern which looks very similar to those that Aristotle uses in the *Nicomachian Ethics*, Cratinus is presented as the most ‘political’ dramatist, while Eupolis is the most ‘artistic’ (and thus the least ‘political’) and Aristophanes represents the golden mean, combining a good measure of political aggressiveness with an equally good measure of artistic qualities.²³

It may be significant that the biggest difference of perspective between these two texts revolves around Eupolis: in one he is an eminently political poet, in the other a ‘merely’ artistic one. A few years ago, Ian Storey concluded that there were ‘two different traditions.. .concerning Eupolis and his position in the history of comedy. The first connected him with Kratinos and stressed the bitter and abusive nature of his poetry., while the other associated him with Aristophanes.or assigned him characteristics of Aristophanes in order to set him up as one end of a linear spectrum of Old Comedy’ (Storey 1993, 381). The second part of this statement does not seem to be completely accurate. While in a number of texts Eupolis is indeed closely connected with Cratinus, the political poet *tout court*, others do not really associate Eupolis so much with Aristophanes, but rather present him as an individual artist in his own right.²⁴ It is very hard to tell whether there was a real (and ancient) tradition behind the picture of Eupolis as drawn by Platonius in *Περὶ διαφορᾶς χαρακτήρων*, or whether Platonius (or his source?) constructed it himself following an Aristotelian (or Peripatetic) line of thought (see Nesselrath 1994, 36 n. 40); but the two different characterizations of Eupolis in the two texts of Platonius might after all reflect two

genuinely pre-existing and rather different approaches to the history of Greek comedy.

These different approaches very probably go back as far as Peripatetic and Alexandrian conceptions respectively. Following their master Aristotle,²⁵ Peripatetics stressed the constant and intimate interaction between politics and the evolution of literary history, whereas the great Alexandrian scholars – who not only inherited the didascalic material already assembled by Aristotle, but had also (in the vast Royal Library at Alexandria) the whole corpus of Athenian theatre production literally at their fingertips – apparently conceived the development of literary genres predominantly as something which was confined within the boundaries of each genre itself and which followed laws of its own. The Peripatetic approach, as far as comedy is concerned, can best be seen in Platonius' *Περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμῳδιῶν*, in the Melampo-Diomedian commentary on Dionysius Thrax, in a number of *Comic Prolegomena*, and in Tzetzes. In these texts it is always the deterioration of the political situation that brings about the changes in comedy. For the Alexandrian approach, our best witness is probably the *Comic Prolegomena* No. 3 in Koster's collection (see Nesselrath 1990, 45–51, 174–5), which presents the origins and development of comedy mainly as a phenomenon of general culture (not of politics) and sketches the characteristics of every comic poet it mentions according to his artistic achievements. It may be all the more remarkable, therefore, that in this text Eupolis is mainly characterized by his imitation of Cratinus' stinging political invective, although he is credited with some literary skill as well.²⁶ It should also be noted, however, that in this text – one of our greatest treasure-troves, in fact, for information about chronology, the number of plays by individual authors and other such *realia* – nothing is said about the alleged drowning of Eupolis by Alcibiades or the consequences that this allegedly had for the development of comedy. This fits in rather neatly with Eratosthenes' aversion to that tale as told by Duris.

In so far as the admittedly meagre material outlined above can be made to yield any information at all, we may still grasp the shadowy outlines of a discussion about the history of comedy, and about Eupolis' place in it, which seems to have been rather lively in the third and early second centuries BC. By that time, Athenian comedy had evolved considerably from its first heyday in the later fifth century: the extravagant plots and daring jokes of Old Comedy had long since given way to the much better-behaved and 'civilized' plays of Menander and his contemporaries. Aristotle in the second half of the fourth century had already seen that there was a 'new' form of comedy to be distinguished from an 'older' one;²⁷ and once most of the texts of the comic plays that had been produced on the Athenian

stage during the preceding one hundred and fifty years had found their way into the huge Alexandrian library, the librarians and scholars there had an incomparable wealth of material in their hands to enable them to reconstruct the development of Athenian comedy at least from Cratinus to Menander. Very probably it was one of those scholars who first conceived the idea that this development might be seen as tripartite (Nes-selrath 1990, 172–87): that between the fairly homogeneous-looking comedy of Cratinus, Eupolis and Aristophanes and the equally homogeneous-looking comedy of Menander, Diphilus and Philemon there had been a ‘middle phase’ of considerable instability and experimentation, which was also distinguished by a number of features of a type and frequency that had not been present before, nor afterwards either.²⁸

Now this tripartite division of the history of comedy, even though it was retained throughout all subsequent periods almost as a kind of dogma (even in texts where no other trace of the ‘original’ middle style of comedy (μέση κωμωδία) is found²⁹), brought with it some problems of its own, especially concerning the boundaries that might be drawn between the three phases. It was perhaps fairly easy to see the point at which one might reasonably say the ‘middle’ phase ended, namely with the emergence of the distinctive figure of Menander. It was much more difficult to say when the middle phase began, or – what amounts to the same thing – when the ‘old’ form of Athenian comedy really ended, because that middle phase lacked such prominent poets as Aristophanes and Menander, and therefore the historical knowledge of it soon faded (except perhaps among some specialists with access to Alexandrian material).

Against this background, one of the answers given to that question was evidently closely connected with Eupolis and his fate. When he died – according to this reasoning – it was under circumstances that made an aggressively political comedy, unshackled by any restraint, no longer feasible. As we have seen, this kind of argument can be traced as far back as Duris, and that may give us a hint where it was conceived. Duris was a pupil of Theophrastus, the head of the Peripatetic school after Aristotle, and it thus seems probable that he derived his ideas from the intellectual climate of that school. The story that Duris told, the basic outlines of which were preserved until Tzetzes (that is, for almost one thousand five hundred years), obviously took Eupolis as a (or perhaps even *the*) central figure of Old Comedy, and this remained the case even in Tzetzes’ second version, which took Eratosthenes’ criticism into account. Even if Eupolis had been only maltreated (and not killed) by Alcibiades, that still, according to Tzetzes, prevented the poet from going back to his former freewheeling style of comedy-writing, and Old Comedy was

dead.

However, the attempt of Tzetzes (or his source before him?) to accommodate both the 'Peripatetic' opinion that Old Comedy died with Eupolis and the Alexandrian position that it did not, was of course only a weak compromise. Eratosthenes had pointed out the principal flaw in the story of Eupolis' lurid death and its alleged consequences. As the story that Eupolis had been drowned by Alcibiades had to be rejected on chronological grounds, and as it probably could be shown that the comedies written by Eupolis after 415 were not notably different from those written before that date, there was no real basis for the belief that any such brutal intervention had caused the demise of Old Comedy. Alexandrian scholarship itself seems to have favoured another approach, which concentrated on gradual developments in the art of comedy itself. The 'Alexandrian' *Prolegomena* No. 3 (cited in n. 26 above) stresses that Eupolis still followed very much in the footsteps of Cratinus and that, though skilful with words (δυνατὸς τῇ λέξει), he exhibited much (too much?) that was slanderous and evil-minded (λοιδορὸν καὶ σκαιόν). Aristophanes, on the contrary, is presented as μακρῶ) λογιώτατος 'Αθηναίων καὶ εὐφυῖα πᾶντας ὑπεραίρων, 'by far the most eloquent of the Athenians, surpassing all in natural ability' (*Proleg. de com.* III p. 9 Koster (= Ar. T 4 K-A)): he is not only the best, but also the last of the Old Comic poets named and characterized in these *Prolegomena*, which however does not mean that the development of Comedy came to a halt with him. By adding that Aristophanes transmitted his plays to his son the text may be hinting that he himself laid the ground for the further development of the art of comedy. In other texts this implicit tendency to regard Aristophanes as an important cornerstone within the development of comedy is brought out much more explicitly, with Aristophanes being named not only as the most important driving force in the further evolution of comedy, but also as the forerunner of the New Comedy of Menander and Philemon. The first lines of the *Life of Aristophanes* that has been transmitted in the manuscripts of Aristophanes contrast Cratinus and Eupolis, those inveterate practitioners of bitter and shameless aggressiveness, with the more 'modern' Aristophanes who opened up new perspectives for Comedy (*Vita Aristoph.* 1-4 = Ar. T 1 K-A (= Eup. T 42), cited in n. 23 above). Similarly, in *Prolegomena* no. 5 Koster (p.14 = Ar. T 81) Cratinus represents the developed form of Old Comedy (which, however, was still not totally free of the formlessness and lawlessness that lay at the origins of comic drama), while Aristophanes, who 'developed comedy more skilfully than his contemporaries, and gained a brilliant reputation as being most distinguished in every respect' (μεθοδεύσας τεχνικώτερον τῶν μεθέαυτοῦ τὴν κωμωδίαν

ἐνέλαμψεν ἐν ἅπασιν ἐπίσημος ὁφθεῖς), was the man of the future. In this text Eupolis is not even mentioned: he would probably have been grouped with Cratinus.

In these texts, then, we have no abrupt extinction of Old Comedy brought about by the violent treatment inflicted on one of its major authors, but rather a gradual disappearance of older forms brought about by the poet who first took Old Comedy to its climactic point and then proceeded to transform it. This latter picture not only conforms (probably) with our own views of the development of Attic comedy during its history of more than two hundred years, but might also help to explain why in the long run plays by Aristophanes were preserved and plays by Eupolis were not. The Alexandrian view of Aristophanes as the focal point of Old Comedy and the promising germ of New may – in the process of selection of dramatic texts that took place in later antiquity and condemned all other such texts to oblivion – have given Aristophanes' plays one decisive advantage over those of his rivals. Still, the importance and high symbolic value that had once been given to Eupolis as one of the most original representatives of Old Comedy was nevertheless – at least in anecdotal form – preserved at least until the time of Tzetzes.

Notes

¹ Cf. Eupolis test. [henceforward T] 2a K-A (*Proleg. de com.* III p. 7 Koster): Οἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιηταὶ ... τούτων δὲ εἰσιν ἀξιολογώτατοι Ἐπίχαρμος, Μάγνης, Κράτινος, Κράτης, Φερεκράτης, Φρόνιχος, Εὐπολῖς, Ἀριστοφάνης ('the poets of Old Comedy ... the most remarkable of these are Epicharmus, Magnes, Cratinus, Crates, Pherecrates, Phrynichus, Eupolis and Aristophanes').

T 2b (Canones Comitorum): κωμῳδοποιοὶ ἀρχαίας ζ'. Ἐπίχαρμος, Κρατῖνος, Εὐπολῖς, Ἀριστοφάνης, Φερεκράτης, Κράτης, Πλάτων ('seven poets of Old Comedy: Epicharmus, Cratinus, Eupolis, Aristophanes, Pherecrates, Crates, Plato').

T 23 (Horace *Sat.* 1.4.1–5): *Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae, | atque alii, quorum comoediaprisca virorum est...* ('The poets Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes and the others who wrote Old Comedy...').

T 25 (Vell. Pat. 1.16.3): *una* (scil. *aetas illustravit*) *priscam illam et veterem sub Cratino, Aristophaneque et Eupolide comoediam* ('a single period gave glory to the Old Comedy of ancient times, under the auspices of Cratinus, Aristophanes and Eupolis').

T 24 (Persius 1.123–5): *...audaci quicumque adflate Cratino | iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles, | aspice et haec, si forte aliquid decoctius audis* ('anyone of you who has been inspired by bold Cratinus or has grown pale with awe at exasperated Eupolis and the overwhelming old man, have a look at these my verses, too; perhaps you may hear something even more delicious here' [the scholion on this passage explains that the 'overwhelming old man' is Aristophanes]).

T 26 (Quintil. 10.1.65–6): *antiqua comoedia.. plures eius auctores, Aristophanes tamen et Eupolis Cratinusque praecipui* ('Old Comedy. its authors were numerous, but Aristophanes, Eupolis and Cratinus were outstanding').

T 28 (Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 7.8.3 p. 711 F): Eupolis, Plato and Cratinus are named as poets of Old Comedy. Lucian names Eupolis and Aristophanes three times together:

Adv. indoct. 27, *Bis acc.* 33, *Pisc.* 25 (T 29–31).

T 27 ((Dion. Hal.) *Art. rhet.* 8.11 (II p. 309 Usener-Radermacher)): ἡ δὲ γὰρ κωμῳδία .. πολιτεύεται ἐν τοῖς δράμασι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖ, ἡ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κρατῖνον καὶ Ἀριστοφάνην καὶ Εὐπολιν... ('Comedy deals with politics and philosophy in its plays, that is the comedy of Cratinus, Aristophanes and Eupolis.').

T 33 (Macrobius *Sat.* 7.5.8): *Notus est omnibus Eupolis, inter elegantes habendus veteris comoediae poetas* ('Eupolis is known to everybody; he is to be reckoned among the accomplished poets of Old Comedy').

Euanthius *De fabula* (= *Proleg. de com.* XXV 1 p. 123 Koster (see T 23)): *comoediae veteris pater Eupolis cum Cratino Aristophaneque esse credatur...* ('Eupolis may be thought of as the father of Old Comedy, together with Cratinus and Aristophanes...').

T 35 (Platonius *Diff. com.* = *Proleg. de com.* I p. 3 Koster) names Aristophanes, Cratinus and Eupolis several times together as the representatives of Old Comedy.

T 44 (Rufinus *Comm. in metra Terenti, Gramm. Lat.* VI p. 564,7): *Firmianus* (= Lactantius) *ad Probum de metris comoediarum sic dicit: nostri... veteris comoediae scriptores in modulandis fabulis sequi maluerunt, Eupolin, Cratinum, Aristophanem...* ('Firmianus addresses Probus thus concerning the metres of comic plays: "...our poets, when giving their plays song and rhythm, preferred to follow the writers of Old Comedy, Eupolis, Cratinus and Aristophanes..."; 'eadem "Mar. Victorin." (Aphon.) *art. gramm.* II 3, *GrL* VI p. 78, 19, cf. p. 556, 22' K-A ad loc.).

²For a thorough modern discussion of his plays and their respective dates see Storey 1990.

³The year 429 (the archonship of Apollodorus) is given by one of our most reliable witnesses, the *Prolegomena de comoedia* No. 3 Koster = T2a (see n. 26 below); and the biography in the *Suda* (T 1) makes him seventeen at the beginning of his career.

⁴See Ar. T 45 (= Eupolis T 15) and Eup. fr. 89. While Halliwell 1989 and Storey 1993, 387–8 argue for something like a 'real' collaboration between Aristophanes and Eupolis in the production of comic plays, Sidwell 1993 rightly contests this, and develops the thesis that the poets satirized each other by imitating or parodying each other's plays.

⁵For Eupolis' successes see T 1 and 12; for those of Aristophanes, Ar. T *20 and Nesselrath 1996, 1123.

⁶Storey 1990, 24–7, proposes a date several years earlier (416); but his dating depends on identifying the unnamed demagogue of fr. 99.23–34 with Hyperbolos, which must remain doubtful.

⁷T 1 (*Suda* ε 3657): ...ἀπέθανε ναυαγῆσας κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀκεδαμονίους πολέμῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦτου ἐκωλύθη στρατεύεσθαι ποιητὴν... ('he died after being shipwrecked in the Hellespont area during the war against the Spartans; and from that time it was forbidden that a poet should take part in a military campaign ...'). As for the inscription, one should add that the cautious editors of *IG* i³ point out that there is no agreement among scholars on its date, and that the name Eupolis is not uncommon at Athens.

⁸On this and other anecdotal stories about Eupolis' death see Storey 1990, 4–6.

⁹This is attested by Cicero, to whom we also owe the valuable information about Duris and his refutation by Eratosthenes (Cic. *adAtt.* 6.1.18 = Eupolis T 3): .. quis enim non dixit Εὐπολιν τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας ab Alcibiade navigante in Siciliam deiectum esse in mare? redarguit Eratosthenes; adfert enim quas ille post id tempus fabulas docuerit. num idcirco Duris Samius, homo in historia diligens, quod cum multis erravit, irridetur? ('Doesn't everyone say that Eupolis, the poet of Old Comedy, was thrown into the sea by Alcibiades on the voyage to Sicily? Eratosthenes refutes this by instancing the plays that Eupolis produced after that

time. But we don't laugh at Duris of Samos, a diligent historian, because he got it wrong like so many others.') Cicero provides the evidence not only for Eratosthenes' superior reasoning, but also for his failure to silence a story that apparently had already gained too much currency.

¹⁰Schol. Ael. Aristid. *Orat.* 3.8 L.-B., III p. 444.22 Dind. (= Eupolis *Baptai* T iii): κατήγορήσαντος δέ τοῦ Κλέωνος Ἀριστοφάνους ὕβρεως, ἐτέθη νόμος μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι κωμῳδεῖν ὀνομασί. ἄλλοι δέ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐκωμῶδουν ὀνομασί τοὺς ἄνδρας μέχρις Εὐπόλιδος, περιεῖλε δέ τοῦτο Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ στρατηγός καὶ ῥήτωρ. κωμῳδηθεὶς γὰρ παρὰ Εὐπόλιδος ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἐν Σικελίᾳ συστρατευόμενον εἰπὼν 'βᾶπτες μ' ἐν θυμέλῃσιν ἐγὼ δέ σέ κύμασι πόντου □ βαπτίζων ὀλέσω νᾶμασι πικροτάτοις' ('After Cleon had accused Aristophanes of outrageous slander, a law was passed that nobody in future should be allowed to mock individuals by name. Others, however, relate that poets mocked individuals by name up until Eupolis, but that the general and orator Alcibiades abolished this; for, having been mocked by Eupolis, he threw him into the sea when he was with him on a military campaign in Sicily, with the words: "You gave me a dipping in the theatre, and I shall dip you in the waves of the sea and destroy you in the bitterest waters!"'). A Latin version of this has been preserved in the scholia to Juvenal (Schol. π on Juven. 2.92, p. 24 Wessner = *Baptai* T ii).

¹¹The two texts transmitted under the name of Platonius, *Περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμῳδιῶν* ('On the various types of comedy') and *Περὶ διαφορᾶς χαρακτήρων* ('On the various types of character'), have most recently been edited by Franca Perusino (1989). Following an argument first presented by Kaibel (1898, 48) – that the sentence 'Ὅρωμεν γοῦν τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐν τοῖς προσώποις τῆς Μενάνδρου κωμῳδίας, ὅποιας ἔχει...' ('we see, then, what kind of eyebrows Menandrian comedy has on its masks...') (p. 6 Koster)) could only have been written by someone who was still able to see performances of Menander's comedies – Perusino (p. 13) holds that Platonius must be pre-Byzantine. There is, however, the possibility that Platonius has simply taken over this sentence out of an earlier source; and his glaring vagueness and even errors about the history of the times during which the changes of comedy took place (Nesselrath 1990, 44–5, 167 n. 54) do make it very probable that he was at a long distance from the fifth and fourth centuries Bc.

¹²Perusino 1989, 13 thinks that the title *Ἐκ τῶν Πλατωνίου περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμῳδιῶν* ('From Platonius' remarks on the various forms of Comedy') does not constitute a totally compelling argument for epitomization, since it might be translated as *una 'scelta' operata nella produzione di Platonio*, a selection from the works of Platonius. This view, however, is rendered extremely implausible not only by the fact that no other works of Platonius are attested elsewhere, but also by the frequent signs of shortening and omission within the text itself (see Nesselrath 1990, 30–1 with n. 6).

¹³Platonius *Diff. com.* = *Proleg. de com.* I p. 3 Koster (= Eupolis *Baptai* T v): λοιπὸν δέ τῆς δημοκρατίας ὑποχωροῦσης...καὶ καθισταμένης ὀλιγαρχίας...ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς ποιηταῖς φόβος' ...ἴσμεν γοῦν τὸν Εἰπολιν ἐπὶ τῷ διδάξαι τοὺς Βάπτας ἀποπνιγέντα εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, εἰς ὃν καθῆκε τοὺς Βάπτας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀκνηρότεροι πρὸς τὰ σκώμματα ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπέλιπον οἱ χορηγοί... ('When later on democracy was in retreat and oligarchy was established, fear seized the poets; we know, then, that Eupolis, after he had produced the *Baptai*, was drowned in the sea by the man whom he had attacked in the *Baptai*; and because of that, poets became more afraid to make abusive jokes, and choregoi [sponsors] failed to volunteer...'). The precise meaning and implications of the title *Baptai*, literally *Dippers*, are uncertain (religious baptism? effeminate who dyed their hair?: see K-A V 333); it thus seems prudent simply to transliterate it.

¹⁴Themist. *Orat.* 8 p. 110AB (= Eup. *Baptaĩ* vi): σὺ δέ (i.e. Valens) ὀργήν ἀπεμνη-μόνευσας οὐδενί... 'Ἀλκιβιάδης δέ ὁ Κλεινίου, καὶ ταῦτα στρατηγὸς ὢν αἰρετός, οὐχ οὕτως (, ὃς *vel* ἄλλ' add. Kassel) ἀπεμνημόνευσεν Εὐπόλιδι τῷ κωμωδοδιδασκάλῳ τοὺς Βάπτας, καίτο¹ τῆς τέχνης αὐτῷ διδούσης τοῦ σκώπτειν τὴν ἄδειαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων... ('But *you* have not borne a grudge against anyone..., unlike Alcibiades, the son of Clinias – and he was only an elected general! – he held the memory of the *Baptaĩ* against the comic poet Eupolis, even though his art gave him legal immunity to mock people.').

¹⁵Tzetzes *Prooem.* I = *Proleg. de com.* XIaI p. 27 Koster (= Eup. *Baptaĩ* iv): ἐξήρκεσε δέ τὸ ἀπαρακαλύπτως οὕτωςι κωμῶδειν μέχρις Εὐπόλιδος (T 37b). ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτος εἰς 'Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπέριψε σκῶμμα καὶ φανερώς τὴν τραυλότητα τοῦτο διελοιδόρησεν – ἔτυχον δὲ τότε καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσιν ὄντες ὡς ναυμαχίας προσδοκωμένης – καλεῖται τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ ἡ ἀπαξ ἐκβράττουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ ἀλώλετο, ἢ σχοίνῳ δεδεμένον ἀνάγοντες καὶ κατὰγοντες ἦσαν (ἦκαν Nauck) εἰς θάλατταν καὶ τέλος περιέσωσαν τοῦτον, τοῦ 'Ἀλκιβιάδου εἰπόντος αὐτῷ 'βάπτε με σὺθυμέλαις ἐγὼ δέ σέ κατακλύσω ὕδασιν ἀλμυρωτάτοις. καὶ ἡ (δὴ Nesselrath 1990, 178 n. 84) οὕτως ἡ παντελῶς διεφθαρμένος τοῖς κύμασι τῆς τε φανεράς καὶ τῆς συμβολικῆς κωμῶδις ἐπαύθη, ἡ τοῦ τοιοῦτου θανάτου περισωθεὶς οὐκέτι μετῆλθεν ἀπαρακάλυπτον. ('Open mockery in that form existed until the time of Eupolis; when that poet, however, mocked the general Alcibiades and openly ridiculed him for his lisping – they happened to be on the triremes at that time, because a sea-battle was expected – Alcibiades gave an order to his soldiers, and they either tossed him once into the sea, and he perished, or they tied him to a rope and alternatively pushed him down and pulled him up, but finally saved him, while Alcibiades said to him: 'Pour abuse over me in the theatre, and I shall flood you with saltiest brine!' And thus he either utterly perished in the waves and continued neither with open nor with veiled comedy, or else he was saved from such a death and thereafter no longer pursued unveiled comedy.')

¹⁶In the sentences immediately following the text cited above (n. 15): ...ψήφισμα θέντος 'Ἀλκιβιάδου κωμῶδει ἔσχηματισμένως καὶ μὴ προδήλως αὐτός τε ὁ Εὐπολὶς Κρατίνος τε καὶ Φερεκράτης καὶ Πλάτων... 'Ἀριστοφάνης τε σύν ἐτάρους τὰ συμβολικά μετεχειρίσαντο σκῶμματα, καὶ ἡ δευτέρα κωμῶδια τῇ 'Αττικῇ ἀνεσκίρτησεν... ('when Alcibiades introduced a decree that comic mockery should be veiled and not open, Eupolis himself, Cratinus, Pherecrates and Plato...as well as Aristophanes and others practised mockery by innuendo, and so the second form of comedy sprang up in Attica...').

¹⁷On the double ascription see Hilgard 1901, x–xiii. Hilgard makes no attempt to date the commentary of Melampus/Diomedes; Gartner 1969, 1161 is probably right to put it into the Byzantine age without further specification.

¹⁸Scholiast on Dionys. Thrax, *Gramm. Gr.* I 3 p. 19 Hilgard = *Proleg. de com.* XVIIIa p. 71 Koster (= Eup. T 38): τρεῖς διαφορὰς ἔδοξεν ἔχειν ἡ Κωμῶδια' καὶ ἡ μὲν καλεῖται παλαιά, ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φανερώς ἐλέγχουσα, ἡ δὲ μῆση ἡ αἰνιγματωδῶς, ἡ δὲ νέα...καὶ τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν, ἐπίσημος δὲ Κρατίνος... μετῴσχον δὲ τινος χρόνου τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμῶδις Εὐπολὶς τε καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης, τῆς δὲ μῆσης καὶ αὐτῆς μὲν πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν, ἐπίσημος δὲ Πλάτων τις...τῆς δὲ νέας ὁμοίως πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν, ἐπίσημος δὲ ὁ Μῶνανδρος. ('Comedy seems to have taken three different forms: the one which from its beginnings openly takes people to task is called the Old, the one which does so through riddles is called the Middle, and the third one New.; there have been many poets of Old Comedy, but the most distinguished one was Cratinus.; for a certain time Eupolis and Aristophanes took part in Old Comedy. There have been many poets of Middle Comedy as well, but the most distinguished one was a poet by the

name of Plato. Similarly, there have been many poets of New Comedy; the most distinguished was Menander.’)

¹⁹See the testimonia collected in K-A VII pp. 661–3; significantly, our oldest witness for the history of Athenian comedy, Aristotle’s *Poetics*, knows nothing of Susarion.

²⁰Diomedes *De poematibus*, *Gramm. Lat.* I p. 488 = *Proleg. de com.* XXIV 2 p. 120 Koster (= Eup. T 36): *poetae primi comici fuerunt Susarion, Mullus et Magnes. hi veteris disciplinae iocularia quaedam minus scite ac venustepronuntiabant... secunda aetate fuerunt Aristophanes, Eupolis et Cratinus, qui et principum vitia sectati acerbissimas comoedias composuerunt. tertia aetas fuit Menandri, Diphili et Philemonis.* (‘The first comic poets were Susarion, Mullus, and Magnes: these men of the old school presented jokes in a manner that was still rather crude and coarse... In the second period there were Aristophanes, Eupolis and Cratinus, who also attacked the vices of leading men and composed comedies full of biting invective. The third age was that of Menander, Diphilus and Philemon.’).

²¹Tzetzes *diff. poet.* = *Proleg. de com.* XXIa p. 87 Koster (= Eup. T 37a) τριττὴν νόει πρῶτον δὲ τὴν κωμωδίαν □ πρῶτην, μέσην, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ὑστέραν. □ πρῶτης μὲν ἦν ἴδιον ἐμφανῆς ψόγος, □ ἥς ἦν κατὰρξας εὐρετῆς Σουσαρίων. □ τῆς δευτέρας ἦν ὁ ψόγος κεκρυμμένος, □ ἥς ἦν Κρατίνος, Εὐπολῖς, Φερεκράτης, □ Ἀριστοφάνης, Ἑρμιππὸς τε καὶ Πλάτων. □ καὶ τῆς τρίτης ἦν ὁ ψόγος κεκρυμμένος, □ πλὴν κατὰ δούλων καὶ ξένων καὶ βαρβάρων, □ ἥς ἦν Μένανδρος ἐργάτης καὶ Φιλόμων... (‘First of all, conceive of comedy as threefold, as having a first, a middle and then also a later stage. A characteristic of the First Comedy was open censure; it was started by its inventor Susarion. The censure of the Second Comedy was hidden; this was the comedy of Cratinus, Eupolis, Pherecrates, Aristophanes, Hermippus, and Plato. The censure of the Third Comedy was hidden, too, and it was directed only at slaves, strangers, and barbarians; it was practised by Menander and Philemon.’). On the question of how these two very different authors (the Latin grammarian Diomedes and the Byzantine scholar Tzetzes) came to put Eupolis, Cratinus and Aristophanes into a second phase of comedy with somewhat contradictory features, see Nesselrath 1990, 55 n. 65.

²²Platonius’ statements about Cratinus and his play *Odysses* (‘Odysseuses’: see K-A IV 192–200) are in themselves at least implicitly contradictory: at p. 4.29–30 Koster he cites the *Odyssēs* as an example of τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας τύπος (‘the style of Middle Comedy’), which need not necessarily imply a late date for this play, but at p. 5.46–53 Koster he quite unequivocally reckons the *Odyssēs* among the last plays of Old Comedy, ἅπερ τελευταῖα ἐδιδάχθη λοιπὸν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας κρατυνθεΐσης (‘which were produced as the last plays, when the oligarchy was in power’), and this is patently impossible, unless we let Old Comedy end around 420; even Sidwell, who does not believe that Cratinus died before 420, puts *Odyssēs* at least before *Wasps*.

²³Platonius *Diff. char.* = *Proleg. de com.* II pp. 6–7 Koster (= T 34): Εὐπολῖς... εὐφάνταστος μὲν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὰς ὑποθέσεις. τὰς γὰρ εἰσηγήσεις μεγάλας τῶν δραμάτων ποιεῖται, καὶ ἥνπερ ἐν τῇ παραβάσει φαντασίαν κινουῦσιν οἱ λοιποί, ταύτην ἐκεῖνος ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν... ὥσπερ δὲ ἐστὶν ὑψηλός, οὕτω καὶ ἐπίχαρος καὶ περὶ τὰ σκώμματα λίαν εὖστοχος. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης τὸν μέσον ἐλήλακε χαρακτῆρα οὔτε γὰρ πικρὸς λίαν ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ὁ Κρατίνος, οὔτε χαρίεις, ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐπολῖς, ἀλλ’ ἔχει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ Κρατίνου καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιτρεχούσης χάριτος Εὐπόλιδος (‘Eupolis... shows extraordinary imagination in the construction of his plots; for he introduces stories of grand scope in his plays and displays such imagination in them as the other poets only let loose in the parabasis. and just as his thought is lofty, so too he is full of grace and hits the mark wonderfully in his jokes. Aristophanes, on the other hand, possesses a character midway between them: he is neither too bitter, like Cratinus,

nor all too charming, like Eupolis, but displays the forcefulness of Cratinus against wrongdoers as well as the easy charm of Eupolis'). In the anonymous *Life of Aristophanes* (*Vita Ar.* 1–4 = *Ar. T* 1) this relationship is reversed: Aristophanes is the poet who gave greater usefulness and dignity to comedy, while Cratinus and Eupolis pursued a greater measure of bitterness and outrage than was necessary and seemly: 'Ἀριστοφάνης.. πρῶτος δοκεῖ τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἐτι πλανωμένην τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἀγωγῇ ἐπὶ τὸ χρησιμώτερον καὶ σεμνότερον μετὰγαγεῖν, πικρότερον τε καὶ αἰσχροτέρων Κρατίνου καὶ Εὐπόλιδος βλασφημούντων ἢ ἔδει ('Aristophanes.. seems to have been the first to direct Comedy – which was floundering in its old ways – on to a more useful and serious course, while Cratinus and Eupolis practised slander more bitterly and shamelessly than they should have done'). This pairing of Cratinus and Eupolis vis a vis Aristophanes is rather similar to that found in *Prolegomena de comoedia* III Koster (see note 26 below), so one may infer a common strand of tradition here.

²⁴Storey 1993, 392–6 draws up a list of dramatic motives and elements which Eupolis may actually have used earlier than Aristophanes.

²⁵Compare e.g. *Arist. Poetics* 3. 1448a31–2: τῆς μὲν γὰρ κωμωδίας οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οἱ...ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης (sc. ἀντιποιοῦνται) ('the Megarians...of the Greek mainland lay claim to comedy, arguing that it arose during the time of their democracy').

²⁶*Proleg. de com.* III p. 9 Koster (= *Eup. T* 2a): Εὐπόλις Ἀθηναῖος, ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀπολλοδώρου (429/8), ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Φρύνιχος, γεγονώς δυνατὸς τῇ λέξει καὶ ζηλῶν Κράτινον' πολὺ γε λοῖδορον καὶ σκαιὸν ἐπιφαίνει... ('Eupolis, of Athens, started to stage plays in the archonship of Apollodorus, the year in which Phrynichus also began; he was skilful with words, and emulated Cratinus: indeed he exhibits much that is slanderous and evil-minded.'). It is possible that this text in its later parts was subjected to increasing epitomization (Nesselrath 1990, 48), so there may have been more in it about Eupolis' literary achievements originally than is to be found there now.

²⁷*EN* IV 14 p. 1128a22–4; see also *Poetics* 9 p. 1451b11–15 (Nesselrath 1990, 45 f.).

²⁸For a different (but in my view questionable) conception of 'Middle Comedy' see Sidwell p. 247 in this volume.

²⁹These texts are often of Peripatetic 'colouring', and they agree with the Alexandrian tripartition in so far as they, too, regard Menander as the most important poet of New Comedy. However, their various (and more or less inept, because chronologically inadequate) attempts somehow to 'fill up' the 'middle' phase between Aristophanes and Menander show that they have no real knowledge at all about the authors and plays of this period – which makes it probable that the 'Peripatetic' tripartition was established only long after the Alexandrian one: see Nesselrath 1990, 168–71. Sidwell too (p. 250 in this volume) rightly questions whether 'a reputable and well-known fourth-century writer such as Aristotle or Theophrastus had somewhere spoken of "middle comedy" '.

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Chapter 15

FROM OLD TO MIDDLE TO NEW? ARISTOTLE'S *POETICS* AND THE HISTORY OF ATHENIAN COMEDY

Keith Sidwell

Heinz-Gunther Nesselrath began his recent study of Middle Comedy with the following quotation from the second volume of Jacques Denis' *La Comedie Grecque* of 1886: 'Tout est problème au sujet de la Comédie Moyenne, jusqu'à son existence même' (Nesselrath 1990, 1). In this discussion I shall be questioning the very existence of Middle Comedy. What I hope to demonstrate from the ancient evidence is that this formulation was the answer to a *zētēma*, a philosophical enquiry, about the way in which Old Comedy developed into New. Furthermore, I intend to claim that the fifth- and fourth-century evidence by itself is sufficient to show that the two forms of Greek comedy with which we are familiar (what we call the 'Old' and the 'New') were already distinct and distinguished from each other by the last quarter of the fifth century. The fundamental distinction between the two types underlies the otherwise puzzling *obiter dicta* of Aristotle in the *Poetics*. It must be reconstructed for us to understand why histories of the iambic form (what we call 'Old Comedy') were written in antiquity in terms of restrictive decrees which finally killed it off. Once we have put in place the contemporary perceptions of these two genres of comedy, however, we shall be obliged to undertake a fundamental review of our interpretations of Old Comedy as well as of those plays and playwrights we put into our non-existent category 'Middle Comedy'.

I begin with the ancient evidence for Middle Comedy.¹ There are in fact four quite distinct ancient accounts of its nature.

(1) The one with which we are most familiar is that which places Middle Comedy chronologically between Old and New and charts the change from one to the other in terms of textually observable formal characteristics, such as the loss of the parabasis and the reduced role of the chorus:

λοιπὸν δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας ὑποχωροῦσης ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας τυραννούντων καὶ καθισταμένης ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ μεταπιπτούσης τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ δήμου εἰς ὀλίγους καὶ κρατυνομένης τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς ποιηταῖς φόβος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τινα προφανῶς σκώπτειν δίκας ἀπαιτούντων τῶν ὑβρίζομένων παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν. ἴσμεν γοῦν τὸν Εὐπολιν ἐπὶ τῷ διδάξαι τοὺς Βάπτας ἀποπνιγέντα εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, εἰς ὃν καθήκε τοὺς Βάπτας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀκνηρότεροι πρὸς τὰ σκώμματα ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπέλιπον οἱ χορηγοί· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι προθυμίαν εἶχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χορηγοὺς τοὺς τὰς δαπάνας τοῖς χορευταῖς παρέχοντας χειροτονεῖν. τὸν γοῦν Αἰολοσίκωνα Ἀριστοφάνης ἐδίδασκεν, ὃς οὐκ ἔχει τὰ χορικά μέλη. τῶν γὰρ χορηγῶν μὴ χειροτονουμένων καὶ τῶν χορευτῶν οὐκ ἐχόντων τὰς τροφὰς ὑπεξηρέθη τῆς κωμῳδίας τὰ χορικά μέλη καὶ τῶν ὑποθέσεων ὁ τύπος μετεβλήθη. σκοποῦ γὰρ ὄντος τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ τοῦ σκώπτειν δῆμους καὶ δικαστὰς καὶ στρατηγούς, παρεῖς ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης τοῦ συνήθως ἀποσκῶψαι διὰ τὸν πολὺν φόβον Αἰόλον τὸ δράμα τὸ γραφέν τοῖς τραγωδοῖς ὡς κακῶς ἔχον διασῦρει. τοιοῦτος οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας τύπος, οἷός ἐστιν ὁ Αἰολοσίκων Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ οἱ Ὀδυσσεῖς Κρατίνου καὶ πλείστα τῶν παλαιῶν δραμάτων τὰ οὔτε χορικά οὔτε παραβάσεις ἔχοντα.

(Koster 1975, 3–4)

Finally when the democracy gave way before the tyrants at Athens and an oligarchy was established and the power of the people fell into the hands of a few and the oligarchy became powerful, fear fell upon the poets. For it was not possible for them to mock anyone openly because those who were insulted were demanding recompense from the poets. We know that Eupolis was drowned in the sea for having produced the *Baptai* by the man against whom he directed it. Because of this, they became more afraid to mock, and the supply of choregoi dried up. For the Athenians were no longer eager to vote for the choregoi who paid the subsistence of the choruses. So Aristophanes produced the *Aiolosikōn*, which has no choral odes. For as no choregoi were being elected and the chorus-members were not receiving their subsistence, the choral parts of comedy were removed and the nature of the plots changed. The aim of Old Comedy had been to poke fun at the demes, the jurors and the generals. Aristophanes foregoes his usual mockery because of his great fear, and ridicules the drama *Aiolos* written by the tragic poets as being feeble. This is the character of the Middle Comedy, of which Aristophanes' *Aiolosikōn* is an example and the *Odyssseis* of Cratinus and the majority of the old plays that do not have choral odes or parabases.

This apparently neat picture is disrupted for us by a number of factors. First of all, it is based on a false picture of the political developments in Athens. The change to Middle Comedy is associated with the onset of oligarchy, yet the examples of plays chosen to illustrate the change include Cratinus' *Odyssseis*, which Meineke thought belonged to the period of Morychides' decree and which I would date certainly before 422,² Eupolis' *Baptai* (dated by Storey 1990, 20–2, to 417) and Aristophanes' *Aiolosikon* (the second version, presumably, produced in 386 or later³). The lack of historical accuracy is not encouraging. But neither is the often remarked fact that political invective continues even into what we would call New

Comedy.⁴ Indeed, Plato's attack on comedy in his *Laws* of c. 347 gives us no reason to feel that he thought natural and political processes had diminished the threat posed by a genre distinguished for him and others by the desire to attack and ridicule individuals.⁵ It has been recently argued that Aeschines' reference to a chorus' attack on Timarchos at a Rural Dionysia around 345 (1.157) may show that the anapaestic parabasis was still in existence.⁶ It certainly shows that the chorus had not lost its dramatic function. One might add that to a critic in the later fourth century, it had been Krates and not Kratinos who had made a fundamental change in the nature of comedy, and Krates won his first victory in 450.⁷

(2)The second account can be seen in the following passage of Platonius (Koster 5–6):

ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ παλαιᾷ κωμῳδίᾳ εἰκαζον τὰ προσωπεῖα τοῖς κωμωδομένοις, ἵνα, πρὶν τι καὶ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς εἰπεῖν, ὁ κωμωδούμενος ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῆς ὄψεως κατάδηλος ᾗ. ἐν δὲ τῇ μέσῃ καὶ νέᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ ἐπιτηδὲς τὰ προσωπεῖα πρὸς τὸ γελοιότερον ἐδημιουργήσαν δεδοικότες τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τοὺς ἐπηρτημένους ἐξ ἐκείνων φόβους, ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἐκ τύχης τινὸς ὁμοιότης προσώπου συμπέσῃ τινὶ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντι καὶ δόξας ὁ ποιητὴς ἐκ προαιρέσεως κωμωδεῖν δίκας ὑπόσχη.

In Old Comedy, they made the masks like the men who were the targets of the satire, so that before the actors actually said anything the target was clear from the likeness of his face. But in Middle and New Comedy, they deliberately made the masks more laughable, because they feared the Macedonians and the terrors which they threatened, in case by chance there might be a likeness between a mask and some Macedonian official, and the poet might face prosecution on the supposition that he had ridiculed the man deliberately.

Again there is an historical framework. But it is quite different from that of view no. (1). Moreover, here Old Comedy is contrasted with Middle-and-New bracketed together, and the remark on masking reflects a fundamental difference in the central focus of Old Comedy as opposed to the other two: Old Comedy centres on presenting its characters as caricatures, while the other two do not. In this version, Middle Comedy is New Comedy.

(3)The third account is the one most commonly found in our sources, and least prominent in modern discussions. I give as an example this passage from the scholia to Dionysius Thrax (Koster 71):

ἐπειδὴ...τὸ...καλὸν ταχέως ἀφίπταται τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολιτείας, οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον οἱ ἄρχοντες Ἀθηναίων ἤρξαντο κωλύειν τοὺς κωμικοὺς τοῦ φανερώς οὕτω καὶ ὀνομαστί ἐλέγχειν τοὺς ἀδικούντας. αὐτοὶ γὰρ θέλοντες ἀδικεῖν καὶ μὴ ἐλέγχεσθαι τούτου χάριν ἐπετίμων αὐτοῖς· ὅθεν ὥσπερ αἰνιγματωδῶς καὶ οὐ φανερώς ἐλέγχοντο ὑπὸ τῶν κωμικῶν. ἔτι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον προιοῦσης καὶ ἐπικρατούσης τῆς κακίας ἐκωλύθησαν τοῦ καὶ αἰνιγματωδῶς ἐλέγχειν καὶ ὑβρίζειν τοὺς κρατούντας καὶ ἄρχοντας τῆς πόλεως. διὸ καὶ τρεῖς διαφορὰς ἔδοξεν ἔχειν ἡ κωμῳδία· καὶ ἡ μὲν καλεῖται παλαιά, ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φανερώς ἐλέγχουσα, ἡ δὲ μέση ἡ αἰνιγματωδῶς, ἡ δὲ νέα ἡ μὴδὲ ὅλως τοῦτο ποιοῦσα πλὴν ἐπὶ δούλων ἢ ξένων.

But...the good quickly flies away from the states of men. Not long afterwards, the Athenian leaders began to prevent the comic poets from censuring wrongdoers so openly and by name. For the leaders themselves wished to do wrong and escape censure, and so they were attacking the poets. Hence they began to be censured, as it were, enigmatically and not openly by the comic poets. As evil made still more progress and gained the upper hand, they were prevented from even enigmatically attacking and insulting the powerful and the magistrates of the city. That is why comedy appears to have three distinct types, of which one is called ‘old’, the one which from the start attacked openly; ‘middle’, which attacked enigmatically; and ‘new’, which did not do this at all except against slaves or foreigners.

Some accounts – e.g. Koster 27 (Tzetzes), 44 and 71 – place the beginning of the ‘middle’ period at the start of Eupolis’ career, others – e.g. Koster 12, 27 (Tzetzes), 40, 44 and 71 – focus on Plato as the central figure (see Rosen 1995). What is quite clear, however, is that here ‘middle comedy’ is ‘old comedy’ in disguise. ‘New comedy’ is different in that unlike ‘old’ and ‘middle’, it does not have invective at its core.

(4) The fourth account of Middle Comedy may be found in the *Tractatus Coislinianus* (Koster 67):

μέση ἢ ἀπ’ ἀμφοῖν μεμιγμένη.

Middle Comedy is a mixture of Old and New Comedy.

In so far as this is a characterization of the genres, it differs from the first account in defining the outer poles, Old and New, in terms of their place on a ‘laughter-seriousness’ scale. It also lacks the chronological framework of the first account. That this is part of an attempt at a theoretical account of comedy is clear from the context. It may be based on a combination of view no. (1) and view (3), which defines the different types of comedy in terms of their approach to invective. Janko’s view that the *Tractatus* reflects the lost second book of Aristotle’s *Poetics* has to face more seriously than it does the problem that not only does Aristotle not mention anywhere such a thing as ‘Middle Comedy’, but he specifically speaks of only *two* types, ‘old’ and ‘new’, when he distinguishes between sorts of comedy.⁸

These accounts are distinct from each other, though some of them are interconnected (nos. (1) and (2) being in fact part of the same text – Platonius’ περιδιαφορᾶς κωμωδιῶν). My stress here is upon the fundamental incompatibility between accounts (2) and (3). Is it really possible to envisage such a thing occurring if a reputable and well-known fourth-century writer such as Aristotle or Theophrastus had somewhere spoken of ‘middle comedy’? I think not. Later generations of scholars, equipped with texts and with some accounts of comedy’s history, were puzzled about the information given. They reproduced parts of it, but always overlaid their own versions with theorizing picked up from some source or other. We are looking at the result of a *zētēma*, ‘What is the nature of comedy?’, or ‘How did comedy lose its invective content?’. As I will show, it is of vital significance that the role of invective and of political attack figures so largely in three of these four accounts.

What confirms my suspicions about later guesswork is that our best pre-Alexandrian source for comedy, Aristotle, divides comedy into only *two* types. I have already cited the passage in the *Nicomachean Ethics* where Aristotle contrasts ‘old’ with ‘new’ comedies. He does so on the basis that αἰσχρολογία *was* fundamental to the old, whereas ὑπόνοια is the basis of laughter in the new. He disapproves of the use of αἰσχρολογία. As the past tense ἦν (‘was’) reveals, there has already been historical development in the genre. But on what basis? The context in the *Ethics* is the correct regulation of laughter. The passage cited illustrates the difference between the jesting of free and slave, educated and uneducated. αἰσχρολογία is often taken to mean ‘obscenity’, as most recently by Nesselrath 1990 (146 with nn. 102, 103). But the passage has no focus upon obscenity and ὑπόνοια regularly means ‘what is really meant’, ‘the covert meaning’.⁹ That αἰσχρολογία does sometimes mean ‘obscenity’ is not in question. The problem is finding a parallel for ὑπόνοια in the modern sense of ‘innuendo’ (sc. about sexual matters). The contrast only makes sense if αὐσχρολογία means ‘declaring openly shameful things’ about people and ὑπόνοια means ‘making jokes (about people) without saying openly what is shameful’.¹⁰ The importance of this, though, can only be seen once one recalls those passages in the scholiastic tradition which speak of ‘open’ and ‘covert’ attack in comedy and an historical movement away from ‘open’ towards ‘covert’ attack (often called ἔμφασις¹¹) Aristotle may be alluding to the same change in the nature of attack in comedy as these later sources. Indeed, one may strongly suspect two things if he makes this allusion *in passing*: (1) that he spoke of this matter elsewhere (perhaps in the lost discussion of comedy in book two of his *Poetics*); (2) that the later sources may be indebted to him for their information. We shall return to this later.

As Halliwell has shown in his work on the *Poetics* (1986), we must see Aristotle in the round and not divorce his literary treatises from his ethical ones. What he says in the *Nicomachean Ethics* is compatible with and illuminated by his discussion in *Poetics*. But to see what lies behind all his remarks, we must briefly pay attention to his debate with Plato.

It is often and rightly said (e.g. by Lucas 1968, xx–xxii) that in the *Poetics* Aristotle is countering Plato. The importance of this for comedy and its history has not been fully appreciated. Plato banned mimetic art from his ideal city and severely restricted it in his *Laws*. His grounds were twofold: (1) the theory of Forms made mimetic art a third-hand medium which could not carry even right opinion effectively; (2) drama works on the emotions, which are the lowest part of the soul; drama merely indulges something which is harmful to the person. Aristotle could dismiss ground (1) because he disputed the theory of Forms. For it he substituted the notion of ‘saving the *phainomena*’, which of course included evolved art-forms such as tragedy and comedy. But with regard to argument (2) he was not so very far from Plato, as the passage on comedy from the *Nicomachean Ethics* shows, and two others from the *Rhetoric* (1384b9–11) and *Politics* (1336b1–2) confirm. To deal with Plato’s criticism, he evolved his theory of *katharsis*, which (whatever its details) was designed to address the positive use of the emotive power of drama. In tragedy, the emotions of pity and fear can be cleansed if the drama’s plot is designed so that the outcomes are just. In comedy, the same effect can be achieved if laughter is directed at human foibles in general and the outcomes are happy (cf. *Poetics* 1453a35–6). The problem for tragedy was that this prescription was not always followed. For comedy, it was that the traditional Athenian form was based on personal attack. Plato’s attitude to this is consistent from *Apology* 19c to *Laws* 936d–e, where he seeks to ban completely the comedy of personal invective. His reasoning is clear from the *Laws* passage: $\theta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (anger) is aroused by such attacks, and $\theta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ is a harmful emotion, causing pain to the person attacked and an unhealthy emotion in the hearer (cf. the discussion in *Philebus* 48a–50b). Aristotle seems to have agreed. In *Poetics*, then, it is not open to him to save this *phainomenon*, though it still existed in Athens as late as the 340s (as Plato’s *Laws* and Aeschines 1.157 etc. show).

This is the philosophical context in which *Poetics* deals with comedy. It will at once be clear why Aristotle’s definition of comedy is as it is (*Poetics* 1449a32–b7):

ἡ δὲ κωμωδία ἐστὶν ὥσπερ εἵπομεν μίμησις φαυλοτέρων μὲν, οὐ μέντοι κατὰ πᾶσαν κακίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ <οὐ> ἐστὶ τὸ γελοῖον μόριον. τὸ γὰρ γελοῖον ἐστὶν ἀμάρτημά τι καὶ αἰσχος ἀνώδυνον καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν, οἷον εὐθύς τὸ γελοῖον πρόσωπον αἰσχρόν τι καὶ διεστραμμένον ἄνευ ὀδύνης...

Comedy is, as we said, an imitation of persons who are inferior, not however in every type of villainy; but it is an imitation of the ugly, of which the ludicrous is one part. The ludicrous is a failing or a piece of ugliness that causes no pain or destruction: thus for example the comic mask is something that is ugly and distorted, but causes no pain.

The basis of comedy is τὸ γελοῖον, the ludicrous, and not personal attack. It is centred on plots constructed to imitate reality's chain of cause and effect (τὸ εἰκός). Its characters have chance names (and so not those of real individuals?). These characteristics make it immune to the Platonic criticism that it aims at the base and harmful emotion of laughter at a person. And since it imitates reality, with characters worse than ourselves, its arousal of laughter is the precise opposite of tragedy's arousal of pity and fear. These are silly or misguided people who learn in the end what is right and resolve their differences. Whether or not this theory holds water is not the point here. What I want to show now is how the twofold division of comedy in the *Nicomachean Ethics* holds the key to the discussion of the history of comedy in the *Poetics*, and how that history seems to support Aristotle's argument for saving *this* type of comedy. I also want at this point to recall the importance of invective and of legal restrictions to it in the later accounts of the history of comedy that we have already examined.¹² We shall see in a moment that one of these accounts is entirely compatible with Aristotle.

First, then, to begin from the end:

φανερὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ὅτι οὐ τὰ γενόμενα λέγειν, τοῦτο ποιητοῦ ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οἷα ἂν γένοιτο καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ κατὰ τὸ εἰκός ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον... ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κωμωδίας ἤδη τοῦτο δῆλον γέγονεν· συστήσαντες γὰρ τὸν μῦθον διὰ τῶν εἰκότων οὕτω τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα ὑποτιθέασιν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἰαμβοποιοὶ περὶ τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον ποιοῦσιν. (*Poetics* 1451a36–b 11–15)

From what has been said it is also clear that the poet's job is not to report what has happened, but what is likely to happen: that is, what is capable of happening according to the rules of probability or necessity. In the field of comedy this has now become clear. Comic poets construct the plot on the basis of general probabilities and then assign names to the persons quite arbitrarily; they do not compose (sc. plots) dealing with the particular persons, like the *iambopoioi*.

The phrase ἤδη δῆλον γέγονεν, 'this has now become clear', should not be dismissed as a non-historical remark. It implies that only the type of comedy defined by Aristotle in the next sentence is

now being written and that the invective form is defunct. But it *was* being produced at the time of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and at the time of Plato's *Laws*. The scholiasts knew of an account of its demise which fits with this historically, and it cannot be all that easily dismissed, not least because the period after 345 is precisely the period of the rise of Macedon as a threat to Athenian autonomy. What we have failed to appreciate is that Aristotle's definition of comedy implicitly contains an antithesis with the type of comedy that he (and now the Athenians) have rejected.

Later in the passage, in my view, the contrast becomes quite explicit. For ἰαμβοποιοί surely cannot mean 'iambic poets' in a context where Aristotle is speaking of *plots*. This sentence means: 'poets of old comedy (what at 1449b8 he calls the ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα) began from the particular and composed plots around it'. Once we have seen that Aristotle assumes his students will know the nature of the two types of comedy, we can make sense of his history of comedy (and will be able to see how the scholiastic material fits in with it). What is important is to see that it is constructed around an unspoken antithesis which relates to the actuality of comedy at Athens in his day (and before).

The comedy of ψογός (abuse), the ᾠκιστὴς κωμῶν, derived from phallic rituals, according to Aristotle (*Poetics* 1449a10–13). Its defining moment came with the invention of drama (1448b20–49a5). Now alongside the *narrative* form of early iambic (which continued its existence inside and outside comedy) a *dramatic* form grew up. When ψογός was dramatized, what happened was that the individuals attacked by the narrative form now became the characters, who were ridiculed by being shown doing and saying things which made them look stupid. The other type of comedy originated in Sicily (1449b5–9). It was based on plot and had fictional characters. The first Athenian to use this form was Krates (first victory 450). It was this type of comedy which survived in Athens. If this reconstruction of Aristotle's views is correct, it had been an available form since the mid-fifth century. Aristotle would have known quite well that Plato approved of Epicharmus, the Sicilian comic poet, whom in *Theaetetus* 152c he had implied was the inventor of comedy.

Now in terms of the surviving evidence, this analysis fits well. Type-characters in terracotta begin in the last quarter of the fifth century (Green 1994, 34–8, 63–5). I would associate this with the growing popularity of the Sicilian comedy at Athens. At the other end of the process, the caricature-based comedy is still evident in Timokles' *Orestautokleides* (which fits the 340s from the point of view of its target ¹³). In the 340s too, Plato's legislation in *Laws* 935b–36d clearly defines two modes of personal attack utilised in comedies, λόγος and εἰκόν, the second of which I suggest should mean

caricature (cf. *Knights* 230).

So we have a *zētēma* centred on the demise of the invective form of comedy and we have a twofold division of comedy into caricature-based and plot-based which stems from the fifth/fourth centuries. These notions must be connected. But how can we make sense of the two sets of evidence? What happened to Old Comedy? And what are we to do with the accounts of ‘middle comedy’ I have analysed?

To the first question I have been hinting that the scholiastic material provides a perfectly coherent answer, which we have ignored because our texts seem to tell us something different. Old Comedy was dangerous and was designed to be: the Old Oligarch gives the best sense of this. In wartime, the *polis* needed to protect itself even while it continued to allow itself to satirize its leaders (ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.18). Hence it leaned towards a casuistic legislation which allowed caricature to continue, but disallowed the names of representatives of the *demos* to be attached to them.¹⁴ One might compare the modern *caveat* at the end of motion pictures and the beginning of novels which disclaims any identification between characters and real individuals, even in cases where this claim is patently absurd.¹⁵ Such legislation is recorded for four specific periods in our scholiastic sources:

(1) the Samian War (440–437), scholia on *Acharn.* 67;

(2) the Archidamian War (scholia on *Acharn.* 1150 on Antimachus);

(3) the renewal of hostilities in 415 (scholia on *Birds* 1297: Syrakosios);¹⁶

(4) the period of the Macedonian hegemony (e.g. Koster p. 5, Platonius).

Allied with (2) and (3) I would suggest are those many references to the change from Old to Middle Comedy that are based on the notion that Middle Comedy is a disguised (enigmatic or symbolic) form of Old Comedy (e.g. Koster pp. 11–12, 26–7, 71, 40). The result of the restriction of open attack by named caricature can be seen in texts such as *Knights*, where major politicians are presented as slaves and a fantastic household becomes a symbol for the city. If decree no. 1 really was repealed in 437, then Kratinos’ *Thraittai* fr. 73 may show the result of both the restriction and its repeal: ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὁδὶ προσέρχεται □ <ὁ> Περικλέης (here comes the squill-headed Zeus, Perikles...). Was mythological allegory (in imitation/parody of the new Sicilian form of Krates) a product of these restrictions (cf. Kratinos’ *Dionysalexandros* of 430)? Do we see in the *Thraittai* fragment a moment where Kratinos can actually *name* his disguised politician at last?

Decree no. 4 is of vital significance. It seems likely to be identical with that evidenced by Horace *Ars Poetica* 281–4:

successit vetus his comoedia, non

sine multa
laude: sed in vitium libertas excidit
et vim
dignam lege regi: lex est accepta
chorusque
turpiter obticuit sublato iure
nocendi.

Old Comedy followed these, highly praised. But freedom turned to vice and to a power that needed a law to control it: the law was passed and the chorus fell into a shameful silence now that its power to harm had been removed.

If the interpretation offered above of Aristotle's ἡδὴ δῆλον γέγονεν is correct, then this decree was the cause of the demise of ψόγος-based comedy. Fear of Macedon is a reasonable motive for stopping even enigmatic Old Comedy, even if our sources have garbled the story. The times were no longer propitious for caricature. (True, the rider that slaves and foreigners might still be caricatured does fit uncomfortably with the continued use of the distorted mask for slaves, at any rate, since we tend to read Menander as totally plot-based, without any caricature at all. Yet the terms of the decree as reported in Platonius may fit with the distorted slave-masks to suggest that even what we call 'New Comedy' may have retained some elements of caricature.) This account of the demise of Old Comedy is also consistent with the account of masking in Platonius (difficult to see as having been invented in the Roman period). The fundamental distinction mirrors exactly the distinction in the nature of the old and new comedy that we have seen emerging from Aristotle's account.

What of Middle Comedy, then? It is a later invention,¹⁷ made up by scholars who had only texts before them, plus some writings such as Aristotle's *Poetics* which assumed that their readers would know perfectly well that there were two distinct types of comedy and wherein their distinctions lay. Whichever source it was that listed the restrictive decrees did not also make clear what was a datum for contemporaries who attended the comic theatre.¹⁸ By the time of the very late compilations we now read, the notion of the twofold nature of Athenian comedy had become too deeply buried to be recovered. The theories about what this earlier evidence actually meant were assimilated and conflated and left to stand with all their inconsistencies intact. For my money, we should abandon the term 'Middle Comedy'. Instead, we should follow those scholiasts who divide Old Comedy into 'first' and 'second' (open caricature attack and enigmatic caricature attack).¹⁹ We should call Middle Comedy 'Sicilian Comedy' and see Krates as its first Athenian exponent.²⁰ New Comedy emerged in the fourth century as the result of the crossing of the plot-based tradition with Euripidean tragedy, probably after it

became commonplace for the latter to be revived after 387/6.²¹ No doubt further distinctions will occur to us as we seek to reapply the ancient categories to the textual material, both the fully extant and the fragmentary.

Notes

¹See Nesselrath 1990, 28–102 for a thorough discussion with a different focus. Elsewhere in this volume, Nesselrath discusses several of the passages I shall look at here, again from a different perspective. I take this opportunity of thanking him for allowing me to see his paper prior to publication and for his useful comments on my own.

²For Meineke's view see K-A IV 192: but that relies upon the passage we are examining. Geissler 1925, 20 concurs. For references between Aristophanes' *Wasps* and this play which give my *terminus ante quem*, see Sidwell 1995, 74–5.

³See K-A III 2.33, Testimonium iv (= Arg. IV to *Ploutos*) with Geissler 1925, 76–7.

⁴See Polybius 12.13.1 on the politician Demochares (nephew of Demosthenes), whose career spans the dates 325–275, in the late fourth century poet Archedikos (K-A II, Archedikos fr. 4).

⁵See especially *Laws* 935d–936b on λοιδορία (insult) and legislation to prevent its use in comedy, except without malice (ἄνευ θυμοῦ) and only of comic poets against each other, and never against any citizen.

⁶The suggestion that 'anapaestic verse' may refer to the parabasis is made by Slater (1995, 40 n. 32). But in contrast with the parabasis as we know it from Aristophanes, Aeschines specifically mentions that the actor is speaking an anapaestic verse to the chorus (in Aristophanes, the chorus speaks anapaestic verse to the audience).

⁷Aristotle *Poetics* 1449b5–9; *IG* ii-iii² 2325.52.

⁸Janko 1984, 244–5. See Nesselrath 1990, 102–49 for a full refutation. *EN* 1128a.23–5: ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶν κωμωδίων τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καινῶν τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον ἢ αἰσχρολογία, τοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπόνοια διαφέρει δ' οὐ μικρὸν ταῦτα πρὶς εὐσηχημοσύνην. ('One can see this from the "old" and the "new" comedies. The humour in the former was αἰσχρολογία, but in the latter rather ὑπόνοια. This makes no small difference as far as decorum is concerned.') See below for interpretation of this passage and its central terms.

⁹e.g. Xen. *Symp.* 3.6, Plato *Rep.* 378d (see further LSJ s.v. II).

¹⁰This is the meaning assigned to the antithesis by Aspasios *Comm. in Arist. Graec.* 19.1, p. 125, 31–5 (Heylbut), in glossing αἰσχρολογία by φανερώς αἰσχρολογεῖν 'openly saying disgraceful things' and ὑπόνοια by μόνον ἐμφαίνειν 'merely hinting'.

¹¹e.g. *POxy.* 663 (= K-A IV 140, Test. i on Kratinos *Dionysalexandros*) lines 44–8: κωμωδεῖται δ' ἐν τῷ δράματι Περικλῆς μάλα πιθανῶς δι' ἐμφάσεως ὡς ἐπαγιοχῶς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν πόλεμον ('in the play Perikles is very convincingly ridiculed by innuendo for having brought the war upon the Athenians'). Cf. the use of ἐμφαίνειν as a synonym for ὑπόνοια in the commentary of Aspasios on *EN* cited in n. 10.

¹²The evidence for such legislation is usefully collected in Halliwell 1991, with bibliography, though it will be seen from the argument which I make here that I would dispute his scepticism about the reality of these decrees.

¹³Breitenbach put it c. 340, Schiassi around 345/4. See K-A VII, 774 for bibliography.

¹⁴I deliberately use the term 'casuistic', because this is the ground that Halliwell (1991, 58) uses for dismissing the notion of legislation against named caricature: 'we

should not believe that the Athenians engaged in the casuistry of banning names but not personalities' (see also the remarks in his nn. 18 and 40).

¹⁵For example, the following formula is found at the end of episodes of the cartoon *The Simpsons*: 'The persons in this film are fictitious. Any similarity to actual persons or events is unintentional'. Yet the programme often features guest-appearances by recognisable and named individuals (e.g. Paul and Linda McCartney, James Woods), as well as caricatures of people who have probably not given their permission to be shown (e.g. ex-Presidents Nixon, Carter, Bush and Ford).

¹⁶There is also a connection of Eupolis with a decree of Alkibiades restricting satire by name (scholiast on Aelius Aristeides *Orat.* 3.8 Lenz-Behr = Eup. *Baptai* Test. iii K-A = Koster 78–9). The relationship between Eupolis' *Baptai* and Alkibiades is difficult: see Nesselrath's chapter in this volume on the history of the story, with Storey 1990, 4–6. This decree, at least, does not seem to be historical, but may have derived from a scene in the comedy itself.

¹⁷Thus far with Nesselrath 1990, 28–187. Note especially his conclusion (186) that it was Aristophanes of Byzantium who invented the threefold periodisation of comedy in the form we have received it.

¹⁸Hence I am inclined to think that it derived ultimately from Aristotle's lost *Poetics* II. Pace Janko, the idea that Aristotle may have given a history of the comedy he calls *ἰαμβική ιδέα* has at least the support of what scholars think they read at the end of Riccardianus 46 (περὶ δὲ ἰαμβῶν καὶ κωμῳδίας, 'About the iambus and comedy'). The assimilation of Menander and Philemon into this history (see n. 19 below) will have been a result of later misinterpretation of the separateness of the two traditions.

¹⁹Janko 1984, 246 cites the anonymous *Anecdoton Estense* 2.5: τῆς κωμῳδίας ἡ μὲν πρώτη, ἣτις ἐμφανῶς πάντας ἔψεγε' κατήρξε δὲ αὐτῆς Σουσαρίων ἡ δὲ δευτέρα, ἥς ἦν ὁ ψόγος κατὰ πάντων, ἀλλὰ κεκρυμμένος, ἄριστοι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Κρατῖνος, Εὐπολῖς, 'Αριστοφάνης, Πλάτων. τῆς δὲ τρίτης ὁ ψόγος καὶ κεκρυμμένος ἦν καὶ κατὰ δούλων μόνον καὶ ξένων, ἀλλ' οὐκέτι πολιτῶν διέπρεψαν ἐν αὐτῇ Μένανδρος καὶ Φιλῆμων. ('The first period in comedy was the one which criticized everyone openly. Sousarion was its originator. The comedy of the second period also criticised everyone, but the criticism was veiled. The best exponents of this were Kratinos, Eupolis, Aristophanes and Plato. In the third period, the criticism was both veiled and directed only against slaves and foreigners, and no longer against citizens. The outstanding dramatists in this style were Menander and Philemon.')

²⁰Among other things, it seems to me possible now to see the co-existence of Sicilian and ψόγος-based comedy at Athens in the last half of the fifth century as the basis for a slanging-match between poets of the two types (e.g. *Knights* 537–9) and even of parody of the Sicilian type by the other.

²¹*IG* ii² 2318, col. viii: ἐπὶ Θεοδότου παλαιὸν δράμα πρῶτον παρεδίδαξαν οἱ τραγωδοί ('in the archonship of Theodotus, the tragic actors first played an old drama alongside' (sc. those entered in the competition?)). See also *IG* ii² 2320 for the year 342/1: παλαιὰ Νεοπτόλεμος 'Ιφιγενεία Εὐριπίδο ('in the old tragedy category, Neoptolemos with Euripides' *Iphigeneia*') and for the year 341/0 παλαιὰ Νεοπτόλεμος 'Ορέστη Εὐριπίδο ('in the old tragedy category, Neoptolemos with Euripides' *Orestes*')

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1995	‘Plato <i>Beyon</i> Georg
Sidwell K.	
1995	‘Poeti <i>Stage</i>

COMIC PLOTS AND THE INVENTION OF FICTION

N.J. Lowe

In recent years the concept of fiction has re-emerged as a topic of major interest and difficulty both within and beyond the classical field. There has been a surge of activity from philosophers and literary theorists on fictionality and its sibling, the belief in the imaginary;¹ while classicists themselves have done important work both on the development of the idea and functions of fiction in ancient literature,² and on the challenging questions of truth-value and belief raised by the peculiar status of myth in ancient narrative culture.³ What has been comparatively neglected is the central role of *comedy* in the history and poetics of ancient fictionality – a role which I want to suggest has important implications not only for all three of these areas of current inquiry but also for larger aspects of comedy's own development.

Most modern theorists, classical and otherwise, define fictionality in terms of the truth-value claimed for the content of the fictional world, and the corresponding claims it makes on its audience's credence. The most significant theoretical work here has come from the influential post-narratological movement, led by Lubomir Dolezel, that has sought to understand the semantics of literary reality in terms of an extended Leibnizian semantics of possible worlds,⁴ with fictional realities determined by a characteristic set of definable semantic relationships to the worlds of logic and experience. Semino's recent formulation, for example, proposes that fictional worlds are distinctive in being *furnished* (their inhabitants, places, events are specified rather than negotiable), *parasitic* (they are defined by their relation to, and departures from, an already-familiar reality), *incomplete* (they leave the truth-value of propositions outside the text, like Oedipus' favourite colour or the number of Lady Macbeth's children, unknowable) and *tolerant of logical inconsistency* (with Aristophanic plots clearly an extreme case).

Now such a definition necessarily takes a 'weak' view of fictionality, as neither an absolute quality nor even a property exclusive to narrative. It would include, for instance, not only the misadventures of Margites but Archilochus' non-narrative monologue of Charon the carpenter (fr. 19 West), as well as Anacreon's erotic

vignettes, Hipponax's low-life escapades, and other first-person narratives or musings of doubtful historicity centred on a first-person protagonist bearing the same name as the poet. In some respects such a fuzzy-edged definition usefully reflects the complexity of the ancient concept. Certainly it is a well-known truism that no single ancient term corresponded in scope to our 'fiction'. The contributors to the Exeter *Lies and Fiction* symposium (1993), in particular, have demonstrated how supple is the relationship between the pertinent categories for which ancient writers did have names (myths, history, poetry, lies, unbelievables, nonexistents). Here Ewen Bowie's historical survey (1993) has brilliantly shown – against Rosler's ingenious argument that literacy is the midwife of a concept of fictionality (1980) – the subtle degrees and shades through which an intimation of fictionality developed in archaic poetry, from the *Odyssey's* bracketing of its hero's lies with the tales of bards, through the emergence of fictive personae and situations in archaic iambic and lyric, to the explicitly plastic and critical concept of myth apparent in such diverse poetic voices as Stesichorean lyric and the theological polemic of Xenophanes.

Nevertheless, even Bowie's careful, nuanced account stops historically short of the emergence of anything that we, or ancient critics, would recognise as fiction in the fullest sense – the 'strong' sense in which, say, the *Satyrica*, or *Little Dorrit*, or *The Lady Eve* would be categorised without qualification as 'fiction'. The explicit recognition of a such a 'strong' notion of fiction is a fourth-century response to the peculiar status of Old and Middle Comedy, and is clearly present in the two canonical fourth-century syncrises of tragedy and comedy. Handley⁵ has already noted how close these two famous passages are, despite their very different contexts and agenda, in their formulation of what by the mid-fourth century was seen as *the* defining difference between tragedy and comedy: what, in the history of ancient storytelling as a whole, has surely to be seen as Greek comedy's single most influential achievement.

A. Antiphanes, *Poiēsis* fr. 189:

μακάριόν ἐστιν ἡ τραγωδία
ποίημα κατὰ πάντ', εἴ γε πρῶτον οἱ λόγοι
ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν εἰσιν ἐγνωρισμένοι,
πρὶν καὶ τιν' εἰπεῖν· ὥσθ' ὑπομνήσαι μόνον
δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν. Οἰδίπουν γάρ ῥ' ὦ
τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἴσασιν· ὁ πατὴρ Λαῖος,
μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη, θυγατέρες, παῖδες τίνες,
τί πείσεθ' οὗτος, τί πεποίηκεν. ἂν πάλιν
εἴπῃ τις Ἀλκμέονα, καὶ τὰ παιδία
πάντ' εὐθύς εἶρηχ', ὅτι μανεῖς ἀπέκτονε
τὴν μητέρ', ἀγανακτῶν δ' Ἄδραστος εὐθέως
ἦξει πάλιν τ' ἄπεισι
ἔπειθ' ὅταν μὴθέν δύνωντ' εἰπεῖν ἔτι,
κομιδῇ δ' ἀπειρήκωσιν ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν,
αἵρουσιν ὥσπερ δάκτυλον τὴν μηχανήν,
καὶ τοῖς θεωμένοισιν ἀποχρώντως ἔχει.
ἡμῖν δὲ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δεῖ
εὐρεῖν, ὀνόματα καινά,
. κάπειτα τὰ ῥδιωκημένα
πρότερον, τὰ νῦν παρόντα, τὴν καταστροφὴν,
τὴν εἰσβολὴν. ἂν ἐν τι τούτων παραλίπῃ
Χρέμης τις ἢ Φεῖδων τις, ἐκσυρίττεται·
Πηλεῖ δὲ πάντ' ἔξεσσι καὶ Τεύκρῳ ποιεῖν.

Tragedy is a glorious kind
of poetry in every way. For one thing, the stories
are familiar to the audience,
before anyone's opened their mouth. So all the poet
has to do
is remind them. If I say 'Oedipus',
they know all the rest: father Laius,
mother Jocasta, who his sons and daughters were,
what will happen to him, what he has done. Again:
if
someone mentions Alcmaeon, he's at once included
all his children, how in madness he killed
his mother, and in a moment Adrastus will come on
raging
and go away again [...]
Then, when they can't think of anything more to
say,
and they've completely run out of ideas in their
play,
they raise the *mechane* as easily as a finger,
and the audience is happy.
But we can't do any of that. Everything has to be

invented: new names [.]

and then [...]

the previous events, the present situation, the denouement,

the starting-point. If a Chremes or Pheidon

leaves a single one of these out, he's hissed off the stage;

but Peleus or Teucer can do the lot.

B. Aristotle, Poetics 9.1451b11-16:

ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κωμῳδίας ἤδη τοῦτο δῆλον γέγονεν· συστήσαντες γὰρ τὸν μῦθον διὰ τῶν εἰκότων οὕτω τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα ὑποτιθέασιν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἱαμβοποιοὶ περὶ τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον ποιοῦσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τραγῳδίας τῶν γενομένων ὀνομάτων ἀντέχονται.

This is already clear from comedy. After composing a plot according to what is probable, they then assign arbitrary names to the characters, instead of writing about individuals as the iambic poets do. In the case of tragedy, the poets stick to the names of actual people.

For Antiphanes and Aristotle alike, what set comedy apart from other genres of poetry was the notion of *made-up characters*. To these fourth-century observers, comedy's distinctive trademark was to deal in unretold stories: events that not only never happened, but which made no claim to have even been recounted before. Note that, as the definition of a degree of fictionality, such a formulation focuses *not* on the truth or falsity claimed for the story, but on the claim it makes to autonomous invention. In particular, it is a definition that pointedly *excludes* both 'myth' (retold stories about the past, set in and before the generation following the Trojan War) and 'history' (retold stories about named individuals from later epochs), as well as works of what we would call 'historical fiction', such as the *Cyropaedia* or Tom Holt's Eupolis novels *Goatsong* (1989) and *The Walled Orchard* (1990).

As we are increasingly coming to recognise, this strong notion of fictionality is a surprisingly elusive one in the ancient world, whose high narrative literature is overwhelmingly committed to a culture of *retelling* – and through it, one might add, to a narrative poetics dominated by intertextuality, *imitatio* and the rewriting of earlier texts, something to which readers situated in the cultural-historical space between Romanticism and postmodernism have not always found it easy to attune themselves. The fourth-century definition of comedy's peculiar fictionality in terms of made-up characters is itself an attempt to define this largely alien notion for a narrative culture that takes it for granted that most stories will be tied to familiar names (as characters, or narrator, or both). As both Antiphanes and Aristotle were explicitly aware, comic drama's use of fiction in this

strong sense was close to unique in its day. The best Aristotle can manage, scratching around for instances of poetic fiction outside comedy, is a pair of solitary freaks: the iambo-epic oddity *Margites*, (*Poet.* 1448b30, 1448b38–49a2) and Agathon's unemulated experiment in fictional tragedy *Anth[*]s* (1451b20–1).

And the question I want to ask is this. How did it come about that comic poets found themselves the lone rebels in all this? Within the narrative culture of antiquity, comedy was a very strange kind of storytelling indeed: the first, and for half a millennium practically the only, literary genre to tell stories about characters the audience had never met before. It is not until the Greek novel that high storytelling breaks free of subject matter drawn from the blurred categories of what we would call 'myth' and 'history'; and though Bowersock (1994) has done much to locate this development within the complex, diverse culture of fiction under the Empire, ultimately even the novel still owes more to comedy than to any other genre. How, then, did comedy find itself pioneering one of the most momentous innovations in western narrative history?

At first sight, after all, comedy does not look like a promising ground for the fictional experiment. Its early generic trademarks included a strong anti-realistic element and, at least in its better-documented Sicilian cousin, a preponderance of mythological subjects.⁶ Indeed, not the least of the problems surrounding Epicharmus is that of identifying which, if any, of his plays were *non-mythological*. I remain to be convinced that any were; certainly his successors Phormis and Dinolochus are represented entirely by unambiguously mythological titles. But in any event it is a familiar observation that, whatever the exact relationship of Epicharmus to what Chionides, Magnes and Ecphantides may have been up to in Athens, a striking number of Epicharmus' mythological motifs, subjects, and actual titles and storylines recur in Old Attic Comedy – including many of the mythological subjects attested for the Sicilians. How is it, then, that in the space of little more than a century, a genre to which myth was initially so central had come to define itself by the rejection of myth and a poetics of creation that stressed (however disingenuously) the value of novelty, originality, καὶνὰ καὶ ἰδέαι (*Clouds* 547)?

To answer this, we need from the outset to bear in mind three points about the ways in which myth itself is used in comedy. First, the boundary between myth and fiction in comedy was a highly transgressible one. It is only at the *end* of the fifth century that we find Attic comedians specialising exclusively, as Polyzelus (K-A VII 553–9) did, in mythological plays, or (conversely) poets such as Eupolis who make their oeuvre a myth-free zone; and even Eupolis makes quite

heavy use of familiar *historical* characters, albeit in fantastic and hitherto-untold stories (see Braun, Storey in this volume). Rather than an absolute myth/fiction split, we should think rather in terms of two worlds that interact in a complex range of ways. At one end of the spectrum lie those plays whose setting and characters are located in the epoch of epic, the divine or heroic past, as about a quarter of Aristophanes' plays were. Yet even the fragments of mythological comedies like Aristophanes' *Daedalus*, *Danaiides*, *Lemniae*, and *Phoenissae* are full of anachronistically contemporary details, at least of diet and manners, and sometimes actual names of individuals (e.g. Eurybatus in *Daedalus* fr. 198); and there are famous mythological comedies such as Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* and *Nemesis* where the narratives of myth are transparent allegories of contemporary public figures and events. There is also an important category of play in which the worlds of myth and contemporary reality openly *interpenetrate*: gods travelling to contemporary earth, mortals travelling to a contemporary heaven or hell, or plays with largely mythological or supernatural casts and settings that are nevertheless set in a very contemporary heaven or hell. Thus in *Frogs* the underworld is very much the underworld of January 405; in *Peace* and *Birds* the gods and their abode are an extension of the political geography of the historical moment of production. Two genre figures especially well-qualified to cross the boundary between this and other worlds are Heracles and Dionysus; but there is also a well-established genre repertoire of plot devices under which mortal characters may make the crossing (paratragic ascents and epiphanies; mystic catabases, goetic anodoi, and other resurrection fantasies: see, again, Braun and Storey). As we shall see, this *permeability* of the boundaries of myth is crucial to its operation in comedy.

Secondly, even within the mythological repertoire itself, the range of myths deemed suitable for comedy is surprisingly narrow and selective. Some motifs turn up again and again, such as divine rape and seduction: Hermippus' and Plato's *Europas*, Cratinus' *Nemesis*; Archippus' *Amphitryon* and Plato's *Long Night*; Sannyrion and Apolophanes' *Danae*; Philyllius' *Auge*; and a whole string of burlesques by the master of the divine sex comedy, Alcaeus (*Ganymede*, *Callisto*, *Pasiphae*, *The Hieros Gamos*, *Endymion*). Nesselrath (1995) has already surveyed the interesting subgenre of divine *gonai*-plays, a particular speciality of Polyzelus. These preferences illustrate an important general pattern: comic myths tend to favour divine subjects over heroic, in notable contrast to tragedy, where plays with wholly or largely divine casts are mostly confined to Aeschylus, and fade from vogue in the second half of the century. As a rule, comic treatments of heroic myth are generally parasitic on existing literary

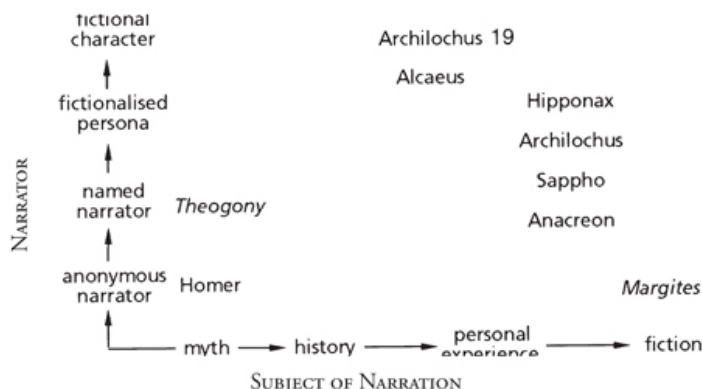
versions; and even these paraliterary myth-comedies are strikingly selective in their choice of model. We know of at least a dozen comedies drawn from the *Odyssey*, but not one from the *Iliad* – not even by the great parepicist himself, Cratinus.⁷ This is a significant silence, and its implications will be confronted shortly.

Finally and above all, myth is not the kind of *signifying system* for comedy that it is for tragedy; on the contrary, comedy's use of myth is fundamentally subversive of the diverse ways in which mythological storytelling is privileged in the high narrative culture of epic and tragedy. Not only does comedy annihilate the historical, conceptual, and theatrical distance between the world of its consumers' experience and the world of their dreams, but the civic functions of myth as an aetiological discourse for the projection and self-validation of the community are undermined by comedy's utopian and individualistic emphases. This is not to say that the past is not a source of value and meaning for comedy; on the contrary, it remains the product of a culture that heroises its past, and which explains the present by narratives about that past. But institutional origins and the validation of the present order are no part of comedy's brief; rather, comedy's dominant impulse is to annul or domesticise the polis and to reverse the arrow of Hesiodic time in a restoration of pre-civic utopia.⁸ This is why – to venture a sweeping generalisation – whereas the oppositions that shape the themes of tragedy tend to be oriented around space, those that shape comedy are oriented around time, with the present day constantly being polarised in nostalgic opposition to an earlier generation or a golden-age dreamtime.

Now clearly it is tempting to seek the roots of comedy's complex relationship with myth in the archaic iambic tradition, which regularly presents itself implicitly or overtly as a rival to, and as subversive of, the lumbering pretensions and superannuated worldview of epic (Rosen 1998a). Comedy has evidently inherited this tendency to self-definition by *contrast* with epic and its descendants; and one element of this inherited contrast is a displacement or demotion of myth *vis-à-vis* the world inhabited by poet and audience. Nevertheless, though many archaic poets tell what we may reasonably assume to be made-up stories in the first person about a character bearing the poet's name who is otherwise as fictional a character as Margites or Dicaeopolis, there is still no clear instance in archaic literature of narrative or dramatic poetry about wholly-invented human characters in a contemporary setting. The closest contenders are the *Margites* (whose setting may nevertheless have been heroic or historical⁹); Archilochus' Charon the carpenter (fr. 19 West), who seems to have spoken the poem in fictive character; Alcaeus fr. 10B Lobel-Page, with its opening first-person feminine; and the sub-literary

genre of fable, though it wears its contemporary clothes lightly at best, and uses other anti-realistic devices to claim some of the distanced, universalising power of myth (van Dijk 1997). The first and, especially, the last of these may well have had some incidental influence on the emerging poetics of comedy; but it is surely significant, for example, that there is no trace of any adaptation of material from the *Margites* in comedy,¹⁰ which makes it difficult to argue any central role or influence.

Nevertheless, the legacy of archaic proto-fictions is important in a more general way. It is useful here to think of the archaic fictional experiment as a movement away from epic in two distinct dimensions. On the one hand, the *subject matter* distances itself from epic myth along an axis of diminishing retoldness: from the Panhellenic past of heroic myth, to the nearer and more localised past of post-heroic historical tradition, to the contemporary first-person experience of the poet's literary persona, and finally to stories such as that of *Margites* where the hero as well as his adventures are unfamiliar to the audience. At the same time, but largely independently, the *mediating voice* of a personal narrator is beginning to interpose itself more explicitly between the audience and the story, drawing attention to the act of storytelling itself in ways that challenge the transparency and authority of the epic narrator. Hesiod introduces a name, a personal history, a narrating personality and purpose to the epic catalogue; Archilochus, Sappho, Anacreon, and especially Hipponax¹¹ enrich their poetic *personae* with degrees of fictionalisation; and a handful of famous problem texts go a step further, putting the opening or whole of a poem into the mouth of a wholly fictitious character (West 1974, 32–3). Thus the major archaic experiments in fictionality can be plotted on a graph defined by these two axes – though the flexibility of voice, subject matter, or both means that in practice many texts will occupy a mobile rather than a static position on the grid. (It will be all too clear why no attempt has been made to pinpoint, for example the *Works and Days* or Pindar within the central area of the graph.)



Such a model shows at once why comedy's presentation of fictional characters is such a significant further step. Drama's elision of the narrating voice forcibly disconnects the narrated world from the performance situation, so that the characters in the theatrical *fabula* no longer have a thread of connection to the real world through the figure of the narrating performer. In diegetic poetry, there is always a marked narratological interface between this world and that – even if it consists of nothing more than the fact that the audience can see with their own eyes that Archilochus (or someone reciting his poem) is plainly *not* Charon the carpenter, or that the Hipponax who performs his scabrous tales is better dressed and bred than the character he claims to be in them. In drama, however, this boundary of mediation is no longer marked; on the contrary, the performer of Dicaeopolis even *looks* like the character he is portraying. It is this that enables comedy's licence to breach the fourth wall (an anachronistic term, but *faute de mieux*) separating characters and spectators – allowing the worlds of the play and the audience to interpenetrate in a way that not only erodes and subverts the self-contained heroic universe of epic and tragic myth, but also encourages the further assimilation of the contemporary world into the *fabula* itself (Taplin 1986). It is true that lyric poetry also had long been free to mix heroic narrative with reflections of the immediate world of the poet and audience, and even with metapoetic commentary on the relationships negotiated between the two. In lyric, however, the worlds of myth and audience remain at least theoretically segregated by the interposition of the mediating presence of the poet-narrator; whereas in drama there is no such mediating voice at the interface between story and audience. Thus leakage of worlds through the breach in the fourth wall is a more challenging threat to the autonomy of the epic world than it can be in even the most narratologically flamboyant epinician.

Nevertheless, even this falls short of explaining comedy's espousal of narrative located *entirely* in the contemporary world of its audience.

For this, we have to look to comedy's peculiar relationship with the one contemporary genre that had moved the other way: from a brief flirtation with contemporary subjects in the early part of the century to a wholesale commitment to myth. The single most important fact about comedy's development is the extraordinary generic apartheid that existed between it and tragedy. Here, after all, were two genres produced in the same theatres in front of the same audiences, sometimes on the same days, and drawing on the same tribal pools of amateur talent for their choruses and the same pool of angels for their *choregoi*. Their poets, if we are to trust Plato's picture as itself at least a believable historical fiction, were personally acquainted, attended the same parties, swapped ideas freely, and drank one another under the table. Yet the one thing they were absolutely forbidden to do, by unwritten law, was to interbreed. The only person even to raise the suggestion that there is no *intrinsic* barrier to the same person's writing both is the fifth century's most marginalised cultural dissident – and then only as a *jeu d'esprit* for an audience of drunks in an apocryphal conversation dreamed up a generation after his death (Plato *Symposium* 223d). Even satyr-play, which looks to modern eyes so very like a love-child of transgeneric intercourse, remained in the exclusive custody of tragedians.

The reasons for this bizarre segregation are hard to pin down. We can point to a number of presumably-relevant factors: the tendency to genre specialisation in early Greek poetry generally, a battle Callimachus is still fighting with his literary enemies, the 'Telchines' 150 years later (*Aitia* fr. 1 Pfeiffer); the institutionalisation of separate competitions in the city festivals; the movement to increasing professionalisation and specialisation in the fifth-century theatre, and the technical difficulty of mastering the art of the *chorodidaskalos* even for one kind of performance, let alone several. Whatever the truest cause, the consequences are enormous. Apartheid never works quite the way it is supposed to; far from ensuring safe separation and difference, segregation encourages all manner of illicit liaisons and forbidden fascinations. And while it is hard to demonstrate that tragedy ever really needed comedy, comedy is constantly defining itself in relation to tragedy – a genre that itself is rapidly evolving and rewriting its own poetics.

Now one crucial thing tragedy does, some time in the final third of Aeschylus' career, is to abandon the short-lived experiment with historical subjects (Phrynichus' *Capture of Miletus* and *Phoenissae*; Aeschylus' *Persians*) and to confine its subject matter to heroic myth. At the same time, it commits itself to a performance semiotics founded on what I would still argue¹² is a poetics of literalism, in which space and time and things on stage enjoy a one-to-one correspondence to

similar things in the story. And as tragedy chooses that path, towards Homerism, literalism, illusion, retellings, and closure, comedy finds itself pushed down the road less travelled in antiquity: towards a poetics of aperture and the empty space, out of which worlds have to be built over and over *ex nihilo* – not just their content, but their very structure. It is this, for example, that underpins the distinctive poetics of Old Comic prologues – which generally construct the very location and spatiality of the action by artful degrees from an initially neutral space.

This rivalry with tragedy is what prompts the final step in comedy's invention of fiction. Most of the apparent renaissance of mythological comedy at the end of the century is actually a flowering of tragic parody. Demonstrable paratragedy, as we are often reminded, is a relatively late development – particularly the extended kind where not just individual lines but whole plays are modelled on the burlesque of a single specific tragic model. It would be surprising if a play like Callias' *Atalanta* owed nothing at all to Aeschylus; but even there, given that *Atalanta* is already a title attested for Epicharmus, we cannot be sure that Aeschylus' version was the principal, or even a major, inspiration. We should, of course, be wary of the converse idea that paratragedy explodes out of vacuum in January 425: the fact that the *Acharnians* is already using a tragic template in a complex intertextual way suggests that Aristophanes was either more daz- zlingly innovative still than we normally dare to believe, or less unusual than we like to. (If *Acharnians* and *Thesmophoriazusae* survived only in as fragmentary a state as, for example, the *Banqueters*, we would never guess that the underlying skeleton of both plays is a rewriting of *Telephus*; cf. Dover in this volume.) But what at any rate is clear is that Aristophanic paratragedy increases in directness and ambition over the following twenty years, culminating in such plays as his *Phoenissae*, which was evidently a wholesale comic palimpsest of Euripides' play. Nor is Aristophanes unique or even supreme in this: the most tragedy-obsessed poet of the age was his junior contemporary Strattis, a majority of whose known plays were either paratragic or 'parathespian' (dealing with the backstage world of the theatre industry).¹³

Now the reasons behind this bloom of paratragedy were doubtless many and complex. Factors presumably included the increasing cultural canonization of tragedy, as not merely the highest poetic self-expression of the Athenian polis but also the contemporary successor-genre to epic; the increasing proximity to laughter of avant-garde Euripidean and sub-Euripidean plots of sex and class, intrigue and recognition; the impact on popular consciousness of sophistic rationalism and the historical criticism of myth; the deeper

penetration of old tragedies into popular awareness through revivals and the growing book trade in tragic scripts (Lowe 1993; Slater 1996), which also eased the literary parodist's own labour; and the sheer opportunities presented by this vast and growing corpus of readymade material to a genre hungry for *kainai ideai* (*Clouds* 547). Nevertheless, it is instructive to look at the *range* of tragedies repeatedly parodied: the prominence of late Euripidean melodrama (*Andromeda* not just in *Thesmophoriazusae* but also in Strattis' *Lemnomeda*, which perhaps drew on *Hypsipyle* too; *Phoenissae* in Aristophanes and Strattis; *Orestes* in Strattis); *Telephus*; *Philoctetes* (Epicharmus milking Aeschylus, and Strattis Sophocles?); Atalanta (Aeschylus', presumably) in Callias, Philyllius, Strattis; Laius and Chrysippus; Admetus. By contrast, there are no comic Alcmaeons; Agamemnon and Orestes, but not Clytemnestra or Electra; two Medeas, but no Phaedras; Atalantas galore, but no Meleager; and so on. Violent death, however classic, is not welcome in comedy's world; comedy is interested in tragedy not for its own sake but for particular kinds of exploitable material, which it will eventually cannibalise for its own. Far from prolonging the life of myth in comedy, this bloom of paratragedy is confirmation that high mythological narrative is increasingly ghettoised in tragic theatre.

Whether this constitutes evidence for a 'crisis of myth' in the late fifth and early fourth centuries is a question $\text{ἤ}\omega\ \tau\omicron\text{?}\ \delta\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, outside the drama (see Burian 1997). But Old Comedy itself is ultimately unable to disengage entirely from the culture of retelling, even while it consigns myth increasingly to the dustbin of tragedy; instead, it is content with constantly renegotiating and problematizing the relationship between the worlds of tragic myth and comic reality. The irony is that it is precisely when it gets sucked in too far, writing entire plays that are plotted on and like tragedies, that it sows the seeds both of its own destruction (in the long-term demise of anything recognisable as its fifth-century form) and of its own ultimate creative ascendancy over tragedy in the following century – by setting its feet on the road that leads to the *Aeolosicon* and *Cocalus*, to 'rape and recognition and all the other things copied by Menander' (*Life of Aristophanes* 69–71 Dindorf), and to the fourth-century revolution, perhaps attributable to Anaxandrides,¹⁴ that rebuilt comedy around the poetics of tragedy and the transplantation of tragic plot patterns and narrative values to the contemporary world. Thus the invention of fiction is both a contemporary expression and a historical legacy of comedy's own wry vantage on the cosmos: of being stuck in the visibly-imperfect world of the here-and-now, while constantly looking over the fence at an ideal world next door to which access is permitted only in our dreams.¹⁵

Notes

¹e.g. Pavel 1986; Novitz 1987; Newsom 1988; Currie 1990; Riffaterre 1990; Walton 1990; Crittenden 1991; Iser 1991; Gerrig 1993; Lamarque and Olsen 1994; Ronen 1994; Lamarque 1996; Semino 1997.

²See especially Rosler 1980; Bowie 1993; Feeney 1993; Bowersock 1994.

³Veyne 1983; Buxton 1994; and cf. Calasso 1993. A seminal study of the anthropological difficulties in a cross-cultural notion of 'belief' is Needham 1972.

⁴In addition to the works by Pavel, Ronen, and Semino cited in n. 1, see Ryan 1991; Allen 1989.

⁵Handley 1985, 411–3; see now also the brief discussion of the Antiphanes fragment in Slater 1995, 37–9. K-A's admirable notes on this fragment (II 418–19) provide a full commentary.

⁶The fragments of Sicilian comedy will be published in K-A I; meanwhile the texts may be found in Kaibel *CGF* 88–147, supplemented by Austin *CGFPR* 52–78. On Epicharmus and Phormis see *OCD*⁵ s.vv.

⁷*Dionysalexandros* comes closest, but there is no sign that any part of its plot used material from the *Iliad*. The one possible exception is Strattis' *Myrmidons* – but Strattis was the paratragedist *par excellence*, and if there was anything being sent up there it was surely Aeschylus' adaptation of the *Iliad* in his Achilles trilogy, still popular at the end of the century to judge from the pervasive allusions in *Frogs*. Odyssean comedies include Cratinus' and Theopompus' Odysseus-plays (both of which dealt with the Cyclops episode); Polyzelus' *Niptra* (presumably not unrelated to Sophocles' famous tragedy); Callias' and Diocles' *Cyclopes*; Theopompus' and Nicophon's *Sirens*; *Nausicaa*; and note Epicharmus' *Cyclops*, *Odysseus the Deserter*, *Odysseus Shipwrecked*, *Sirens*, and Dinolochus' *Alcinous*.

⁸For the distinctive presentation of the polis in comedy see now the essays in Dobrov 1997; for Utopias, see Ceccarelli and Ruffell in this volume.

⁹It is normally assumed that Margites' misadventures were Hipponactean in setting and general character. But the preponderance of epic formulae in the extant fragments does indicate a closer, if plainly parodic, relationship with epic – which might even have extended to setting, if the body of the poem was indeed an embedded narrative recounted by the bard of fr. 1.

¹⁰According to Eustratius (= Cratinus fr. 368), Cratinus mentioned the *Margites*, perhaps in the *Archilochi*; this is the only attested allusion in comedy, and there is no reason to suppose it was more than a passing mention. The *Margites* was in any case ascribed to Homer until the Hellenistic period, and was viewed (with what reason we cannot now judge) to belong to the epic rather than the iambic tradition.

¹¹On Archilochus, see most recently Irwin 1998; on the discrepancies of class, wealth, and status between Hipponax and his poetic persona see especially Degani 1984, 24–5; cf. Rosen 1988b, 1990.

¹²The insufficiency of any such claim is powerfully argued by Wiles 1997.

¹³One of these, *Kallipides*, is the subject of David Braund's chapter in this volume.

¹⁴Suda *?* *ῥάξανδρ?* *δης* (α 1982); Webster 1970, 77; Arnott 1972, 76; contra, Nesselrath 1990, 195 n. 29.

¹⁵This paper owes much to a better one on 'Archaic smiles: Hipponax and the comic tradition' given by Chris Carey in the Institute of Classical Studies 1997 seminar series on The Poetics of Comedy.

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LYRIC IN THE FRAGMENTS OF OLD COMEDY

Bernhard Zimmermann

In a short and instructive article published in the *Classical Quarterly* in 1935, Molly Whittaker examined the relation between the fragments of Old Comedy and the structure of the plays to which they belong (Whittaker 1935). Now, more than sixty years later, we have a much more reliable basis for research of this kind: the excellent texts in the volumes edited by Kassel and Austin. So when I was invited to contribute to this volume, I thought it might be worth reconsidering at least one structural section of Old Comedy that I dealt with some years ago in my book on the form and dramatic technique of Aristophanes (Zimmermann 1984–87). I chose lyric, and decided to look at the metrical construction of the lyric fragments of Aristophanes' rivals, and to compare it with the way in which Aristophanes himself composed comic lyrics. It was no more than an experiment, and, to tell the truth, I was rather disappointed with the results. As far as I can see, the surviving material simply does not allow us to draw any convincing conclusions about differences and similarities in compositional technique between Aristophanes and his rivals, and this is particularly true of the theme that I chose to concentrate on in this paper, the relationship between metre and content.

I would like to discuss two lyric fragments, Hermippos fr. 57 and Eupolis fr. 207, but what I have to say about them will have to be rather speculative. Still, I hope that my comments will illustrate the methodological problems that need to be tackled in dealing with comic fragments.

1. Hermippos fr. 57, from *Stratiōtai* (or *Stratiōtides*)

χαῖρ' ὦ διαπόντιον
στράτευμα, τί πράττομεν;
†τά μὲν πρὸς ὄψιν μαλακῶς
ἔχειν ἀπὸ σώματος†
κόμη τε νεανικῇ
σφρίγει τε βραχιόνων.
(B.) ἦσθου τὸν Ἄβυδον ὡς
ἀνὴρ γεγένηται;

A: Greetings, O contingent from overseas! How are we doing? †To

judge by the look of things, the body has gone soft† [text uncertain], with a splendidly youthful hair-style, and plumpness of arms.

B: Have you seen the fellow from Abydos, how he's become a (real) man?¹

These eight lines are quoted by Athenaeus from Hermippos' comedy *Stratiōtai* (*Soldiers*) or *Stratiōtides* (*Soldieresses*), which was performed during the Archidamian War. The lines are written in telesilleia, with a reizianum as clausula. It is a dialogue in lyric metre, in which the first speaker greets a στράτευμα διαπόντιον, a contingent that has arrived from overseas (the meaning is established by a similar phrase in Xenophon's *Hellenika*²) – the chorus, as Whittaker suggests. Kock maintained that the second speaker is the chorus leader. Whittaker (1935, 184) points out that 'the greeting given to the chorus indicates that they cannot have been present long, and the description of them put in the mouth of an actor is such as might be expected in the parodos'.

Was Whittaker right to assign this fragment to the parodos? If we look at the eleven surviving comedies of Aristophanes, we will find that the section of the play that Aristotle (*Poetics* ch. 12, 1452b17, 22–3) calls the *parodos* serves several functions. First of all, the chorus is introduced into the play: it makes its first appearance (*parodos* in its literal sense, coming in from the passage on the side) and its first utterance. We should bear in mind that these two events, the entry of the chorus and their first utterance, are not necessarily simultaneous: look at *Birds*, for example. This is also the moment when the chorus first encounters the actors. They may meet a friend with whom they are in sympathy, or they may enter the orchestra in a hostile spirit, without any support from any of the actors. In the *parodos* the chorus reacts to the action of the prologue, and states its opinion about the comic hero's plan, sometimes supporting it, sometimes violently opposing it. Thus in every case the action of the *parodos* is determined by the chorus, whose entry gives a fresh impetus to the development of the dramatic action as a whole. The *parodos* comes to an end precisely at the point where the chorus ceases to be a participant in the action, retreats into the background, and loses its initiative to the actors – generally after what we call a 'battle scene'. As soon as the chorus is prepared to listen to the arguments of one of the actors, it loses its influence on the action, and thereafter the interest of the audience is concentrated on the actors and their speeches.

We can thus classify *parodoi* according to the attitude of the chorus to the hero's plan. There are three basic types:

Type 1: The chorus enters the orchestra when the stage is empty (*scaena uacua*) in order to prevent one or more of the characters from performing an action of which it disapproves, as for example in

Akharnians (203–346) and *Lysistrata* (254–386). It has no friend or supporter among the actors, but it does have one or more opponents. The hostile attitude of the chorus is shown in the battle scene that follows its entrance. Since the chorus does not encounter its opponent immediately, it has time to speak about itself and its enemies.

Type 2: In the *parodoi* of *Knights* (242–77), *Peace* (296–345) and *Ploutos* (253–321) the chorus appears in order to support one of the characters. The characteristic feature of this second type is the actor's cry for help, which links the prologue and the *parodos*. The chorus is immediately involved in the action as soon as it enters. It starts a quarrel or a dialogue with one of the actors. In this case the chorus encounters the actors as it enters. This means that it has no opportunity to talk or sing about itself on arrival, since it has to act immediately.

Type 3: In *Wasps* (230–525), *Thesmophoriazousai* (279–371) and *Frogs* (316–459) the chorus assembles for some other purpose, because its members regularly do so, and it does not have any specific intentions concerning the actors, favourable or otherwise. In *Thesmophoriazousai* and *Frogs* they meet to celebrate a festival, in *Wasps* to perform their usual business. In this third type, the chorus knows less about what is going on than the audience, since the audience has already been told in the prologue, and they know about the situation that confronts the chorus. When the chorus enters the orchestra, then, it is not connected in any way with the hero's plan or with the dramatic action: it has no idea of what is going on, so it has to find out gradually.

These three basic types may be combined and modified in various ways. The *parodoi* of *Clouds* and *Birds* belong to Type 2, since the chorus is summoned by an actor – by Sokrates in *Clouds* and by Tereus in *Birds*. The *parodos* of *Ekklesiazousai* is a sub-species of the third type: the women assemble in accordance with arrangements made on a previous occasion.

Let us return now to our fragment of Hermippos. To which of the three types does it belong? Kaibel suggested that the chorus does not represent a group of soldiers, but is composed of effeminate who went abroad to evade military service during the first few years of the Peloponnesian war (K-A V 585). This would explain the feminine form of the title, *Stratiōtides* (*Soldieresses*), which is likely to be the correct one. Like Alkibiades, to whom lines 7 and 8 probably refer,³ they were unwilling to fight the enemy, and preferred to gratify their own personal desires and to live a life of luxury. Now, on their return, they are greeted as if they have won a glorious military victory in the war.⁴ We find a similar piece of comic social criticism in the prologue of the *Akharnians*, which was performed at about the same time. Some

ambassadors who have spent rather a long time in Persia appear before the Athenian Assembly to report on the painfully luxurious life that they had had to endure at the court of the Persian king at Ekbatana (65–90). Here too we have a similar division of Athenian society into two groups: the decent citizens and elderly soldiers who have performed their duty in the ranks, and the young upper-class types who have evaded their civic duties in every possible way; just as in *Akharnians* the Athenians are divided into the upper-oar folk, the bulwark of the city, who are doing their best to save Athens (ὁ θρανίτης λεῶς ὁ σωσίπολις), and the few fastidious rich men who do not care to suffer the physical discomfort involved in serving on board the triremes (*Akharn.* 162–3, 595–619, 162–3; Hermippos fr. 54).

If we accept this hypothetical reconstruction of the character of the chorus and the theme of Hermippos' comedy, we can reconstruct its *parodos* in a way that will accommodate our 8-line fragment from Athenaeus, as follows: Since the chorus has returned from abroad, the *parodos* must have been one of the third type. When they appear, the chorus have probably not been summoned by any of the actors, nor do they have any intention of fighting with anybody: they have simply returned to Athens because that is where they normally live. So the chorus must speak and sing about itself, like the chorus in *Wasps* and *Frogs*. The ionic metre would be very well suited to the entrance of this kind of chorus, since it is used to characterize both Orientals (as in the *Persai* and the *Bakchai*) and effeminate such as Agathon in *Thesmophoriazousai* (101–79) and Eupolis' *Marikas* fr. 207. The chorus then meets one of the actors, and there follows the lyric dialogue from which our fragment is taken.

The metre of these eight lines may give us some further clues for our hypothetical reconstruction. As I said, the short stanza is composed of seven acephalous glyconics (i.e. telesilleia), with one acephalous pherecrateian (i.e. a reizianum) as clausula. In Aristophanes we find several examples of this type of simple strophic construction, but it is always confined to two similar contexts. In the episodic scenes that follow the *parabasis* in *Knights*, *Frogs* and *Ekklesiazousai*, the combination of telesilleia and reiziana in a strophic composition is found only in the characteristic encomium (*makarismos*) of the comic hero, and it is also used in the wedding scenes that form the exodoi of *Peace* and *Birds*. But since the *hymenaios* is a kind of encomium *à deux* – praise of a couple instead of an individual – these two kinds of song may be regarded as belonging to the same type.⁵

The short stanzas of *Frogs* 448–59, and especially *Ekklesiazousai* 289–310, however, provide evidence that acephalous aeolic stanzas may form part of the *parodos*. In such cases the telesilleia serve as the

rhythmic medium for a lyric dialogue. So, as far as metre and content are concerned, we may attribute our fragment to the *parodos* of Hermippos' *Stratiōtides* – that is, of course, until a papyrus turns up and proves us wrong.

2. Eupolis *Dēmoi* fr. 99. 1-22

καὶ δὲ Πείσανδρ[ο]ν διε-
στράφθαι χθὲς ἀριστῶντά φα-
σ' ἔπειξενοιν τιν' οντ' αὐτουῖ
οὐκ ἔφασκε θρέψειν.
Παύσων δὲ προστάς Θεογένει
δειπνοῦντι πρὸς τὴν καρδίαν
τῶν ὀλκάδων τιν' αὐτοῦ
λέψας ἄπαξ διέστρεφεν·
λ]υτός δ' ἔκειθ' ὁ Θεογένης
τ]ὴν νύχθ' ὅλην πεπορδῶς.
δια]στρέφειν οὖν πρῶτα μὲν
χρῆ Καλλίαν □ τοὺς ἐν μακροῖν
τειχοῖν θ' ἄμ', ἅ □ [ρ]ιστητικώ-
τεροι γάρ εἰσιν ἡμῶν,
Νικηράτον τ' Ἀχαρνέα
...]ιν διδόντα χοίνικας
.....]εον ἐκάστωι
.....]ιη
τῶν χρημάτων □ [.....]
οὐ]δ' ἂν τριχὸς πριαίμην
]ν
].ος

And indeed they say that Peisander got screwed yesterday at breakfast when he refused to give any food ἔto one of his guestsἔ [text uncertain]. And while Theogenes was eating up one of his merchant-vessels to his heart's content for dinner, Pauson, who was standing nearby, screwed him, once he'd tossed him off. And Theogenes lay sprawled out farting all through the night.

First of all, then, Kallias ought to be screwed, and the people who live inside the Long Walls, because they're better breakfasted than we are, and Nikeratos of Akharnai [...] giving bushels [...] to each [...] of the goods [...] I would not buy for a hair.. .⁶

These 22 lines constitute the longest lyric fragment that has survived from the plays of Aristophanes' rivals, though only 15 of them are free of textual problems. They come from the *parabasis* of Eupolis' *Dēmoi*, which was performed after 413 (see Storey 1990 and Storey's chapter in this volume).

The discovery of the *Dēmoi* papyrus (Cairo papyrus 43227) in 1911/12 came as a great surprise to classical scholars. Our 22 lines belong to the antode of the *parabasis*, but the passage differs both in form and in content from the lyrics that appear in Aristophanic *parabaseis*, as Fraenkel (1962, 201) observed. It takes the form of a

chain of iambic dimeters, in which the chorus mention a number of individuals who have been roughly handled, or who ought to be. The verb διαστρέφειν might mean ‘to torture’, or it might be interpreted as a reference to homosexual assault – the question is discussed, with full bibliography, by Jeffrey Henderson (1975, 180–1, no. 364a).⁷ But are these lines really so anomalous? If we consider the whole structure of the *parabasis*, we can, after all, discover some similarities with Aristophanic *parabaseis*. There is comparable abuse of individuals in the odes of the *parabaseis* of *Peace* (775–818) and *Frogs* (674–85, 706–16). And since the surviving lines of Eupolis’ play form part of the antode, it is in fact possible that the ode also contained some invocation of a god, goddess, or Muse. In the two Aristophanic *parabaseis* that we have just mentioned, there is nothing at all hymn-like about the antode; and the same is true of the *parabasis* of *Wasps* (1060–70, 1091–1101).

Let us take a look at the metrical form of this antode. It is a simple iambic composition:

(I) 3 x 2 ia + ithyphallic (or 2 ia catalectic)⁸

(II) 2 x 2 ia + 2 ia catalectic

(III) 2 x 2 ia + 2 ia catalectics

(IV) 3 x 2 ia + 2 ia catalectic, and so forth.

– antistrophic, therefore. These iambs are ideally suited to the abusive content. We have a similar stanza with jokes about individuals in the *parodos* of *Frogs* (417–34). A.M. Dale, in her book on lyric metres, says of this passage: ‘This song represents the old rustic *iambismos* or *gephyrismos*, the “lampooning at the bridge”, which was probably the most primitive form of the popular metre’ (Dale 1948, 76). But Aristophanes generally uses a different technique when he composes an abusive parabolic ode: he starts with an elevated metre and with elevated language – in the second *parabasis* of *Knights*, for example, he quotes a line of Pindar in dactylo-epitrites (1264–6) – and then suddenly switches to jokes about individuals while maintaining the metrical form of high lyric. The result is that he both frustrates the expectations of his audience, and creates comic tension between form and content.

Analysis of the content of Eupolis’ ode, then, shows that it is a traditional abusive song – but it lacks the spirit, humour and malignancy that we find in comparable passages in Aristophanes. The chorus simply lists a series of well-known people – Peisander, Pauson, Theogenes, Kallias and Nikeratos, some of them already familiar to us from Aristophanes: they are upper-class types who have plenty to eat, and they are coupled with the people who live inside the Long Walls, οἱ ἐν μακροῖν τείχοις, who are able to enjoy a better life-style than ordinary Athenians. I would like to compare Eupolis’ ode with one

from Aristophanes' *Akharnians* (836–59) that has a similar simple structure, in order to illustrate the different nature of the art of the two dramatists in this popular type of composition. In *Akharnians*, just before this ode, the audience has seen the rough way in which Dikaiopolis has treated an informer, the *συκοφάντης* (824–8). The chorus, assuming the role of the audience as 'ideal spectators', reacts to this with a brief encomium of Dikaiopolis (836–59), praising him for what they have seen him do; but then they slip into a series of jokes against individuals, indulging in *Schadenfreude* as they imagine how other well-known characters will suffer at the hands of the comic hero. If the chorus and the audience had their way, there are four types of Athenian who would be punished by Dikaiopolis – and, in their view, quite rightly: informers, politicians, the rich, and parasites. I need hardly go into detail in order to emphasize the differences between this passage and Eupolis' ode, but I would like to point out just one feature: whereas Eupolis simply repeats the notion of screwing (*diastrephein*) in a rather monotonous way, Aristophanes creates a whole gallery of comic and malicious pictures, not unlike those in lines 1150–73.

To conclude, then: I have, I hope, illustrated some of the methodological problems with which we have to grapple when we try to deal with comic fragments – especially if we choose to examine a rather specific subject such as the lyrical passages. Unfortunately, the lines of lyric that survive do not allow us to come to any clear conclusions about the poetic art of Aristophanes' contemporaries. So every time we have to go back to comparable songs by Aristophanes himself. And if we do that, we run the risk of being unjust to the fragmentary poets, as in the case of Eupolis, because Aristophanes' lyrics seem to be better in every respect. Perhaps he really was the best.

Acknowledgement

I am most grateful to David Harvey for recasting my English in a more idiomatic style. He, in his turn, is grateful to his wife Hazel for her help and advice.

Notes

¹[The translation aims at literal accuracy, not elegance. – Ed.]

²6.2.16: διαποντίου τῆς στρατείας οὔσης of a Spartan expedition to Kerkyra.

³Alkibiades at Abydos: two anecdotes: (1) Antiphon fr. 67 Blass = fr. 4 Gernet (Bude) = Athen. 12.525b; (2) Lysias fr. 8 Sauppe = frs. 30, 31 Gernet-Bizos (Budé) = Athen. 13.574e, with 534f–35a.

⁴There are, however, problems about Kaibel's reconstruction: see the response by David Harvey at the end of this chapter.

⁵Cf. *Knights* 1111–50, *Peace* 856–67 = 909–21, 1034–38b, 1329 ff., *Birds* 1731–42, *Frogs* 450–3 = 456–9, *Ekkles.* 289–310.

⁶See n. 1.

⁷The word 'screw' in the translation is an attempt to reflect this ambiguity.

⁸Depending on the restoration of the text.

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Response: The context of Hermippus fr. 57

David Harvey

There are many ways in which an editor may be discourteous to his colleagues. To invite a scholar to contribute to a volume of essays, and then to disagree with him in print, is surely one of the worst. Bernhard Zimmermann bases his discussion of Hermippos' *Stratiōtai* or *Stratiōtides* above on Kaibel's reconstruction of the plot, but in my view that reconstruction is untenable. He has generously suggested that I might express my dissent in this additional note, thus giving permission in the kindest and most friendly way for my apparent discourtesy. He points out that my doubts reinforce his own argument that anything we say about these fragments must be speculative, and, as he says, 'the material does not allow us to draw any convincing conclusions'.

Kaibel writes (K-A V 585): *Chorus non tam milites fuisse videntur quam effeminati quidam iuvenes qui non bellandi causa verum libidinibus ut satisfacerent peregre profecti iam domum reversi tanquam victores salutabantur*: 'the chorus appear to have been not so much soldiers as a bunch of effeminate young men who have gone abroad not to fight

but so that they might indulge their libidinous appetites: now they had returned home, and were being greeted like victors'. Zimmermann (p. 275) presents their behaviour as even more reprehensible: he assumes that they went abroad in order to evade military service: not just 'not to fight' (*non bellandi causa*), but worse still, to avoid fighting: *non-bellandi causa*, so to speak.

Hermippos' play is dated by Geissler (1925, 25–6) to the early years of the Archidamian War, or, to be more precise, to 430 or 429.¹ The problem with Kaibel's reconstruction is that leaving Attica in time of war would have been a serious criminal offence. On their return these men would have been prosecuted by a *graphē astrateias*, and, if found guilty, deprived of citizen rights. The details can be found in the standard hand-books,² and the essential facts are stated succinctly by MacDowell (1978, 160): 'The law about cowardice seems to have mentioned three offences: not performing military service (*astrateia*), leaving one's post (*lipotaxion*), and throwing away one's shield (sc. to run away). But the... distinctions between these were not drawn precisely... The penalty was disfranchisement.'

During the Archidamian War, juries are unlikely to have been lenient in any of these cases. Just how seriously the Athenians regarded such offences may be judged from the fact that leaving Attica when an invasion was imminent could be seen as an act of treason (*prodosia*), for which the penalty was either death or exile. The most celebrated case was the prosecution of Leokrates by Lykourgos in 338, after Chaironea, 'for treason, though it was obviously stretching the meaning of the word to extend it to leaving a city at a time of stress', as Harrison put it.³ Men of fighting age who had left Athens during wartime simply to 'indulge their libidinous desires', or worse, to deliberately avoid military service, would not be likely to return cheerfully to Athens – but that is what Kaibel's reconstruction requires. Were they blissfully unaware of the legal consequences of their action? Should we suppose that the legal regulations of real life were forgotten in the fantasy world of comedy? Had they somehow come back to Attica by mistake? – had they, for example, been blown off course in a storm?

These are no more than desperate expedients to save Kaibel's reconstruction. There is no need to tie ourselves in such knots: there is a much more straightforward explanation, which has been suggested before (Wilson 1977, 280), but not, I think, fully argued for. Most of the allied cities in Athens' empire were in the eastern Aegean: indeed, Ionians formed the core of the original Delian League (Thuc. 1.95.1; Meiggs 1972, 50), and eventually there were no fewer than thirty-five states in the Ionian panel of the Empire (Meiggs 1972, 540–2). The Ionians, like easterners in general, were regarded as 'soft':

weak, flabby and degenerate.⁴ Now Athens required the allied states to provide hoplites to fight in her campaigns, first against Persia but later, from 457 BC onwards, against other Greek states.⁵ Historians have tended to concentrate on the fact that Athens' allies were obliged to contribute ships or money to the League, and have paid less attention to their duty to provide land troops; but the latter must have played an important part in the life – and death – of men in the Aegean throughout much of the fifth century, and was surely resented by many. The fact is most clearly stated in Thucydides' list of Athenian allies at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (2.9.5): Chios, Lesbos and Kerkyra provided a fleet, he says, while the others provided land troops and money. The duty was no doubt spelt out, or at least implied, in the terms of the original oath of 478 BC (Ar. *Ath. Pol.* 23.5).

The chorus in Hermippos' play may thus have consisted of soldiers from the allied states, portrayed as weak and effeminate.⁶ As we have seen, most of the allies came from across the Aegean, so that it would be natural to address them as a διαπόντιον στράτευμα. Furthermore, this interpretation, unlike Kaibel's, would be entirely consistent with the way in which Athenaeus introduces the fragment, as John Wilkins has pointed out to me: καὶ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ...ἀνεκτιμένοι τὴν δίαιτάν εἰσιν καὶ κατεαγότες, ὥς παρίστησιν Ἑρμιππος ἐν Στρατιώταις, 'the men of Abydos.. .have a thoroughly relaxed life-style and are physical wrecks, as Hermippos presents them in *The Soldiers*' (12.524f).

The singling out of 'the man from Abydos' in line 7 raises the possibility that the chorus may have been individualised, each member representing a man from a specific city.⁷ Aristophanes' *Birds* provides the best-known example of such a chorus, and the chorus of Eupolis' *Poleis* was certainly individualised too (frs. 245–7: see K-A V 424); probably the philosophers in Ameipsias' *Konnos* (Carey, pp. 420–3 below), possibly the Athenian demes in Eupolis' *Dēmoi* (Storey, p. 179 above). Other plays which may have had such choruses are listed and discussed by Wilson 1977, though he doubts whether Hermippos' *Stratiōtai* was one of them (279–80).

It is, nevertheless, an attractive possibility, and certainly preferable to taking 'the man from Abydos' as Alkibiades, as Bergk and Kaibel did.⁸ Kaibel's identification is difficult to reconcile with Athenaios' introductory phrase, quoted above: if Kaibel were right, we would have to suppose that Athenaios completely misunderstood the text. It is also incompatible with his own reconstruction of the plot: far from running away from the war, Alcibiades was notoriously eager for it: that is how he is portrayed on his first appearance in Thucydides (5.43.2), and in the debate preceding the Sicilian expedition (6.16–18: note Thucydides' editorial remarks at 15.2, ἐνῆγγε δὲ προθυμότατα

τῇν στρατείαν, and at 19.1, describing the reaction of the assembly).⁹

Notes

¹Schwarze 1971, 107–8 n. 15 prefers the later date of 426, on the grounds that the διαπόντιον στράτευμα of lines 1–2 must be an army returning to Athens from Ionia, and that the occasion must be the Athenian expedition against Mytilene of 427. This seems quite misguided: the διαπόντιον στράτευμα need not be an Athenian army returning from Ionia, and even if it were, the expedition could easily be fictitious.

²Lipsius 1905, 452–4; Harrison 1971, 32, cf. 242–3; MacDowell 1978, 160; Todd 1973, 106, 193. Sources: Osborne 1985, 56; cf. MacDowell 1978, 270 n. 360.

³Harrison 1971, 54; cf. MacDowell 1978, 178–9, 185, and Durrbach 1932, 25–8 on the Leogoras case.

⁴The classic collection of texts on the alleged softness, slackness, dissoluteness, degeneracy and luxury of the Ionians is Athen. 12. 524f–26d, the source of our fragment of Hermippos: ἀνιῆμι is the characteristic verb. For Herodotus on soft Ionians see 1.143.2–3 with Asheri 1988, 348–9; 4.142 with Corcella 1993, 331; 5.105; 6.11–14 with Nenci 1998, 177; Tozzi 1978, 30–1, 41–52 (with earlier bibliography at 49 n. 77); for Thucydides see 1.124.1, 5.9.1, 7.5.4 and 8.25.3–5. Discussions: Alty 1982, esp. 7–11; Corsaro 1991; Asheri 1997, esp. 14–16. The Ionians were perhaps thought to be infected with the weakness, cowardice and effeminacy attributed to Easterners in general:

Hall 1989, 79–81, 123–4, 208.

⁵See e.g. *ATL* 60–1 n. 61 and Gomme I 272. Instances during the Pentekontaetia are collected in Hill 1951, 354–5 (Index III 3.4) In view of the comparative neglect of this subject, it is worth listing relevant passages in Thucydides:

1.99 (Pentekontaetia) with Gomme I 283–5, Hornblower I 153

1.107.5–108.1 (Tanagra, 457 BC: the Ionians were specifically mentioned on the thank-offering for the victory, if ML 36 line 3 is correctly restored) with Gomme I 315,

Meiggs 1972, 92–3, Hornblower I 171–2

1.113.1 (Koroneia, 446) with Gomme I 338

2.9.5 (list of allies, 431), quoted in text above

4.42.1 (expedition against Corinthian territory, 425: the allies include Milesians) with Gomme III 489

4.53.1 (against Kythera, 424: again including Milesians) with Hornblower II 215

4.54.1 (against Kythera, as above) with Gomme III 509, Hornblower II 216–17

4.84.1 (against Melos, 416) with Andrewes in Gomme IV 155–7, 168

6.31.2 (Sicilian expedition, 415: ‘many’ allies) with Dover in Gomme IV 292

6.43 (Sicily, 415) with Dover in Gomme IV 308–10

7.20.2 (Peloponnese, 413) with Dover in Gomme IV 396

7.42.3 (Sicily, 413) with Dover in Gomme IV 419

7.57.4–6 (Sicily, 413: the ‘subject allies’ in the catalogue of Athens’ allies, with specific mention of Ionians at 57.4: καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον Ἴωνες ὄντες) with Dover in Gomme IV 432–9

8.25.1 (against Miletos, 412) with Andrewes in Gomme V 58–9

⁶So Wilson 1977, 280. Dobree 1833, 339 = 1883, 119–20 and Meineke 1839, 96 thought of them as Ionian *mercenaries*, but this is unnecessary. – It might be objected that such a presentation would have been offensive, at a time when Athens could not afford to insult her allies: but Old Comedy loved giving offence, and if the play was produced at the Lenaia, no-one from the allied states would have been present (Ar. *Acharn.* 504–6).

⁷See Wilson 1977; Dunbar 1995, 15–16, 227–8; Harvey in this volume pp. 107–8.
⁸See K-A ad loc. The identification is rightly rejected by Schwarze 1971, 107–8 n. 15, but in his view (rejected in n. 1 above) the chorus represented a returning Athenian army, here being questioned about Abydos.

⁹One further point: K-A follow Dalecampius in indicating a change of speaker at line 7. But perhaps there is no need for the change: if lines 7–8 are taken sarcastically, they run on quite nicely from the preceding lines. If so, we will not have lyric dialogue *within* the fragment. This does not affect Zimmerman’s argument, however: the repeated questions make it virtually certain that the passage as a whole was in dialogue form.

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THE LANGUAGE OF NON-ATHENIANS IN OLD COMEDY

Stephen Colvin

I

In Nicolas Roeg's film *The Witches*,¹ a comedy-thriller aimed at children but equally enjoyable for grown-ups, Anjelica Huston plays the evil and glamorous chief witch, whose wicked plan is to turn all children into mice (the film is an adaptation of Roald Dahl's book of the same name). The action is set in England and Norway; the child protagonist is an American with a Norwegian grandmother. What is striking is that, in this slightly mixed ethnic setting, Angelica Huston plays her role with a heavy and gratuitous German accent, addressing her cat ('familiar') as *mein Liebchen*, and so on. The conclusion to be drawn, though unpalatable, is unavoidable: the makers of the film (following Dahl's original text, which is characterized by 'phonetic' spellings such as *Inkland*) felt that at the end of the twentieth century it was still part of the dramatic convention of English-language cinema that a 'baddie' could be marked with a German accent – even when there is no dramatic reason for a German character to be introduced. The use of marked language (i.e. forms which are felt to be linguistically deviant) to associate literary characters with particular moral or intellectual qualities has a long pedigree in English literature: one need only think of Dr Caius ('A French Physician') or Sir Hugh Evans ('A Welsh Parson') in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives*. Since a certain tribalism seems to be built into the human way of looking at the world, even if it may have outgrown its evolutionary usefulness, and since linguistic variation is one of the easiest ways in which one social group may mark itself off from another (or be defined by another), the association of language and ethics in literary activity is common in cultures across the world. Nevertheless, the claim of this phenomenon to be a 'linguistic universal' is weakened by the wide variations which are found in the practice. First, it is clear that the extent to which language plays a role in ethnic identity, and the association of moral or other characteristics with linguistic characteristics, are sociopolitical issues, and will reflect the prevailing ideologies of the community. Secondly, literary form and convention vary from culture

to culture, and this will influence the presentation of linguistic variety and deviation.

When we examine the presentation of linguistic variety in Old Comedy we are naturally inclined to find a range of meanings similar to that which we might expect to find in our own comic literature (who are 'we' anyway? Modern western literatures are by no means uniform on this point). In defence of this approach one might advance (i) the frequent (supposedly universal) association of out-group language with negative characteristics, and (ii) the link (whether conceived as genetic or ideological) between ancient Greek and modern western culture. We need not spend too long on (i) in view of the caveats raised above, and especially when we consider that even within the history of English literature the implications of dialect and non-standard language have changed from period to period: it is not clear, for example, that the northern dialect of the students in Chaucer's *Reeve's Tale* is a target of ridicule or censure; and in D.H. Lawrence dialect may be a sign of spiritual integrity. The link in (ii) is more interesting: it is undeniable that aspects of political thought and literary convention have been 'inherited' from classical antiquity by the modern world, including perhaps the notion of *barbarismos* with which the Greek and later the Roman world sought to define itself in the face of alien cultures. A nice example of the projection of later attitudes to dialect and language on to the ancient world is furnished by the luscious opening scene of Flaubert's *Salammbô*, the banquet of the army of Hamilcar:

On entendait, à côté du lourd patois dorien, retentir les syllabes celtiques bruissantes comme des chars de bataille, et les terminaisons ioniennes se heurtaient aux consonnes du désert, après comme des cris de chacal.

Side by side with the heavy Dorian patois, Celtic syllables could be heard ringing out, clattering like battle-chariots, and Ionian terminations came up against the consonants of the desert, harsh as the cry of the jackal.²

When we consider, however, that the ethnic and linguistic jokes of Old Comedy hardly survived into the Middle period of that genre, partly owing to changed social and political circumstances, and partly no doubt because of developments in literary taste, it becomes clear that modern intuitions about the comic potential of foreigners and barbarians should be tested very thoroughly against the available evidence. This is particularly important in the case of Greek dialect, firstly because attitudes towards the dialects seem to have changed radically in the Hellenistic period (owing to the spread of the *koine*),

and secondly because, owing to the peculiar political and cultural structures which underpinned them, the dialects had no real equivalents in the Roman or medieval worlds.

II

The role of marked language in the fragments of Old Comedy is often difficult to evaluate owing to the loss in most cases of the dramatic context. There are two problems in particular: (i) without the immediate context it is difficult to see whether a form which looks like Doric or Ionic indicates the presence on stage of a foreigner, or is (for example) paratragic; (ii) even when a foreigner can be identified with certainty, without the larger dramatic context it is difficult to see what sort of role the character is playing, and hence what effect the linguistic marking is supposed to have. There is a further, practical worry: non-standard language such as dialect is vulnerable to scribal corruption, and this is particularly serious in the case of fragments, which are typically short quotations taken out of context (cf. Arnott in this volume, pp. 2–3, and Page 1951, 103). Serious cruces are noted without comment in the following discussion.

Given the parallels which Aristophanic and Menandrian drama provide, a list of potential dramatic situations for the exploitation of non-standard Attic might include the following:

- (a) Barbarians on stage, speaking either unmarked or barbarized Greek;
- (b) Slandered politicians on stage, speaking unmarked or barbarized Greek;
- (c) Non-Attic Greeks on stage, speaking in dialect, or unmarked Attic, or conceivably barbarized Greek;
- (d) Slaves and rustics, speaking unmarked Greek, or dialect, or barbarized Greek, or substandard Greek;
- (e) 'Stock' figures such as the Doric-speaking doctor on stage.

If we can match the fragments against the above list it may be possible in some cases to use the Aristophanic parallels to flesh out the dramatic possibilities. Although the titles of plays which have not survived give a good idea of the fascination exerted by the foreign on Old Comedy, they do not necessarily give much indication of the potential for characters speaking non-standard Greek in the plays: titles such as *Helots*, *Lydians*, *Thracian Women*, *Laconians* etc. (Eupolis, Plato, Nicochares, Eubulus) are obvious candidates for foreign characters, but we need only consider the Aristophanic titles which actually contain extended passages in non-standard Greek (*Acharnians*, *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae*) to realize how deceptive the exercise is likely to be.

(a) *Barbarians*

In the Aristophanic corpus two types of Barbarian speech have survived: occasional representation of Barbarian language (i.e. gibberish, as at *Acharnians* 100),³ and (more commonly) barbarized but intelligible Attic. No clear examples of barbarians speaking barbarized Greek have survived in the fragments of the Rivals. This is not surprising in view of the nature and purpose of the quotations in which most comic fragments have survived: later writers interested in Attic terminology were unlikely to be interested in quoting barbarized Greek, whether they were literary in inclination (Athenaeus) or grammatical (Apollonius Dyscolus). That the humorous treatment of foreigners and their language was as popular with the other comic playwrights as it was with Aristophanes is indicated only obliquely in the fragments, by the preservation of occasional glosses such as the Phrygian βέδν 'air' in Philyllius fr. 19.1, ἔλκειν τὸ βέδν σωτήριον προσεύχομαι ('I pray that I may breathe deep the healing air'): this does not appear to be part of a rendering of barbarized Greek, but seems to involve use of a Phrygian gloss to give a mystic (perhaps Orphic)⁴ flavour to the speech of an Attic-speaking character, who is no doubt being mocked for this display of *alazoneia* (pretentiousness).

If plays with titles like *Lydians* and *Thracian Women* contained foreign characters, it is worth reflecting that the roles played by characters speaking barbarized Greek are unlikely to have been substantial (the longest extant example is the Scythian archer at the end of *Thesmophoriazousae*), since short scenes extracting humour from barbaric Greek will have been more in keeping with the spirit of Old Comedy (compare Dover's principle (1976/87, 238) of one joke at a time) than extended representation. If such plays were named after their choruses, the foreign characterization is likely to have consisted of hoots, ululations and unusual glosses rather than faulty phonology or morphology, perhaps like a comic version of the chorus in Aeschylus' *Persians*.⁵

A fragment (83) from the *Metics* of Plato Comicus may contain a solecism which Plato put into the mouth of a foreign character (a resident alien?), but the absence of context makes this no more than a guess. Apollonius Dyscolus warns that one cannot use the nominative of ἐμαυτοῦ (i.e. ἐμαυτός instead of ἐγὼ αὐτός), adding that it is found in the *Metics* ἴσως ἔνεκα τοῦ γελοίου, 'perhaps for the sake of a joke'.

(b) *Comic Slander*

The practice of ascribing barbarian and/or servile origins to one's poetic victims is already evident in archaic song (e.g. Anacreon 388), and all the surviving references to barbaric speech in the comic

fragments come from this type of context rather than one involving ‘real’ barbarians (the distinction is slightly tricky in view of the Persian in the opening scene of *Acharnians*, who has a rather fluid identity). In Old Comedy the poetic victim is most often a leading politician (cf. MacDowell 1993 and Sommerstein in this volume), and the two most popular candidates for lampoon in the fragments are Cleophon and Hyperbolus: it is worth noting that most of our information on the activity of Aristophanic rivals in this regard comes from scholia on passages in the Aristophanic corpus where these two politicians are under attack. At *Frogs* 679–83 the chorus sings of Cleophon

ἐφ’ οὗ δὴ χεῖλεσιν ἀμφιλάλοις
δεινὸν ἐπιβρέμεται

Θρηκία χελιδών,
ἐπὶ βάρβαρον ἐζομένη πέταλον

...upon whose double-speaking lips the Thracian swallow shrieks horribly, perched on barbarian leafage (cf. Sommerstein 1996, 214).

A scholiast ad loc. tells us that Plato Comicus in his *Cleophon* portrayed the politician’s mother speaking broken Greek to him (fr. 61: βαρβαρίζουσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν) and notes that she was called ‘Thrassa’. A scholiast on *Clouds* 552 says that Hermippus in *Artopōlides* did much the same with the mother of Hyperbolus, a politician who starred under the pseudonym Maricas in Eupolis’ play of the same name (Lenaea, 421: see Sommerstein in this volume, pp. 440–2). Fragments from this play (e.g. 193) indicate that Hyperbolus himself did not in fact speak barbarized Greek: the playwrights seem to have portrayed him as a cultural rather than a linguistic barbarian, typical perhaps of the new class of politician. Quintilian (1.10.18), after identifying Maricas explicitly with Hyperbolus, says *nihil se ex musicis scire nisi litteras confitetur* (‘he admits that he knows nothing of the liberal arts except for the alphabet’),⁶ which suggests that the character was a coarse upstart similar to Cleon in *Knights*. It is interesting here to compare a fragment (183) from Plato’s play *Hyperbolus*, quoted by the grammarian Herodian, who was interested in the phonology:

Πλάτων μέντοι ἐν Ὑπερβόλῳ διέπειξε τὴν ἄνευ τοῦ γ χρήσιν ὡς βάρβαρον, λέγων οὕτως·

ὁ δ’ οὐ γὰρ ἡττίκιζεν, ὦ Μοῖραι φίλαι,
ἀλλ’ ὁπότε μὲν χρεῖη “διητώμην” λέγειν,
ἔφασκε “δητώμην”, ὁπότε δ’ εἰπεῖν δέοι
“ὀλίγον”, <“ὀλίον”> ἔλεγεν...

Plato however in his *Hyperbolus* mocked the dropping of *g* as barbarous, as follows: “He didn’t speak Attic, ye Fates (Μοῦσαι (Muses) ci. Meineke), but whenever he had to say *diētōmēn* he said *djētōmēn*, and when he had to say *oligos* he came out with *olios* ...”.

While the adjective ‘barbarous’ appears in the mouth of the grammarian, not the playwright, it certainly looks as though a notion of *attikismos* is already at work here in the lampoon of the politician. The barbarous or (to avoid begging a question) marked Greek looks like a substandard social variety (‘sociolect’) rather than an attempt to represent the idiosyncratic Greek of a foreigner (for which compare the Scythian in *Thesmophoriazusae*). Now it should be clear that a dialect or sociolect is not judged with value terms such as pleasant, harsh, vulgar, etc. on purely objective or ‘aesthetic’ grounds; our judgment on such matters is coloured by political, social and ideological factors. For the ancient Athenians, for example, a Laconian accent will have triggered a range of associations based on Athenian perceptions of Laconian society and history (anyone familiar with a range of Greek literature will realize that by no means all of the associations will have been negative, and that Flaubert’s *lourd patois* – based perhaps on *belle époque* scorn for Spartan cultural achievement in the face of a romanticized view of Athens – is likely to have been closer to Athenian attitudes towards Boeotian). We can have a happy time speculating why it was a bad thing for a politician to speak the substandard Attic that Plato accuses Hyperbolus of coming out with. For example, one of the very few references to a social variety of Attic occurs in a fragment of an unknown play of Aristophanes (K-A 706 = 685 Kock) quoted by Sextus Empiricus: ‘the grammarians say that... the ancient Athenian idiom is different again from the modern one, and the idiom of those who live in rural areas is different from that of city dwellers. Concerning which Aristophanes the comic poet says: “[his] language is the normal dialect of the city – not the fancy high-society accent, nor uneducated, rustic talk” ’:

...καὶ οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ μὲν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγροικίαν, ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει
διατριβόντων. παρὸ καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς λέγει Ἀριστοφάνης:

[ΧΟΡΟΣ?] διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσσην πόλεως
οὔτ’ ἀστεϊάν ὑποθηλυτέραν
οὔτ’ ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγροικότεραν.

Since, then, we appear to have evidence for a popular awareness of rustic language we might suppose that Hyperbolus’ speech is mocked by Plato for features which recalled the language of the Attic countryside. This seems an unlikely assumption. The evidence from Old Comedy points to a vision of the Attic countryside which was, on

the whole, regarded as a repository of positive ideological values: although the Acharnians can be stiff-necked and quick-tempered, it is their gullibility that inclines them to support the foreign policy of a sleazy populist in the ekklesia rather than a shared sleaziness with its roots in the countryside (after all, the urban masses are inclined to make the same mistake, but this lends itself more easily to the plot of *Knights* or *Wasps*). The features of Hyperbolus' speech picked out for comment are ones which could count as 'sloppy' speech, since they appear to be the result of an attempt to minimize the effort of articulation: the pronunciation of διητώμην and ὀλίγον which Plato attacks may have been approximately 'd(ɨ)ētōmēn'⁷ and 'oli(γ/y)on'. It seems more likely that Hyperbolus' substandard is a 'low urban' rather than a rural variety of Attic: perhaps the nascent 'international' Attic of the city which was also attacked by the Old Oligarch (ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2. 7–8, perhaps written c. 425 BC⁸) and which culminated in the *koinē*. If this is true, it is worth remarking that a type of Greek which is likely to have been heard quite commonly on the streets of Athens and Piraeus⁹ is characterized by the playwrights (at least implicitly, and perhaps explicitly) as barbarous – a character with a Thracian mother reveals his low background by his low morals, his deficient *paideia*, and his substandard Greek.¹⁰

The category of slandered politicians, then, involves a double sense of 'barbarous': the first and most obvious is the common accusation (by no means restricted to comedy) that non-citizen blood in a particular public figure disqualified him for political office or public influence. The second sense introduces the notion that a particular figure comes from a low social background and is therefore not fit to be a member of the ruling class due to lack of an appropriate education and (if this can be distinguished) the inherent criminality of his milieu. For this idea compare Demosthenes' taunts at Aeschines in the *De Corona* (Demosthenes had a liberal education, while Aeschines worked as a second-rate actor, etc.). Demosthenes himself, coming from a 'good' family, was not open to this line of abuse, but was the target of accusations that he had barbarian family connections for various contorted reasons.¹¹

It is worth remarking, finally, that there are no fragments in which a slandered politician is associated with a non-Attic dialect of Greek: they are either no-good Athenians or barbarians.

(c) *Non-Athenian Greeks*

The depiction of non-Athenian Greeks in the comic fragments is particularly difficult to analyse, since as a result of the absence of dramatic context we generally have no idea of who is speaking the fragmentary lines that have been preserved. It is the presence of

dialect which alerts us to the presence of a foreign speaker, and this leads to a danger of circularity. Neither is it possible to tell from fragments whether any of the comic playwrights introduced non-Athenians speaking perfect Attic, nor whether they ever presented such characters speaking Greek marked not with dialect forms but with barbarisms (such as ἐμαυτός in (a) above). Thus, for example, a fragment of Eupolis (341, unknown play) preserves the line μὴ τρηχὺς ἴσθι ('Don't be difficult') where the Ionic form τρηχὺς might lead us to think that an Ionic character has been introduced. On the other hand, the form is found at *Peace* 1086 in pseudo-Epic diction as part of a parody of oracles. The most significant snatches of dialect are lines or short passages in Doric and Boeotian. Although 'choral' Doric does turn up in Old Comedy (in the parodos of *Clouds*, for example), if one has more than a single word it is generally much easier than in the case of Ionic to be sure that one is dealing with represented dialect rather than a literary/parodic form.

Doric dialect can be divided into two categories: Laconian and the rest. As a superpower dialect it is clear why Laconian should have a high profile in comedy: of the other Doric dialects too little remains for us to be able to tell how sharply they were distinguished from each other and from Laconian. The longest fragment, fr. 4, comes from Epilycus' *Coraliscus*:

ποττὰν κόπιδ', οἰῶ, σῶμαι.
 ἐν Ἀμύκλαισιντ' παρ' Ἀπέλλῳ
 βάρακες πολλοὶ κάρτοι
 καὶ δωμός τοι μάλα ἀδύς...

I reckon I'll go to the Kopis [festival]. In Apollo's place at Amyclae there are plenty of barley-cakes, and wheaten loaves, and a broth that's really good...

In this short passage we are able to see that it is not lexical items alone that characterize the dialect. The phonology is in line with Laconian, and also the syntax (in παρ' Ἀπέλλῳ, where an accusative replaces a dative). It is striking that the rendering of dialect features in these lines (as in other, shorter fragments) appears to be at the same level of accuracy as Aristophanes' fairly convincing rendering of Laconian in *Lysistrata*.¹² There are other fragments of Doric where it is impossible to guess which dialect is being represented (e.g. one line of Philyllius' *Cities*, fr. 10); while a line from Apollophanes' *Cretans* (fr. 7) may have been spoken by one of the eponymous islanders.

Athenaeus quotes a three-line fragment (fr. 11) from Eubulus' *Antiope* (c. 380?) which is clearly uttered by a Boeotian. Enough survives for us to be able to tell that the Boeotian dialect is rendered rather less precisely than the Laconian of the fragments, which reflects

the situation in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* quite closely (Aristophanes' Boeotian is not rendered as accurately as his Laconian or his Megarian). This may be because Boeotian had a greater proportion of peculiar features than other dialects to an Attic-speaker,¹³ which would have been inconvenient and unnecessary to represent on the stage: the playwrights merely had to pick out a convincing number of salient features to identify the dialect to the audience. A well-known passage from Strattis' *Phoenician Women* (fr. 49) seems to attack the Thebans for the peculiarities of their dialect:

ξυνίετε· οὐδέν, πᾶσα Θηβαίων πόλις,
οὐδὲν ποτ' ἄλλ'. οἱ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν σηπίαν
ὀπιτθοτίλαν, ὥς λέγουσ', ὀνομάζετε...

You understand nothing, all you people of Thebes,
nothing whatsoever! First of all, they say that you call a
cuttlefish *opitthotila*...

The passage continues in this vein for eight lines, highlighting the phonological, morphological and (as here) lexical differences between Attic and Boeotian.

The evidence from the fragments suggests that Aristophanes' use of dialect on the stage was not unusual. The playwrights seem to have known enough about the other Greek dialects to represent them convincingly, from which we can draw some conclusions: (i) we are not dealing with an artificial literary dialect (such as the comic west-country 'rustic' dialect found in some English literature) which the playwrights merely inherited from a literary tradition; (ii) there is no evidence for confusion between literary Doric and real Laconian; and (iii) so far as we can tell, the humour extractable from putting foreign Greeks on the stage was not based on dialect pastiche (i.e. inaccurate or barbarizing representation of dialect, or substandard Attic).

(d) *Slaves, rustics, mechanics*

Although many slaves in Athens were foreign (either Greek or barbarian), and slaves' names such as *Thratia* ('Thracian girl') turn up in comedy, it does not seem to have been part of the convention of the comic stage to characterize slaves' language as foreign.¹⁴ This is perhaps best explained in terms of their dramatic role: their foreignness is not important for the comic drama, and is not emphasized linguistically. An obvious exception is the Scythian archer in *Thesmophoriazusae*, who speaks barbarized Greek: the reason for this is perhaps connected with the unusual behaviour permitted to this body of public slaves (such as certain powers of corporal restraint over citizens). It seems also to emphasize his stupidity and to help in the reconciliation of the two estranged citizen groups (Euripides' team and the women). It is tempting to see a reference to the linguistic

difficulty caused by a household slave of foreign origin in fr. 74 of Pherecrates' *Corianno*, quoted by Athenaeus to illustrate the name of a fig:

A: ἀλλ' ἰσχάδας μοι πρόελε τῶν πεφωγμένων.
[καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα δέ·]
οὐκ ἰσχάδας οἴσεις; τῶν μελαινῶν; μανθάνεις;
[?B:] ἐν τοῖς Μαριανδυνοῖς ἐκεῖνοις βαρβάροις
χύτρας καλοῦσι τὰς μελαίνας ἰσχάδας.¹⁵

15

Fetch me some of the toasted figs! [and a little further on] Won't you fetch the figs? The black ones! Do you understand? Among those barbarian Mariandyni they call blackened figs 'pipkins'.

The last two lines (perhaps spoken by a second party) look like an explanation of the slave's inaction in terms of a failure to understand the Greek, but since the slave's own words are not preserved (if there were any) it is difficult to comment on the linguistic characterization: as the passage stands it looks like a comic version of the scene between Clytemnestra and Cassandra in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. The abuse of stupid and incompetent slaves is in any case a perfectly normal ingredient of Old Comedy.

The absence of any convincing parallel in Old Comedy to the rustic English of Shakespeare's 'Pyramus and Thisbe' scene in *Midsummer Night's Dream* was touched on under (b) above: apart from the special case of sleazy politicians, it was not in the interest of the playwrights to focus attention on the low linguistic habits of a particular part of the citizen population (the foppish Ionicisms of the *jeunesse dorée*, τὰ μεράκια...τῶν τῷ μύρῳ ('the young men who hang out in the perfume shops', *Knights* 1375–81) were a safe target). It would be interesting to know if metics could be characterized with a low variety of 'Piraeus Greek' similar to the politicians, but the evidence is lacking.

(e) 'Stock' figures such as the Doric-speaking doctor on stage

Stock figures such as the foreign doctor are particularly associated with the later development of comedy in the fourth century, the best-known surviving example being in Menander's *Aspis* 439–64. However, the gap between the foreign doctors that we hear were typical of early Doric farce (Athenaeus 14. 621d) and the later stock figures of Middle and New Comedy is filled by an instance from Crates, who, according to Aristotle (*Poetics* 1449b5–9) was the first of the Attic comedians to move towards 'plots of a general and non-personal nature' (since doctors were notorious for fraud and incompetence, it may be that the dialect markers pointed not only to

professional but also to moral character). Fragment 46 of Crates (from an unknown play) is a line in medical Doric: ἀλλὰ σικύαν ποτιβαλῶ τοι καὶ τὸ λῆϊς ἀποσχάσω ('...but I shall apply my cup, and lance it too if you like'). We have also a likely Ionic-speaking doctor (or impostor) in a fragment of Ameipsias' *Sling* (*Sphendonē*, fr. 17) quoted by Athenaeus: λαγὸν ταραξας πῖθι τὸν θαλάσσιον ('Stir in the hare of the sea and drink'), where the markers of Ionic are the word λαγός (the object of Athenaeus' comment) and the -σσ- in θαλάσσιον. These two examples illustrate that already in the fifth century dialect could be used to identify a stock character, which is not a situation one might have guessed on the basis of Aristophanes' surviving work, where the prevailing ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα (the comedy of invective, or lampoon) is such that specific individuals only are presented speaking in dialect, and the dialect indicates provenance rather than profession or moral character (of course, Thebans may be hated and considered stupid, but this does not mean that any hateful or stupid character is for that reason given a Theban accent). If we had a more extended passage of medical Doric or Ionic it might be possible to tell whether the dialect is intended as a representation of a real epichoric dialect (Coan, for example), or whether it is merely 'generic' Doric/Ionic, based on a mish-mash of dialect features.



Fig. 7(a).



Fig. 7(b).

III

The fragments confirm that there was in Old Comedy enormous scope for marking up language for various dramatic effects. This is a feature shared by modern comic and light-hearted drama, perhaps by coincidence, or perhaps because the humorous manipulation of language is universally found in such contexts. Whatever the truth of this, it is worth noting some of the specific ways in which linguistic jokes in Old Comedy work, for this seems to be very closely tied to particular cultures and political circumstances.

The inadequate command of Greek by foreigners was clearly considered a legitimate source of mirth by the Greeks, as by many moderns, despite

Fig. 7(a). The New York Goose Play

Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Calyx-krater by the
Tarporely

Painter, painted in Taras c. 400 BC. New York, Metropolitan Museum
of Art, 24.97.104.

Height 30.6 cm.

(b) Policeman on the Beat?

Detail of the New York Goose Play.

An old man stands in the middle, naked (i.e. wearing a padded body-stocking with comic phallos) and on tip-toe, with his arms stretched above his head. He says $KATE\Delta H\epsilon\Lambda N - \Omega T\Omega XE\text{IPE}$, 'He has bound my hands up', and looks apprehensively towards a younger, uncouth-looking man on the left. He too is naked, holds a stout stick, and is saying $NOPAPETTEBAO$. On the right an aged woman on a stage-like structure extends her arm and says $E\Gamma\Omega\P\text{IAP}\square - E\epsilon O$, 'I will hand <him> over'. In front of her lie a dead goose, two(?) kids in a basket, and a mantle. At the extreme left stands a smaller figure, labelled

ΤΡΑΓΟΙΔΟΣ, whose stiff pose suggests a statue; a comic mask floats in space.

It is generally agreed that the old man must have stolen the objects on the right, and that he is about to be beaten by the younger man as a punishment for his theft. 'The man with the stick', says Beazley, 'has disordered hair and a rough face; and what he says is not Greek. He has always been recognized to be a barbarian, a foreign policeman or the like.' It is not clear why he is naked: perhaps his clothes (including the mantle) are among the stolen goods. 'The sense [of NOPAPETTEBAO] is dark', Beazley continues. 'Characters in Aristophanes may speak (1) dialect Greek, or (2) pidgin Greek, or (3) a foreign language, or (4) make noises that sound like a foreign language. This seems to be either (3) or (4).' In that case, this scene from an unknown play by a contemporary of Aristophanes forms a fascinating visual complement to the literary evidence discussed by Stephen Colvin in this chapter.

But the old man's hands are *not* tied, and Beazley sees him as the victim of a binding spell, a *katadesis* (*defixio*): he is literally spell-bound. Could NOPAPETTEBAO be the words of the magic spell? If so, the man with the big stick need not be a barbarian.

Beazley J.D. 'The New York "Phlyax-Vase"', *AJA* 56 (1952) 193–5 with pl. 32. Gigante M. *Rintone e il teatro in Magna Grecia*, Naples 1971, 71–4. Taplin O. *Comic Angels*, Oxford 1993, 20, 30–2, 62; bibliography at 112–3 (the two items listed above are the most helpful); plate 10.2. Evidence that the Greeks themselves were lazy at learning foreign tongues (Momigliano 1975, ch. 1). There is also evidence that villains (politicians) could be associated with substandard Greek. The implication that a speaker of this substandard Greek lacks an appropriate Hellenic *paideia* may point to its association with a low socio-economic background; such characters are also routinely given barbarous family connections. Apart from this special case, however, we do not find much evidence for the comic spotlight being turned on linguistic differences between the various social classes in the citizen body or even between citizens and slaves. The small amount of dialect which survives suggests that dialect alone was not used to attack: other Greeks might be hated for various reasons, but the fairly careful depiction of non-Attic dialects indicates that they do not seem to have been represented as speaking inadequate or substandard forms of Greek. This is in sharp distinction with many modern western literatures, where before the nineteenth century dialect was routinely treated as a substandard variety of the standard language.

Acknowledgement

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Notes

- ¹ Jim Henson Productions/Lorimer Films 1990.
- ² These characteristic terminations which the Ionian mercenaries were using included, presumably, the adjectives in -ικός and the abstract nouns in -σις which began to invade the old Attic language in the fifth century (for the comic potential cf. *Knights* 1375–81).
- ³ There have been attempts to make sense of this passage (see e.g. Dover 1963, 7–8 = 1987, 289–90). It seems to me most likely that it is ‘gibberish made from Persian noises’ (West 1968, 6). See also the discussion by Morenilla-Talens 1989.
- ⁴ Cf. the context of the fragment: Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 5.46.3–6, printed in K-A ad loc.
- ⁵ *Frogs* 1028–9 with Sommerstein ad loc. (1996, 247), Hall 1989, 83–4 and Hall 1996, 23, 152–3 with the quotation from Cavafy facing the title-page. Cf. Ar. *Babylonians* fr. 81 K-A = 79 Kock ἡ πού κατὰ στοίχους κεκράζονται τι βαρβαριστί, ‘standing in formation they’ll scream something foreign’ – a reference to a similarly constituted chorus, and Ar. *Danaides* fr. 267 K-A = 253 Kock.
- ⁶ A similar boast is made by the sausage-seller at *Knights* 188–9.
- ⁷ Cf. Woody Allen’s worry in *Annie Hall* that one of his colleagues is saying ‘Jew eat yet?’ instead of ‘D[id] you eat yet?’ (United Artists 1977, dir. Woody Allen).
- ⁸ The date is controversial: see the literature cited by Mattingly 1997, who himself argues for a later date (414).
- ⁹ e.g. for ὀλίος see Threatte 1980, 440 and Teodorsson 1974, 266.
- ¹⁰ See Cassio 1981 and Brixhe 1988 for the connection between low-prestige Attic and the type of mistake attributed to foreigners. At *Clouds* 876 Socrates implies that Hyperbolus was launched into public life as the result of a sophistic education which remedied his deficient education and disagreeable linguistic habits.
- ¹¹ Demosthenes on Aeschines: 18 (de *Corona*) 258–62, 265; Aeschines on Demosthenes: 3 (*In Ctes.*) 171–3.
- ¹² Dialect evidence can be checked in the standard handbooks, such as Thumb-Kieckers 1932, or Blümel 1982. There is a brief discussion of Aristophanic accuracy in Colvin 1995, with a fuller account in Colvin 1999; see also Harvey 1994, §vi.
- ¹³ See Coleman 1963 for a statistical analysis of shared features among the Greek dialects.
- ¹⁴ The scholia at *Knights* 17 see τὸ θρέττε as a barbarism characteristic of a slave (θρέττε γὰρ βαρβαρικῶς τὸ θαρρεῖν. βαρβαρίζει δὲ ὡς δοῦλος). θρέττε looks like slang (so Sommerstein 1981, 145 ad loc.), but is more likely part of a low social register than a barbarian idiom.
- ¹⁵ People complain about the language of their servants, but may in fact prefer a distinction to exist; see Plato *Laws* 777cd and Aristotle *Pol.* 1330a25–8 on the unwisdom of having slaves who speak the same dialect as their masters, and cf. George Orwell’s expatriate businessman in colonial Burma: ‘Don’t talk like that, damn you – “I find it very difficult!” Have you swallowed a dictionary? “Please, master, can’t keeping ice cool” – that’s how you ought to talk. We shall have to sack this fellow if he gets to talk English too well.’ (*Burmese Days* ch. ii, New York 1934).

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Blümel W.	
1982	<i>Die ai</i>
Brixhe C.	
1988	'La la <i>L'Étra</i>
Cassio A.C.	
1981	'Attic <i>Orien</i>
Coleman R.	
1963	'The c
Colvin S.C.	
1995	'Aristo
1999	<i>Dialec</i> <i>literat</i>
Dover K.J.	
1963	'Notes <i>Greek</i>
1976	'Lingu 357-7 <i>Greek</i>
Hall E.	
1989	<i>Invent</i>
Hall E. (ed.)	
1996	<i>Aesch</i>
Harvey D.	
1994	'Lacor Hodk
MacDowell D.M.	
1993	'Forei (eds.)
Mattingly H.B.	
1997	'The c CQ 47
Momigliano A.	
1975	<i>Alien</i>
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1989	'Die C in der Aristo
Page D.L. (ed.)	
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Thumb A. and Kieckers E.
1932
West M.L.
1968

Handl

‘Two

ARISTOPHANES VERSUS THE REST: COMIC POETRY IN OLD COMEDY

Michael Silk

Aristophanes is among the few great writers of comic poetry in world literature. ‘Poetry’, in this proposition, I am not using in the Aristotelian sense (*fiction*), nor in the sense that Aristotle criticises (*verse*), nor again in the weak Romantic sense (*personal lyric*, or some equivalent to that). ‘Poetry’ I am using in the strong Romantic, or post-Romantic, sense of literary discourse that depends on vital language: language that defamiliarizes and enacts; the kind, or kinds, of language used by such great, if very different, comic writers as Rabelais and Petronius, largely in prose, and Shakespeare, largely in verse, where the possibility, and possibilities, of poetic discourse are much greater.¹

The qualities that make Aristophanes’ particular kind of comic poetry so distinctive and so noteworthy can be specified, and – with Aristophanes’ rivals in mind – the immediate question might therefore seem to be: how far are those qualities (or some equivalent to them) in evidence in Old Comedy outside Aristophanes himself? The real task, however, is not to see which of the rivals share *this* one or *that* one of Aristophanes’ various stylistic habits, but rather to see if anything like the underlying dynamic of his writing is visible elsewhere. The nature of this dynamic is clearly visible from Aristophanes’ nine extant Old Comedies as a whole, and, diagnostically so, from any number of examples within them.²

Consider briefly, first, the opening verses of the earliest extant comedy, *Acharnians*.³ This is the passage in which Dicaeopolis begins by proclaiming the scale of his own and Athens’ problems,

“Ὅσα δὴ δέδηγμαί τὴν ἑμαντοῦ καρδίαν,
ἦσθην δὲ βαϊά, πάνυ δὲ βαϊά, τέτταρα
ἂ δ’ ὠδυνήθην, ψαμμακοσιογάργα.

Count the heartaches I’ve had
since last year,
And grains of joy? *Four*.
But worries: *sandstormillions!*

and then, after listing the less weighty of these troubles, comes on to

ἀλλ' οὐδεπώποτ' ἐξ ὅτου ἔγω γύπτομαι
οὕτως ἐδήχθην ὑπὸ κονίας τὰς ὀφρύς
ὥς νῦν, ὅπότε οὔσης κυρίας ἐκκλησίας
ἐσθινῆς ἔρημος ἡ πνύξ αὐτῇ, 20
οἱ δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ λαλοῦσι κἄνω καὶ κάτω
τὸ σχοινίον φεύγουσι τὸ μεμιλωμένον.
οὐδ' οἱ πρυτάνεις ἤκουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀωρίαν
ἤκοντες, εἴτα δ' ὥστιοῦνται πῶς δοκεῖς
ἐλθόντες ἀλλήλοισι περὶ πρῶτου ξύλου, 25
ἀθρόοι καταρρέοντες. εἰρήνη δ' ὅπως
ἔσται προτιμῶσ' οὐδέν. ὦ πόλις πόλις.

But never since I first learned to wash
Have I been so stung to the brows of my eyes
As I am now. A full assembly due
To meet at dawn, and here's the Pnyx deserted, 20
And they'll be chattering in the square, or charging
Up and down to dodge the painted rope.
Even the Presidents aren't here. They'll turn up late,
And when they do come, just imagine
The jostling for the front seats, 25
All streaming in. And as for peace,
They couldn't give a damn. O City city.

In this passage, as in so many others, we can almost touch the bustle and the interconnections of a many-sided community: the rich immediacy of the writing is unmistakable. Among its diagnostic features are: the sensuous verbs (ὥστιοῦνται, καταρρέοντες: 'jostling', 'streaming in'); the expansive new coinage (ψαμμακοσιογάργαρα: 'sandstormillions'); and not least, the control of tone, as it switches in line 2 from the lofty βαιά ('grains': literally, 'few') to the bathetic τέτταρα ('four'), or as it modulates, more insidiously, from the 'jostling' and the 'streaming in' up to the tragic resonance, ὦ πόλις πόλις ('O City city'), at the end.⁴

Mindful of Bakhtin's classic presentation (1968) of the 'carnival humour' of Rabelais and the medieval counter-culture before him, one might read some, at least, of these features of Aristophanes' writing as carnivalesque: the grotesqueness of the compound in line 3; the inversion of decorum implicit in the violent switch from high βαιά to flat τέτταρα in line 2; above all, the *positive* vigour of the humour. As Bakhtin says of his carnival humour, this is not satire from an unassailable vantage point, like so much of Roman, and modern, satirical writing.⁵ The speaker himself is there to be laughed *at* (and *with*: 'but never since I first learned to wash...'), and the tragic note of 'O City city' marks both a lament for the polis and a celebration of the polis, which – for all its faults, exuberantly listed here – is still the city

that, representatively, created tragedy, greatest of all cultural forms, and the city where tragedy itself, for all its greatness, is available for exuberant comic use.

At a different point on the Aristophanic spectrum, consider now *Peace* 529–38 (Trygaeus and Hermes):

Question: what

does the soldier's
knapsack smell of?

Answer: τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὄζει
κρομμυοζυρεγμίας
It smells of
indigeonionestion.

But what does wonderful Peace herself smell of?

ΤΡΥΓ. ταύτης δὲ βοτρυών, ὑποδοχῆς, Διονυσίων, 530
αὐλῶν, τραγῳδῶν, Σοφοκλέους μελῶν, κιχλῶν,
ἐπυλλίων Εὐριπίδου– ΕΡΜΗΣ κλαύσαῖρα σὺ
ταύτης καταψευδόμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἦδεται
αὕτη ποιητῇ ρήματιών δικανικῶν.
Τρ. κιττοῦ, τρυγοίπου, προβατίων βληχωμένων, 535
κόλπου, γυναικῶν διατρεχουσῶν εἰς ἀγρόν,
δούλης μεθυούσης, ἀνατετραμμένου χοῶς,
ἄλλων τε πολλῶν κάγαθῶν.

Trygaios: She smells of grapes, entertainment, Dionysia, 530
Music, tragic chorus, Sophocles' lyrics, roast thrush,
Quotes from Euripides –

Hermes: You'll be for it,
Badmouthing her like that: she doesn't relish
Someone who writes for the law-courts –

Tryg.: Ivy, wine-gauze, bleating sheep, 535
Lap, women rushing up the field,
Slave-girl tipsy, jug knocked over:
You name it.⁶

6

In this dazzling display of linguistic virtuosity, which begins with a carnival compound in 529 (whose squashed form brilliantly enacts its painful message) and ends with a set of sharp vignettes at the end (girl, jug and all), we should acknowledge in particular the characteristic list with its characteristic discontinuities.⁷ We begin with the 'smells' (concrete) of 'grapes' (concrete), yet also of 'entertainment' (abstract). We then move to a more elaborate pattern within Trygaeus' extended accumulation of delights, as we progress logically enough from music to chorus to Sophoclean lyrics, but then switch to roast thrush (served, no doubt, at a Dionysiac banquet after the tragedy, but still involving a switch), switch back to Euripides, then again to ivy, and so on. That (say) 'Euripides' and 'ivy' have something in common is not in doubt: they are both *something* to do

with...Dionysus. The point is rather that the movement from the one item to the next is a jump and that (representatively) the collocation of 'law-courts' and 'ivy' (δικανικῶν/κιττοῦ) in 534–5 is a 'shocking' *iunctura* with its own, defamiliarizing, impact.

From his lists to his characters, Aristophanes favours discontinuity as a fundamental principle of writing.⁸ In particular, one might note his penchant for discontinuous stylistic effects produced by terminologically obtrusive – that is, technically, *intrusive* – items within the vehicle of a poetic image.⁹ An intriguing example with a special relevance to the present discussion is his famous pen-picture of his predecessor Cratinus, who (*Knights* 526–8)

πολλῷ ρεύσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ
διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίῳν ἔρρει, καὶ τῆς στάσεως παρασύρων
ἐφόρει τὰς δρυὲς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προθελύμους.

Bursting his banks with overflowing *popularity*,
Flooded the *honest* plains, and, torn from where they
were standing,
Oak trees, plane trees, *opponents*, bore downstream,
uprooted.

'Popularity' (ἐπαίνῳ), 'honest' (ἀφελῶν), 'opponents' (ἐχθρούς): by a classic explanatory-enacting use of tenor terminology within the vehicle,¹⁰ and by constructing – again – a miniature list of intrusions, Aristophanes brings into sharp relief the salient facts about (or claims on behalf of) a definitive poet of the Old Comedy. The technique itself bespeaks Aristophanes' mastery of poetic language in the very act of praising his rival. It is almost as if he were saying – in public, yet in a kind of superior code: 'I claim to know what Comedy is; I claim the right to speak for all practitioners; I claim the right to "place" my rivals; Comedy is "Aristophanes versus the rest" – and the superior code in which I am saying all these things is itself the proof of these claims.'

Returning to the *Peace* passage, amidst all its accumulations and discontinuities, we cannot fail to mark the preoccupation with tragedy, and especially with Euripides, who in Aristophanic comedy is never far away. In the *Acharnians* passage tragedy is used to create opportunities for refined expression. Here it is an explicit topic – and how revealing, then, that the delights of Peace should be formulated in terms of the dramatic Dionysia, which ends in a feast and a celebration, but which (if we follow the association of ideas) seems not to be Aristophanes' own Dionysia, but the *tragic* Dionysia. Symptomatically, it is left unclear whether the celebration is to encompass Euripides; for, as almost everywhere in Aristophanes (except for the gratuitous end to *Frogs*), Euripides is treated

equivocally; is (in *Acharnians*) both slandered as son of a market-woman and celebrated as the writer whose words alone will save Dicaeopolis in his great quest for peace;¹¹ is satirized, but warmly; is treated as part, albeit an uncomfortable part, of the cultural greatness of which Attic tragedy is the admired pinnacle. Tragedy is vital to Aristophanes: it enables him to explore and articulate his sense of life and, as such, his sense of comedy. And yet this is a complex, even a problematic enabling, because tragedy is the epitome and model of order, restraint and continuity; and accordingly in Aristophanes' work there is a kind of attunement of opposite tensions between the pull of tragedy – epitome and model of decorum – and the pull of counter-tragedy, associated with carnivalesque inversion, exuberance, discontinuity.¹² This is his dynamic, and this is the formula both for his distinctive features and for his distinction as a poet – in so far as a formula can do something to capture the qualities and the quality of such a great writer.

I have looked for signs of some equivalent to Aristophanes and his dynamic among the fragments of the other Old Comic poets, and especially the fragments of *earlier* poets:¹³ work by writers whose career is wholly earlier than his – meaning the generation of Crates and Cratinus – or fragments of plays by his contemporaries which are datable before *Banqueters* of 427 or at least no later than *Acharnians* of 425: works such as Pherecrates' *Slave-master* (*Doulodidaskalos*, 435–30), Hermippus' *Fates*, *Soldiers* and *Porters* (*Moirai*, *Stratiotai*, *Phormophoroi*, all c. 430–425), Eupolis' *Prospaltians* and *New Moons* (*Prospaltioi*, *Noumeniai*, both 429–425).¹⁴ In such a search one is, of course, confronted with fragments whose text may be more than usually uncertain and whose contexts may be doubtful or unknown; one is dealing with a small and very possibly unrepresentative quantity of material for any given playwright and with a comparatively small quantity of material (perhaps the equivalent of some 2000 verses) overall.¹⁵ Above all, it must be open to question whether an equivalent to Aristophanes' dynamic, if it existed, *could* be visible purely from fragments.

Having made the necessary qualifications, however, we may agree that provisional findings are better than none, and then declare one significant finding at once: outside Aristophanes, there is no trace of his distinctive preoccupation with tragedy – certainly not before Aristophanes, arguably not even in later Old Comedy either. I have touched on this point elsewhere,¹⁶ and it is worth amplifying here. Discounting burlesques, Aristophanes wrote at least half a dozen plays featuring tragedy and tragic poets to any significant degree, of which three survive (*Acharnians*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, *Frogs*),¹⁷ and only one (*Gerytades*) featuring non-tragic poetry or poets to the same degree.

Contrast, for instance, Cratinus. The flooders of honest plains wrote various plays on literary or artistic subjects – *Archilochus-Men* (*Archilochoi*: apparently a confrontation of Archilochus with Homer and Hesiod), *Euneids* (*Euneidai*: on music), and the famous *Flask* (*Pytine*), which featured Cratinus himself and his wife Comedy – but no known play that foregrounded tragedy.¹⁸ Before Aristophanes' career was under way, there were certainly plays concerned in whole or part with tragedy, such as Callias' *Prisoners* (*Pedetai*, c. 430);¹⁹ and towards the end of the fifth century there seem to be signs of a gravitation of Old Comedy writers towards tragedy-themes (witness plays like Plato's *Costumes* (*Skeuai*) and Phrynichus' *Muses* (*Mousai*)),²⁰ though even these may in fact be following a trend initiated by Aristophanes himself. But not only do the other playwrights seem to write *about* tragedy less specifically and less often: their *uses* of tragedy, by comparison with his, seem to be opportunist and random, where his are in effect part of a project.

Let us return to the example of Cratinus. Cratinus, of course, is a prime instance of an influential poet of Old Comedy whose preoccupations and whose idiom, too, must have been formed before the era of Aristophanes. The exact nature of the influence he exercised on his successors, however, is open to different interpretations, as are the qualities that those successors may have associated with him. For Norwood (1931, 144) it was clear that Old Comedy as we know it owed 'its literary manner to Cratinus', and in particular its 'rich vigour...poetical power...zestful fun...command of idiom'. In late antiquity, we may note, Cratinus was evidently read in more than one way – as a satirical Archilochus, for instance, by Platonius, and then again as an Aeschylus by an Anonymous, *On Comedy*.²¹ For the latter, Cratinus was a 'real poet', who recalls 'the style of Aeschylus' (ποιητικώτατος...τὸν Αἰσχύλου χαρακτηῖρα). One may well ask: which aspect or aspects of Aeschylean poetry are in question here? His bold innovations? his intensity? his obscurity? Hardly, at any rate, his high style: unlike Aristophanes (with his pastiche-high-style lyrics), there is certainly no evidence that Cratinus ever wrote in any version of a grand manner, unless by way of para-tragedy or – to anticipate – para-something-else.²²

However we choose to rationalize the association of Cratinus with Aeschylus, we may infer that, like so much else in ancient literary theory, it derives from Aristophanes' *Frogs*. In that play we hear, admiringly, of the 'Bacchic tongue-rites of Cratinus' (Κρατίνου... γλώττης Βακχεῖ, 357), but also again of Aeschylus as 'the Bacchic King' (τὸν Βακχεῖον ἄνακτα, 1259). The alignment is revealing – but arguably tells us more about Aristophanes than about Cratinus. Given that at *Frogs* 357 Aristophanes in effect presents Cratinus as his own

spiritual ancestor, therefore himself, by implicit corollary, as the modern alternative to Cratinus, and given again that in *Frogs* the only ‘modern’ alternative to Aeschylus is Euripides, one might reasonably infer the analogy, Aristophanes : Cratinus :: Euripides: Aeschylus, and ascribe that analogy to Aristophanes himself – assisted of course by Cratinus himself, whose famous carnival compound, ‘Eurip-Aristophanizing’ (εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων, fr. 342) associates the two ‘moderns’ directly.²³ All this makes sense, because Aristophanes (notwithstanding his equivocations about Euripides – or rather, as shown precisely by his equivocations about Euripides) is preoccupied with tragedy in general and this tragedian in particular. By contrast, Aristophanes’ implied association of Aeschylus and Cratinus makes no such sense, because, as far as one can see, Cratinus has no special interest in tragedy, Aeschylean or any other: the implicit association points to Aristophanes’ own affiliations, not to those of Cratinus.

It is striking and obviously relevant that Cratinus’ extant fragments show relatively little sign of paratragedy, even in a play on a literary-dramatic theme like *Flask*.²⁴ In Cratinus, as in other poets of his generation, there are certainly *references* to tragedy, for instance fr. 276:

ἴτω δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας
ὁ Κλεομάχου διδάσκαλος
ἡμετὰ τῶν ἡ παρατιλιῶν
ἔχων χορὸν Λυδιστὶ τιλ-
λουσῶν μέλη πονηρά.

On with the tragic maestro,
son of Cleomachus,
Leading his *depilatrix* chorus
on, painfully
Plucking their stringy arms in
effeminate Lydian
Mode.²⁵

There is, however, no paratragic idiom here (parodic or otherwise); and throughout the remains of Cratinus’ work, what seems to proliferate is not paratragedy, as in Aristophanes, but para-lyric and, especially, para-epic (cf. n. 24). An easy example is fr. 150, from the *Odyssēs*, the *Odysseus-Men* – or perhaps one might even translate the title the *Odyssey-Men*, if only because this and other fragments do suggest a special enthusiasm for engaging, not just with *mythologica* from (as it happens) Homeric epic, but with Homer’s epic as such:

ἀνθ' ὧν πάντας ἐλὼν ὑμᾶς ἐρίηρας ἐταίρους,
φρύξας χάψήσας κάπανθρακίσας κώπτήσας
εἰς ἄλμην τε καὶ ὀξάλμην κᾶτ' ἐς σκοροδάλμην
χλιαρὸν ἐμβάπτων, ὃς ἂν ὀπτότατός μοι ἀπάντων
ὑμῶν φαίνεται, κατατρώξομαι, ὦ στρατιῶται.

That's why I'll take you all,
my brave companions,
Roast you, toast you, boil you,
barbeque you,
Then in brine, garlic brine,
vinegar brine,
Plunge the one that seems best
done
Still warm, soldiers, and eat
him for dessert.

The translation offered hardly begins to simulate the gusto of the original or its specific stylistic determinants. This is a piece of exuberant hybrid para-epic in dactylic hexameters, in which Aristophanes' accumulative instinct is clearly visible, but not much else that is Aristophanic; and indeed a good deal is visible that is *not* especially Aristophanic at all. In these few lines, the general world of Homeric epic is summoned up by a combination of subject and metre, while the particular feel and presence of Homer is activated by specific detail. Note the tag ἐρίηρας ἐταίρους (*Odyssey* 9.100 etc.), the Homeric-sounding phrase ὀπτότατός μοι ἀπάντων (evoking phrases like ὀπλοτάτην τέκε παιδῶν, *Odyssey* 15.364), and not least the interpretation of prosodic rules in line with Homeric correction: τε καὶ ὀξάλμην / μοι ἀπάντων / κατατρώξομαι, ὦ.

On top of these Homeric or quasi-Homeric features, however, Cratinus superimposes a quite un-Homeric layer of sound-patterning, made up of several assonantal series: the homoeoteleuton in line 2 (a four-fold -σας); a rising triad with massive homoeoteleuton in 3 (ἄλμην / ὀξ-ἄλμην / σκοροδ-ἄλμην); and the half-line pararhymes in 4-5 (ἐμβάπτων / ἀπάντων; φαίνεται / στρατιῶται).²⁶ The sound-patterning no doubt connotes the relish of the speaker, Cyclops, especially in lines 2-3; yet overall it has the flavour of a pattern which is relished for its own sake. Thereby the tone of the passage is tipped away from mere burlesque ('negative satire'), and on re-reading one sees that the very precision of, for instance, the Homeric corrections has the same effect. There is, then, a yes-saying tinge evident, and here at least we find a point of agreement with Aristophanes; but then again, it is only a tinge, and the distance one has to travel to find that agreement only serves, in turn, to remind us of the extent of the difference.

Para-epic turns up repeatedly in Cratinus' work, whether

fastened,
White shoes now abandoned.
Soon behold the cottabus-
staff, 5

Rolling in a heap of chaff;
Brown Man's ears no wine
splash feel;
And, near the bore
Of the kitchen door
Among the sweepings, observe
the poor bowl. 10

Peace versus war: in peacetime the men drink and, after drinking, they play cottabus; in time of war cottabus (with all its paraphernalia) is put to one side and forgotten. As is sometimes the case in Cratinus (but only occasionally in Aristophanes),²⁹ it is the anapaests of the original (not reproduced in my English version) that facilitate allusion to the hexameters of dactylic epic. On a simple calculus the passage combines phrases evocative of Homer, like *χλανίδες δ' οὔλαι* (the 'capas of wool': compare the *χλαίνας οὔλας* of *Iliad* 24.646), with modern items, especially lexical items, alien to Homer, most obviously the vocabulary of the game, from *πλάστιγγ'*, the 'bowl' or 'plate', to *μάνης*, 'Brown Man' (the bronze figurine used as a target, but also a stock name given to a Phrygian slave), to *κοτταβικήν*, the name of the game itself.³⁰ Equally modern, however, are items like *ἄρθροῦται* ('fastened') and *κορήμασιν* ('sweepings, trash').³¹ Yet this is no indiscriminate mixture. Within our fragment an Iliadic mode is established at the outset, not only by *χλανίδες δ' οὔλαι*, but by the cast of the words that follow, the specific collocations of which evoke not any particular context of the great war-epic, but its texture – whereby the heroic warrior world is made almost *subliminally* present. Thus the sequence from *καταβέβληνται* to *σφυρόν* ('(cast) off – shin-guard – ankle') evokes a range of passages like *κνήμαί τε ἰδέ σφυρά* ('shanks and ankles', *Iliad* 4. 147) and *χερμαδίῳ γὰρ βλήτο παρὰ σφυρόν...κνήμην* ('smitten by a (cast) stone on the shank by the ankle', *Iliad* 4. 518–19); the 'coat of mail', *θώρακα*, is the same word as the Homeric *θώρηκα*, 'corselet' (*βεβλήκει θώρηκα* (sc. *δουρί*): 'smote the corselet (with the cast spear)', *Iliad* 17. 606); while *ἐμπερονᾶται*, 'buckles on', recalls the Homeric *περονᾶω*, 'pierce' (*δουρὶ...περόνησε; οὐδ' ἤρκεσε θώρηξ*, '(with the cast) spear... pierced...and the corselet did not avail...', *Iliad* 13.397). By means of such overlapping evocations, together with the effect of pro-dactylic rhythms (*θωρακά δ' ἅπας* and so on), the switch from peace to war is enacted through – literally – the *sound* of Homer.

What follows is a certain shift towards the vocabulary of peace – the white shoes, the cottabus-staff. Up to this point, it is as if

Hermippus' anapaests embodied a tussle between the dictions of Homer ('war') and the present day ('peace'), in which, paradoxically, poignantly even, the modern diction of peace displaces the other and triumphs in precise opposition to the actual triumph of war in the 'real' world outside. Now, however, comes a further evocation of Homer – and this time Hermippus summons up, not Homer the celebrator of heroic war, but the *other* Homer: poet of ordinary human fragility, ordinary life and ordinary responses to life. In the first place, in this now Homerizing context, the dactylic-sounding sequence ἀχύροισι κυλινδομένην ('rolling...chaff': ~ ~ - ~ ~ - ~ ~ - distantly calls to mind the one Homeric use of any word belonging to the ἀχυρ-word-group, the depiction of the chaff (ἀχυρμαί) that 'turns white on the threshing floor' (like the Achaeans, amidst a cloud of dust) in a notable simile in *Iliad* 5: αἱ δ' ὑπολευκαίνονται ἀχυρμαί (502). As a trigger to this reminiscence we have just had *our* moment of whiteness in the form of the βλαύτης...λευκῆς ('white shoes'). Then again, though, the rhythm and sound of ἀχύροισι κυλινδομένην more precisely call to mind the unfortunate Priam at the notorious moment when he rolls in the muck in the yard, ἐν χόρτοισι κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον (Il. 24.640) – and now we too go out to the yard, or the back door, at least, where the cottabus bowl lies, unwanted, in the dirt. Hermippus' bowl, we note, is a 'poor' bowl, τὴν...τάλαιναν. Left to ourselves, we, with so much Aristophanes to guide our reflexes, would probably take that last phrase as a pointer to tragedy. But there is no paratragedy here, only para-epic: the phrase τὴν τάλαιναν, though in itself eminently tragic, is not peculiarly tragic,³² and the bowl, though in effect personified (like the figurine, μάνης), is not personified as a tragic heroine. One should not overstate the specificity of this second set of epicisms;³³ nevertheless, it would seem that Hermippus has succeeded, in just a few short lines, in calling up a co-presence of Iliadic heroizing epic, then in modulating from that to two of the characteristic contrasts of the *Iliad*: first, the contrast between heroic war-narrative and the normative peacetime activities of the similes which are crowded out by war (both at Troy and here in Hermippus' anapaests); and then the rather different contrast between the glory of heroic, especially Iliadic, warfare and the suffering associated with it.

In his non-parodic use of Homer, Hermippus reaches out towards a new engagement with experience – as Aristophanes does variously with his use of tragedy. If Hermippus' short stanza³⁴ calls to mind anything characteristic of Aristophanes, it must be the younger playwright's experiments with pathos, which I have discussed elsewhere (Silk 1988 and 2000). What Hermippus seems to be doing in particular, however, is using the resonances of, and behind, the epic in

order to defamiliarize the experience of what we, as audience, would take to be a part of ordinary experience – something ordinarily prejudged and pre-interpreted, and not in *need* of any new reading – and thereby shifting us into a new reading of it, against our expectations. This is not an especially Aristophanic, nor indeed (until we get to the displacements of Alexandria) an especially Greek, procedure.³⁵ Instead, one is reminded of, for instance, this from the English poet Edward Thomas – war-poet, as it happens, but also the last, or youngest, considerable poet of English country life:

Out of the wood of thoughts
that grows by night
To be cut down by the sharp
axe of light –
Out of the night, two cocks
together crow,
Cleaving the darkness with a
silver blow:
And bright before my eyes
twin trumpeters stand,
Heralds of splendour, one at
either hand,
Each facing each as in a coat
of arms:
The milkers lace their boots
up at the farms.

The charm of this short poem ('Cock-Crow'), the gentleness of the humour; above all, the defamiliarizing juxtaposition of heroic ('heralds of splendour') and humble prosaic ('lace their boots up') – all of this seems sufficiently close to Hermippus' anapaests for the English poem to stand as a convenient model of the effects he achieves in the Greek.³⁶

If the humour in Hermippus' piece is fairly described as 'gentle', we should not forget that, by comparison with the likes of Aristophanes and Cratinus, much of Old Comedy evidently was *relatively* gentle, especially the incipient comedy of manners pioneered by such poets as Crates and Pherecrates. In this tradition there is little enough sign of Aristophanic features, let alone of any Aristophanic dynamic. By contrast, Cratinus evidently was the Archilochus of his generation – and here at least the ancient stereotype seems well founded: an abrasive satirist, like Aristophanes, but without the Aristophanic 'positive'.³⁷ In this sense, fr. 276 on the 'tragic maestro, son of Cleomachus', is no doubt wholly representative. It seems closely akin to Aristophanes, in *one* of Aristophanes' various modes: low-lyric satire in iambic dimeters, with literary reference (in this case, even, tragic reference), and with the kind of word-play and metaphor we associate with the poet of *Acharnians* and *Frogs*.³⁸

The tradition of Cratinian satire was maintained by (among others) Eupolis, as well as Aristophanes, but (on the evidence available) with less poetic power and flair. ‘The longer fragments do not stand up well to comparison with Aristophanes’, wrote Kenneth Dover, and, before Dover, Norwood suggested that Eupolis ‘lacked the rich vigour of Cratinus and the sparkle of Aristophanes.’³⁹ Fr. 102, from the *Demes*, is probably Eupolis’ most interesting single bit of satirical writing – if indeed this famous ‘praise’ of Pericles is satirical:

(A.) κράτιστος οὗτος ἐγένετ’ ἀνθρώπων λέγειν.

όποτε παρέλθοι δ’, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς,

ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἤρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας.

(B.) ταχὺν λέγεις γε. (A.) πρὸς δὲ γ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει

πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν,

5

οὕτως ἐκήλει καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων

τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

(A.). This was the finest orator
of them all.

When he came forward, like a
champion runner
From ten feet back he’d catch
the other speakers.

(B.) Speed he had. (A.) But
then besides his speed
Persuasion’s self sat on his
lips,
Such was his charm: of all the
orators
A sting he left in every
listener’s ear.

The quality of the writing depends on a certain appropriation of high style (notably in lines 1 and 5);⁴⁰ on the striking, if rather superficial, image in 2–4; and especially on a sense of the shape of the verse line, which produces a series of potentially arresting juxtapositions at line ends: ῥήτορας / ταχὺν (‘speakers/ speed’), τάχει / πειθῶ (‘speed/ persuasion’), ῥητόρων / κέντρον (‘orators/sting’). What these various effects might add up to, however, is not clear: there does not seem to be much of a ‘sting’ in Eupolis’ own words, even here; and in these words, as from his extant *oeuvre* in general, there is little to compare with Aristophanes and nothing to suggest that Aristophanes learnt anything about writing poetry from him.

In Old Comedy outside Aristophanes, there is plentiful evidence of vigorous writing, interesting writing and original writing. There is, though, no sign at all of any counterpart to Aristophanes’ creative preoccupation with tragedy, which for him seems to offer the promise of an exploration and definition of comedy itself. There is no sign of

his improbable coherence – though with fragments, no doubt, it is not likely that there would be – and perhaps one should be grateful to have even a single passage like the Hermippus which shows a fellow poet creating new expressive modes, as Aristophanes himself does so richly elsewhere.

Looking at the equivocal indices of affinity and individuality among these fragmentary sources, one may feel some confidence at least in affirming that Aristophanes' relationship with Cratinus is a significant one. Cratinus is clearly a considerable writer and *his* great predecessor. Aristophanes, it may be, selects from a range of creative possibilities already adumbrated by Cratinus, but then develops some in ways inconceivable to Cratinus; and among these developments his use of non-parodic para-idiom is crucial. There are no grounds for seeing Cratinus as an Aeschylus, with Aristophanes as his Euripides – let alone as a Pound, with Aristophanes as his Eliot, saluting 'il miglior fabbro'. Yet though there may be no equivalence to Aristophanes' literary genius in Cratinus, there are certainly reasons for supposing that Aristophanes' literary genius could not have been what it was, or achieved what it did, without Cratinus' example behind him.

Notes

¹ Poetry as fiction: Arist. *Poet.* IX. Poetry as verse: Arist. *Poet.* I. Poetry as personal lyric or equivalent: e.g. 'poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings', Wordsworth 1800 in Smith 1905, 34. Poetry as vital language: first fully glimpsed in Coleridge, on whom see Marks 1981. Jakobson's 'poetic function' (despite some mis-statements on his part) assumes this notion of poetry: Jakobson 1960. Defamiliarization and enactment: see briefly Silk 1995b.

²For a discussion of Aristophanes' stylistic qualities, and his dynamic, see Silk 1980 and 1993, and more fully Silk 2000 (here summarized).

³This account draws on Silk 1993 and 2000, 33–9; for contrasting discussions of this passage, see Dover 1987, 224–36; Arnott 1993, 19–22; and Dobrov 1995b, 58–61. Here and elsewhere, the text quoted for Aristophanes follows Hall and Geldart's OCT (1906–7), except where indicated. For quotations from comic fragments, the text follows K-A. Translations of all comic poetry (Aristophanes and rivals) are my own throughout.

⁴βαίός is, for an Attic writer, a verse word: see LSJ s.v. On the 'modulation' see Silk 1995, 497. My English phrase, 'O City city', is a roughly equivalent quotation from Eliot's 'Waste Land' (259), where the phrase is thus capitalized and (un)punctuated.

⁵'This is one of the essential differences of the people's festive laughter from the pure satire of modern times. The satirist whose laughter is negative places himself above the object of his mockery' (Bakhtin 1968, 12). See further Silk 2000.

⁶See Silk 2000, 155–6. In line 536 editors obelize κόλπου, which is surely defensible, but in 530 allow the ὀπώρας of the manuscripts, which is surely indefensible (cf. Platnauer ad loc.). In 530 δὲ βοτρυών is van Leeuwen's emendation; in 536 the punctuation is mine. κόλπου (on the objections to which see Platnauer) may look odd and (given its position 'underneath' the similar-looking κίττου) suspect on palaeographical grounds, but is quite plausible as an isolated member of the list, with punctuation afterwards (whereas it is exceptionally

awkward, without punctuation, as a singular 'bosom' of plural γυναικῶν; contrast *Frogs* 345 γόνυ πάλλεται γερόντων, where the singular noun is integrated by the verb). Pace Platnauer, κόλπου has an erotic use which is operative (albeit without contextual specificity) here: cf. Henderson 1975, 140–1. What the 'women' are doing is also unspecific: running an errand? taking part in a game? playing hard to get?

⁷Discontinuities: cf. Silk 1988, 103–8. Lists: a catalogue is provided by Spyropoulos 1974; cf. Gilula in this volume, pp. 77, 82–4. For both, see more fully Silk 2000, 136–58 and *passim*.

⁸Cf. Silk 2000, 136–58, 207–16, 221–44.

⁹For the principle, and the term 'intrusion', see Silk 1974, 138–49.

¹⁰ἐπαίνω and ἐχθροὺς are self-evidently tenor terminology (i.e. the words have no literal application within the semantic field of rivers, banks and floods); for ἐχθρός = 'opponent' in competition (opp. φίλος, but not synonymous with πολέμιος: Xen. *Mem.* 4.4.17 etc.), cf. Pindar *Pyth.* 8.86; cf. further the use of κότος and φθόνος in Hesiod *WD* 25–6. ἀφελής, likewise, does not *mean* 'even, smooth' (LSJ), 'broad' (Sommerstein 1981), 'open' (Neil 1901). As Neil says, the word is 'unexemplified in this...sense...: it is used of... characters...and...style' (cf. LSJ's citations s.v.). The look of the word, however, recalls φελλεύς ('stony ground'), and there is arguably a re-etymological hint of that (which would cohere with the vehicle) here. For poetic re-etymology, see Silk 1974, 262, s.v. But it is of no concern to Aristophanes (or us as his readers) whether the 'etymology' is historically correct: i.e. his use does not in itself constitute sufficient evidence to suggest that the word ἀφελής ever had meant, or could in 424 BC mean, 'unstoned'. [The passage is also discussed by Silk 2000, 143, and by Luppe and Rosen in this volume.]

¹¹*Acharn.* 478 and 484; for Euripides and *Frogs*, see Silk 2000, 264, 365–7.

¹²Cf. the fuller argument in Silk 2000, *passim*.

¹³In comparing Aristophanes and his rivals here I have deliberately avoided discussing instances of lyric poetry, because, as Silk 1980 (and 2000, 160 ff.) makes clear, Aristophanes' own achievement in that domain has its particular complications and problems.

¹⁴On these datings see Geissler 1969, 22, 25, 34, 45 and the introductory notes in K-A to *Moirai* (V 579), *Prospaltioi* (V 442) and *Noumeniai* (V 424).

¹⁵i.e. no more than the equivalent of about 2000 lines' worth of non-Aristophanic fragments, if laid end to end, from plays which may more or less plausibly be dated to 425 or earlier.

¹⁶Silk 1995, 477–8, and 2000, 49–51. Critical accounts of Old Comedy tend to flatten out this crucial distinction: see e.g. Handley 1985, 132–6.

¹⁷Three others (all lost) are *Thesmophoriazusae* II, *Preview* (*Proagōn*) and *Dramas*: Silk 1995, 477. I discount *Phoenissae*, a burlesque of Euripides, *pace* Silk 1995, 477: burlesque should be seen as an essentially different matter (cf. n. 20 below).

¹⁸*Archilochoi*: Whittaker 1935, 185. *Euneidai*: cf. the testimonia in K-A IV 157. *Pytine*: Luppe and Rosen, this volume.

¹⁹See esp. frs. 14, 15 and 17, with the notes in K-A.

²⁰*Skeuai*: dating, Geissler 1969, 64; contents, Norwood 1931, 176. *Mousai* (405 BC): Dover 1993, 26–7. (Phrynichos seems to have had a certain interest in poetic themes: see Körte 1949, 920.25–30 and Harvey in this volume, p. 117 n. 17.) At the conference at which this paper was originally delivered, N.J. Lowe pointed to Strattis as another possible candidate for tragedocentricity. So far as one can judge from the meagre evidence, however, what Strattis cultivated was not plays dealing with tragedy, but burlesque of tragic-mythic subjects, as indicated by titles like *Medeia*, *Myrmidones*, *Troilos*, *Philoktetes*, *Phoinissai*. Contrast *Frogs* which is *about* tragedy, or *Thesmophoriazusae* which is *about* a tragedian, or *Acharnians*, which features a tragedian and *uses* the tragic *Telephus* (the play) but is not focused on the

tragic Telephus myth. If we discard unsubstantiated conjectures (notably about the *Kallipides*: see the introductory note in K-A VII 630; *contra*, Braund in this volume), the only known Strattis play that seems to have been on an art-subject is *Kinesias* – the name not of a tragedian, but a dithyrambic poet. Another indicator of *fin-de-siècle* interest in tragedy is the remarkable (and certainly comic) fragment, P. Köln 242: see Bierl 1990 and Slater 1995, 42–5.

²¹See T 17 (*Proleg. de com.* II: 1, 6 Koster) and 2a.10 (*Proleg. de com.* III: 20, p. 8 Koster) in K-A IV 116, 112.

²²Cratinus and Aeschylus: compare and contrast the comments in Schmid-Stählin 1946, 67–8, and cf. n. 24 below. Aristophanes and high-style pastiche: Silk 1980, esp. 99–117, and 2000, 167–81, 200–6.

²³Cratinus fr. 342 is quoted by the scholiast on Plato's *Apology*, who comments: Ἀριστοφάνης...ἐκωμωδεῖτο...ἐπὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μὲν Εὐριπίδην, μμεῖσθαι δ' αὐτόν (see K-A ad loc.). It is not clear whether this remark is simply an inference from Cratinus or rests on some other, unquoted, testimony as well. See Silk 2000, 415–17, and Luppe in this volume, p. 20.

²⁴One might just detect *color tragicus* in a few of Cratinus' iambic fragments, e.g. 196, ἐκτῆκομαι (cf. Eur. Or. 860 ἐξετηκόμην γόοις), or 198.2, καναχοῦσι πηγαί. But the first usage is too short to assess and there is nothing distinctively tragic-iambic about the second, which rather recalls the epic-lyric tradition: ποταμοὶ καναχηδὰ ῥέοντες Hes. Th. 367, δάκρυ καναχῆς Aesch. Cho. 152 (lyr.), πηγαὶ δοῖαι ἀναΐσσουσι *Il.* 22. 147–8, παγαὶ...ποταμῶν στένουσιν [Aesch.] *Prom.* 434–5 (lyr.). The two snatches are at any rate rare instances of momentary 'high style' in Cratinus' iambs. Revealingly, the clearest instance of para-poetry in *Flask (Pytinē)* involves allusion to Archilochus (fr. 211: Archil. fr. 109 West).

²⁵On word-play in this fragment, see below, n. 38.

²⁶The φαίνεται / στρατιώται 'rhyme' would no doubt be stronger than (and so the aural relationship would not be weakened by) the echo in the 'corrected' κατατρώξομαι (i.e. pronounced *-trōk-so-ma-/y* etc.: see e.g. West 1982, 12).

²⁷A typical example: fr. 77 (*Thraittai*: anapaests) κρουπεξοφόρων γένος ἀνδρῶν (cf. e.g. *Il.* 12.23 ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν); fr. 161 (*Panoptai*) is another.

²⁸Hesiod: e.g. fr. 349. Oracles: e.g. fr. 354. See K-A ad locc. There are of course para-epic sequences in Aristophanes, as in (most of) *Peace* 1270–93, but these are on a negligible scale by comparison with his *paratragica* (and perhaps symptomatically, even this *Peace* sequence contains notably un-epic hexameters, as 1280–1, on which see Sommerstein ad loc.).

²⁹Cratinus: as in fr. 77 (n. 27 above). Aristophanes: as with the parabasis in *Birds*, from 685 (cf. *Il.* 6.146).

³⁰On cottabus, cf. Sparkes 1960; on μάνης, Dover 1968, 313 on *Frogs* 965.

³¹Likewise βλαύτης and στροφέα: see the distribution of usage in LSJ s.vv.

³²τάλας is very common in tragedy (over 200 uses in Euripides alone: Allen-Italie 1954, 605), but also in comedy in its own right (τάλαινα' ἐγώ, as Ar. *Thesmo.* 559, is a common enough collocation). In any case, it occurs in epic, though not often (*Od.* 18.327, 19.68), as also in other hexametric poetry (as *Carm. Epigr. Gr.* 729.2. Hansen (?IV BC)), and the pro-dactylic rhythm of τὴν δὲ τάλαιναν evokes epic rather than tragedy. τάλας of things is rare and is mostly tragic (LSJ s.v. I. 2), but not exclusively so, and is attested (admittedly on the margins of 'things'/'people') even in prose (τάλαινα φρήν, Democr. 125).

³³Especially in view of other Homeric uses of κυλινδόμενος, notably *Il.* 22.414, where Priam is also κυλινδόμενος, κατὰ κόπρον. There are in any event other, more discreet and less specific, epic touches here like ἄϊει, whose genitival construction with λατάγων indistinctly recalls usages like Τρώων ἄϊοιεν ἰόντων (*Il.* 10.189).

- ³⁴I call it 'stanza' for convenience. One cannot know what precedes the lines, but they do finish with the effect of rhythmical closure on the catalectic line 10.
- ³⁵In Aristophanes the closest equivalent is probably the sequence of Homeric resonance and personification of plants in the 'pathetic' lyric at *Peace* 582–600: Silk 1988, 100–1, and 2000, 195–7, 205–6, 396–8.
- ³⁶The question arises, whether Hermippus achieved comparable effects elsewhere. In extant fragments there are no clear examples, though there is – in Hermippus, as in Cratinus – a disproportionate amount of para-epic: see e.g. frs. 47.7, 55, 63, 77 with K-A ad locc.
- ³⁷See Platonius, T17 (*Proleg. de com.* II. 1, 6 Koster) in K-A IV 116: αὐστηρὸς... ταῖς λοιδορίαις...οὐ γὰρ, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης,...τὴν χάριν κτλ. On the 'gentler' and the Archilochian traditions, see Handley 1985, 141, 152. 'Positive': see Silk 2000.
- ³⁸For the fragment, see above, p. 304–5. Aristophanes' low-lyric satire: Silk 1980, 124–9. Word-play and metaphor in fr. 276: Λυδιστί yields both 'Lydian mode' and 'Lydian effeminacy'; μέλη are both 'songs' and 'limbs'.
- ³⁹Norwood 1931, 201; Dover 1970, 418; Dover's remark (in *OCD*²) is dropped in his revised discussion (in *OCD*³ 571). Cf. also Zimmermann in this volume, p. 278.
- ⁴⁰κράτιστος...ἀνθρώπων: (e.g.) θεῶν κρατίστου, Pindar Ol. 14.14. πειθῶ... ἐπεκά- θίζεν: (e.g.) χάρις ἐπὶ παρσενικᾶν χαίταισιν ἴσδει, Alcman 3. 71–2. The rhythm of the piece overall is largely high-style, i.e. tragedy-compatible (despite a violation of the law of the final cretic in line 4 and third- and fifth-foot anapaests in 7).

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Allen J.T. & Italie G.

1954

Arnott W.G.

1993

Bakhtin M.

1968

Bierl A.

1990

Dover K.J.

1970

1987

1996

Dover K.J. (ed.)

1993

Dobrov G.W. (ed.).

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Aristo

1995a	<i>Beyond</i>
1995b	George
Geissler P.	‘The p
1925	<i>Chron</i>
	Dubli
Hall F.W. & Geldart W.M.	
1906–7	<i>Aristo</i>
Handley E.W.	
1985	‘Come
	<i>Histor</i>
Hansen P.A.	
1989	<i>Carmi</i>
	New Y
Henderson J.	
1975	<i>The M</i>
	1991.
Jakobson R.	
1960	‘Conc
	<i>Style i</i>
Körte A.	
1949	‘Phry
Marks E.R.	
1981	<i>Coleri</i>
Neil R.A. (ed.)	
1901	<i>The K</i>
Norwood G.	
1931	<i>Greek</i>
Platnauer M. (ed.)	
1964	<i>Aristo</i>
Schmid W. & Stählin O.	
1946	<i>Gesch</i>
Silk M.S.	
1974	<i>Intera</i>
1980	‘Arist
1988	‘Path
1990	‘The p
	<i>and In</i>
1995a	‘Arist
	<i>Come</i>
1995b	‘Lang
2000	<i>Aristo</i>
Slater N.W.	
1995	‘The f

Smith N.C.
1905
Sommerstein A.H. (ed.)
1987
Sparkes B.A.
1960
Spyropoulos E.
1974
West M.L.
1982
Whittaker M.
1935

Aristo
Word
Aristo
‘Kotta
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Greek
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Come

Chapter 20

MYTH AND RITUAL IN THE RIVALS OF ARISTOPHANES

Angus Bowie

In comedy, those who are the bitterest enemies in the story, such as Orestes and Aegisthus, become the best of friends by the end, and nobody is killed by anybody.

ἐκεῖ γάρ οἱ ἂν ἔχθιστοι ὅσιν ἐν τῷ μύθῳ, οἷον Ὀρέστης καὶ Αἰγισθος, φίλοι
γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐξέρχονται, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει οὐδεὶς ὑπ' οὐδενός.

These words of Aristotle's, written when discussing the inferiority of happy to sad endings in tragedy (*Poet.* 1453a36–9), are a rare and interesting testimony to the nature of mythological comedy, but they are also a strong warning of the problems faced by those looking at the Old Comic fragments from the point of view of their treatment of mythological tales: if Aegisthus and Orestes can become friends, what could *not* happen in mythological comedy? And how, given the generally lamentable state of the surviving evidence, can we hope to detect the unexpected twists in well-known mythic plots? Tragic myths involve a good deal of people dying at others' or their own hands, but if comedy removed that salient feature, what did it replace it with? Aristophanes' *Proagōn*, for instance, appears to have involved parody of Euripides' *Thyestes* and its grisly myth. Someone, presumably Thyestes, uttered the words

ἐγευσάμην χορδῆς ὁ δύστηνος τέκνων·
πῶς ἐσίδω ῥύγχος περικεκαυμένον;

Wretched me! I have tasted sausage made of my children
– so how could I look upon
a roast snout? (fr. 478 K-A = 461 Kock)

In the same play it was perhaps the same person who said

οἱμοὶ τάλας, τί μου στρέφει τὴν γαστέρα;
βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας· πόθεν ἂν λάσανα γένοιτό μοι;

Ugh! What is causing my stomach to churn? Damn it!
Where can I get a chamber

The most striking feature of the myth appears to have been preserved in *some* form in the comedy, but the fragments do not permit us to see how Aristophanes dealt with it. I cannot follow Taplin in his attempts to remove Thyestes from the *Proagōn*,² but I do think Aristotle's words need to be borne in mind, when we are tempted to find Taplin's reconstruction of the 'Santa Agata *Antigone* (Apulian bell-krater, now lost, c. 370s: Taplin 1993, 83–8 with pl. 21.22) far- fetched: he argues (87) that in the comedy depicted on that vase Creon had actually to force 'Antigone' (played by an old man) to carry out her 'crimes', in a reversal of the tragic plot. This is again a bold hypothesis, but such possibilities seem to be what Aristotle's words warn us about.

Indeed, for the scholar interested in the plots of Old Comedy from the point of view of myth and ritual (and indeed other view-points) a perusal of the titles and fragments can be a generally frustrating business.³ If we define Old Comedy somewhat crudely, in order to cut the Gordian knot of where the division should go,⁴ as poets dated 'V' or 'V/IV' in Kassel-Austin (i.e. fifth or fifth/fourth centuries), we have, in the century between the introduction of Comedy into the Dionysia in 486 and Aristophanes' death, some 48 poets contributing about 340 titles (about 385 with Aristophanes): the vagaries of the evidence, the problem of double titles, the precise meaning of α' and β' after titles etc. make accuracy impossible.⁵ This figure is close to the 365 given by the anonymous *de Comoedia* for Old Comedy including Epicharmus (and possibly other non-Attic dramatists?),⁶ which suggests that perhaps between 320 and 330 Attic Old comedies were known to the Alexandrian scholars. These numbers represent just over half of the some 750 plays the evidence suggests may have been performed.⁷ About one third of the titles have a claim to have been mythological comedies,⁸ and some twenty or more to have been ritual ones, but there are massive uncertainties. We are often dealing with no more than a title and a few fragments, which may give a very distorted picture of the whole play. We would probably have included Eupolis' two *Autolycus* plays as mythological ones but for Athenaeus' information that they concerned the son of Lycon, a favourite of Callias' (5.216cd), and we would have been unlikely to have gained a proper picture of *Frogs* if we had only its title and short passages to work with, as Dover shows in his Foreword to this volume: we could have been especially unaware of how important a role the Eleusinian Mysteries played in it (see now Lada-Richards 1998).

We must also perforce concentrate mainly on the second half of our century of Rivals, because we are so poorly informed about the earlier part. The ancient evidence suggests these early plays were of simple construction: οὐχ ὑποθέσεως ἀληθοῦς, ἀλλὰ παιδιᾶς

εὐτραπέλου γενόμενοι ζηλωταὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐποίουν ('they competed aiming not at a true plot but at genial play', Anon. *de Com.* III.9–10 p. 7 Koster). The earliest playwrights contribute little more than titles: Chionides *Heroes*, *Persians* or *Assyrians*, *Beggars*; Magnes *Barbitōn-Players*, *Frogs*, *Dionysus* I and II, *Lydians*, *Birds*, Πόαστρια (The *Weeding-Lady*), *Putakides* (?), *Gall-Flies*; Ecphantides Πεῖραι (?? *Experiences*), *Satyr*s. Euphronius (a victory in 458) is only a name. There is a possible mythical comedy in Chionides' *Heroes*,⁹ and comedies about a god in the two *Dionysus* plays of Magnes, and presumably Ecphantides' *Satyr*s. The situation seems therefore to be very different from Sicilian comedy, where half of Epicharmus' thirty-eight plays,¹⁰ five of Phormis' six¹¹ and four of Dinolochus' five have mythological titles.¹² If the extant titles of early Attic comedy are in any way representative of the genre as a whole at this time, then whatever influence Sicilian comedy had, it did not lead to large numbers of mythological comedies. It would be interesting to know whether Chionides' *Persians* simply made fun of easterners, or parodied Phrynichus' or Aeschylus' plays of that name: the alternative title is probably against such parody. The fact that in this early period there is only this one title that even suggests tragic parody is of interest, but is it significant? The relationship of early comedy to satyr-plays is also unclear. The later *Dionysalexandrus*, if, as is likely, Dionysus escaped his problems (Hypothesis, T I K-A (IV 140) 41–4), must have had many similarities to those satyr-plays that involved escape, but more we cannot say: presumably the main differences between the two genres were formal. As far as one can see, 'political' (in the narrow sense) comedy is absent, but the evidence is perhaps too scanty for one to be confident.

Our evidence begins to increase in the 450s, with the arrival of the likes of Cratinus and Crates, whom the ancient evidence credits with increasing the sophistication of the genre. Crates, according to Aristotle, took the first step, ἀφένεμος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους ('abandoning the iambic form and constructing universal stories and plots'),¹³ whilst an anonymous treatise mentions Cratinus as the one who, though still possessing something of the old ἀταξία ('disorder'), moved comedy on from a situation where μόνος ἦν γέλως τὸ κατασκευαζόμενον ('laughter was the only aim').¹⁴ Perhaps it was comedy's growing sophistication around this time that led to its introduction into the Lenaea as well as the Dionysia.¹⁵

Plays about gods and heroes

We can get some perspective on our topic in the second half of the century by looking at it in broad terms. Writing of the subject matter

of Greek tragedy, Bernard Knox pointed out that the great difference between that genre, with its concomitant satyr-plays, and comedy was that no tragedy 'deals exclusively (and only two of them—the *Prometheus* plays—extensively) with gods'.¹⁶ This is borne out by a survey of the titles of Old Comedy, in which some 50 plays appear to have involved substantial activity by the gods:¹⁷

Alcaeus *Endymion*, *Ganymede*, Ἱερὸς Γάμος (The Sacred Marriage (? of Zeus and Hera)), *Callisto*; Apollophanes *Danae*; Archippus *Amphitryon I* and *II*, *Heracles' Marriage*;¹⁸ Aristomenes *Dionysus in Training*; Aristonymus *The Sun Shivers* ("Ἥλιος ῥιγῶν); Aristophanes *Aeolusicon I* and *II* (though here a mortal acts as a god), *Clouds I*, *Daedalus* (who helped Zeus seduce Hera), *Dionysus Shipwrecked*; Callias *Satyr*s; Cratinus *Dionysalexandrus*, *Dionysuses* (such plurals may mean 'Dionysus and his Companions', etc.), *Eumenides*, *Nemesis*, *Satyr*s, *Seasons*; *Demetrius I* (?Birth) of Dionysus; *Diocles Bacchae*; Ecphantides *Satyr*s; Eupolis *Taxiarchs*; Hermippus *Birth of Athena*}¹⁹ *Europa*, *Fates*, *Gods*; Lysippus *Bacchae*; Magnes *Dionysus I* and *II*; Nicochares *Marriage of Heracles*; Nicophon *Birth of Aphrodite*, *Pandora*; Phrynichus *Cronus*, *Satyr*s; Plato *Adonis*, *Europa*, *Io*, *The Long Night* (Zeus' night with Alcmena), *Zeus Mistreated*; Polyzelus *Birth of Aphrodite*, *Birth of Dionysus*, *Birth of the Muses*; Sannyrio *Danae*, *Io*; Theopompus *Aphrodite*.

The list also shows something of the range and variety of Old Comedy's treatment of divinities. Not surprisingly perhaps, the most popular god is Dionysus, with a major role in at least sixteen plays: this will have been affected not just by the fact that he was the god of the festivals, but also perhaps by his appearances in satyr-plays, which would naturally have had an influence on early comedies. Zeus is close behind with fourteen, as befits perhaps the king of the gods.

A rough count of the plays involving heroic legend suggests that about a quarter of the titles fall into that category.²⁰ The following are the heroic figures who appear most frequently (I include here also plays from the 'gods' section):

Heracles: Cratinus *Busiris*; Hermippus *Cercopes*; Nicochares *Heracles the Choregus*; Philyllius *Auge*, *Heracles*; Plato *Zeus Mistreated*, *Wool-Carders* or

Cercopes; Pherecrates *Anthropheracles*.

Odysseus: Callias *Cyclopes*, Cratinus *Odyssēs*; Nicophon *Sirens*;²¹ Philyllius

Washer-Women or *Penelope*; Polyzelus *Niptra*; Strattis *Philoctetes*; Theo-pompus *Odysseus*, *Penelope*, *Sirens*.²²

Atalanta: Callias, Euthycles, Philyllius, Strattis.

Perseus: Apollophanes and Sannyrio *Danae*; Cratinus *Seriphians*;

Strattis *Lemnomena*.

Cheiron and the Centaurs: Apollonophanes *Centaurs*; Aristophanes, *Centaurs*;

Cratinus *Cheirons*; Nicochares *Centaur(s)*; Pherecrates *Cheiron*. Trojan nexus: cf. Odysseus above and *Dionysalexandrus*; also Aristophanes

Proagōn; Hermippus and Nicochares *Agamemnon*; Plato *Menelaus*; Philyllius *Helen*; Strattis *Troilus*, *Myrmidons*, *Philoctetes*; Menecrates *Manector*;²³ Diocles *Thyestes I and II*.

Heracles is perhaps unsurprisingly the most popular, along with the trickster Odysseus; Daedalus, another trickster, gave his name to plays by Aristophanes and Plato and played a role in the former's *Cocalus*. The popularity of Cheiron and the Centaurs can perhaps be explained in part by the comic potential of their blend of the violent and civilised, but it may be the result of chance. In the only play where we have any meaningful evidence, Cratinus' *Cheirons*, the chorus of Centaurs lamented the degeneracy of morals and music, in what seems to have been a parody of the Hesiodic *Χεῖρωνος Ὑποθήκαι* (*Counsels of Cheiron*), a book of advice supposedly given to Achilles by the Centaur.²⁴ Perhaps their mythical educative function made them suitable vehicles for moral censure of modern ways. More surprising is the popularity of Atalanta, though the fragments give little or no idea of how this myth was actually used. Knox found that the Trojan story and its ramifications were the most common mythical nexus in tragedy, with 68 titles (1979, 9); comedy does not produce anything like that number, but it was still a popular topic.

Specifically Athenian myths are less common than one might expect. Of the major Athenian mythical figures, Erechtheus and his daughters, Pandion, Triptolemus and Cecrops, for example, do not appear. Theseus has only two plays named after him (by Aristonymus and Theopompus – the fragments tell little), though he was a character in Cratinus' *Runaways* (*Δραπέτιδες*) where he boasted of strangling Cercyon (fr. 53), and may have appeared in Philyllius' *Aegeus*.²⁵ Telecleides wrote an *Amphictyons*, about Amphictyon who introduced Dionysus and his cult to Athens, and Cantharus wrote a *Tereus*. Aristophanes' *Anagyrus* is unusual in that it dealt with a local legend, about the punishment meted out by the 'Anagyrasius Daimon' to a farmer who had cut down a sacred grove (K-A III.2 pp. 51–2). Interestingly, the punishment was similar to the story of Hippolytus, and Euripides' play is parodied in fr. 53 (= 51 Kock), so local myth and tragic parody may have gone together. Pherecrates' *Ant-Men* seems to have dealt with the Aeginetan myth of the creation of men from ants. Indeed, simple reference to Athenian heroes is also generally not frequent in the fragments.²⁶ If representative, this

general avoidance of local myth is notable.²⁷ That Theseus is the subject of mockery suggests that respect for local traditions was not the motive. At the Dionysia one can understand an unwillingness to use myths which might have given the festival a too local feel compared with the deployment of pan-Hellenic myths (and might even have been obscure to visitors), but one might have expected the Lenaea to have been the place for epichoric legend: this does not appear to have been the case, however. Perhaps the reason lies in the desire on the part of the comedians such as Cratinus to establish comedy on a level comparable to that of tragedy (and satyr-play), which entailed engaging with the great myths and could not be achieved by staying with purely Athenian legends. Comedy sought thus to partake in the '(re)dramatisation and contestation of the city's *muthoi*' offered by the public festivals (Goldhill 1991, 174; cf. 167–222 generally).

There is one final general point. The poets of the last two decades of our period show a tendency to take a greater percentage of their plots from mythology. If we look at poets from Cratinus onwards, we find the following figures for mythological comedy for the earlier period (giving only figures that may be significant, with dates (some approximate) of first victory, at the Dionysia unless stated): Cratinus (453) 11/29; Crates (450) 1/11; Callias (?446) 3/9; Telecleides (c. 445) 1/9; Pherecrates (437) 4/19; Hermippus (435) 5/10; Phrynichus (428, Lenaea) 3?/10; Eupolis (first play 429) 1/17; Aristophanes (first play 426: see MacDowell 1995, 30 n. 6) 13/45.²⁸ This makes a total of 42 out of 159 titles, or 26%. For the last two decades, we find the following:

Ameipsias (414) 0/7; Archippus (415–12) 2/6; Plato (after 414) 10/31;²⁹ Philyllus (same) 6/10; Metagenes (same) 0/4; Theopompus (same) 8/20; Nicophon (same) 5/6; Polyzelus (same) 5/5; Strattis (writing 410 onwards) 10/19; Nicochares (?c. 400) 7/9; Alcaeus (competed in 388) 5/8. Here the total is 58 out of 124 or 47%. This then leads into the great preference for mythical comedy, often through parody of tragedy, that characterized Middle Comedy. We shall see later that increased parody of tragedy is in part the reason for this trend.

Parodies of tragedy

I have so far referred to mythological comedy as if it were an unproblematic concept, but it is obviously a term that could cover a number of different types of play: it might treat in a comic fashion a mythological tale without using a particular model or having any further purpose beyond the comic treatment of the myth; it might parody a particular tragic or epic version of the myth; or it might use

a mythical story, based or not on an earlier model, for purposes of political satire. For the most part, it is not possible to categorise plays with such precision. The problems can be seen in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*. Given the title and a few fragments, we might reasonably have categorised it as a ritual comedy; given a collection of fragments from the tragic parodies, it would have appeared more as a mythological play. Sometimes one can see the traps amongst the fragmentary plays. Eupolis' Χρυσοῦν γένος (*Golden Race*) was not, as one might have thought from its title, about a Cronian golden age, but apparently an ironical treatment of the time of Cleon's political ascendancy (see K-A V 471 and esp. fr. 316). More often, we are left in doubt. Was Plato's *Adonis* a parody of the myth of this precocious child or a satire on his followers? A fragment recounts an oracle to Cinyras, Adonis' father, about his child's fate at the hands of Aphrodite and Dionysus (fr. 3), but this could have been part of the parody of the myth, or a report of what happened in mythical time. When one looks generally at the plays by Plato with mythical titles (10/31), none of the fragments is of a political nature, and the only contemporary reference is to Lai's (*Phaon*, fr. 196): by contrast, there are plays with the boldly political titles *Peisander* and *Hyperbolus* (on which see Sommerstein's chapter in this volume). It would however be bold to claim that Plato kept his political and mythological plays apart.

One mythological play which the ancient evidence tells us specifically was not political was Cratinus' *Odyssēs*. Platonius reveals that οἱ γοῦν Ὀδυσσεῖς Κρατίνου οὐδενὸς ἐπιτίμησιν ἔχουσι, διασυρμὸν δὲ τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας τοῦ Ὀμήρου ('Cratinus' *Odyssēs* contains no censure of anyone, but criticises Homer's *Odyssey*)-?³⁰ it was compared (along with other unnamed plays) to Middle Comedy. Meineke suggested the reason for the lack of political satire was Morychides' decree against attacks on named individuals, and he dates *Odyssēs* therefore to 439–7.³¹ We are not well placed to say that such a lack of political comment was or was not unusual, but the fact that it was commented on may suggest that, though it remains possible that the point of the play was simply a comic treatment of the *Odyssey*, it was indeed unlike other plays for specific political reasons: no other Old comedy is picked out as a straight literary parody in this way by the testimonia.

The question of Old Comedy's dependence on specifically tragic myth for its subject matter is a vexed one, because we are too little informed about the dates of most fifth-century plays in both genres. Nearly two thirds of our comedies share names or subjects with tragedy (a small number are paralleled by satyr-plays, though it is not always possible to tell if a fragmentary play was a tragedy or a satyr-

play), but we know too little in most cases to say how far the comedies were parodying specific tragedies. The fact that Aristophanes could give considerable space to parodies of Euripides' *Telephus* not only in *Acharnians*, produced thirteen years after the tragedy, but also in *Thesmophoriazusae* produced twenty-seven years after it, is a warning that tragedies did not have to be recent for comedy to parody them, though this may be a special case. The earliest date we have for a comedy on a subject also treated by tragedy is c. 430 for Callias' *Atalantai*: this heroine was the subject of tragedies by Aeschylus and Aristias (first victory 460), but it is unlikely that these earlier plays influenced the comedy. It is *perhaps* slightly more likely that Cratinus' *Eumenides* (before 424) may have parodied its famous predecessor.³² The anonymous *de Comoedia* notes that Cratinus γέγονε δὲ ποιητικώτατος, κατασκευάζων εἰς τὸν Αἰσχύλου χαρακτῆρα ('he was highly poetic, constructing his plays in the style of Aeschylus', III.24 p. 8 Koster), but arguments that the *Oresteia* was revived around this time depend on the suggestion of (not entirely convincing) similarities between passages of *Clouds* and the trilogy.³³

There is however one period when parody of tragedy and especially of particular recent tragedies seems to have been notably frequent, and that is the last decade or so of the fifth century.³⁴ This is a trend which is naturally related to the increase in the proportion of mythological comedies discussed above and it will similarly play a significant role in Middle Comedy. It may also be relevant that in 411 Aristophanes produced *Thesmophoriazusae* with its bravura treatment of tragic parody, which may have given particular stimulus to this trend.

Strattis seems to have been notably active in this type of comedy. That his *Phoenissae* parodied Euripides' is suggested by the fact that it quotes one line from the play in fr. 47, παραινέσαι δὲ σφῶδν τι βούλομαι σοφὸν ('I want to give you some good advice' (= Eur. *Phoen.* 460–1), and seems to modify another in fr. 48, εἴθ' ἥλιος μὲν πείθεται τοῖς παιδίοις □ ὅταν λέγωσιν 'ἔξεχ' ὦ φίλ' ἥλιε' ('then the sun obeys children when they say "come out, dear Sun"'): compare *Phoen.* 546 εἴθ' ἥλιος μὲν νύξ τε δουλεύει βροτοῖς... ('then the sun and night are at mankind's beck and call...').³⁵ His *Anthroporestes* possibly parodied Euripides' *Orestes* of 408: it refers specifically to it in fr. 1 as δρᾶμα δεξιώτατον ('a very clever play') and complains there of Hegelochus' famous mispronunciation of line 279 (see K-A ad loc.): however the precise point of the fragment is not clear so we cannot deduce anything about the relationship of the two plays. These examples offer some support for the idea that his *Chrysipus* parodied Euripides' play composed at this same period: the three fragments

could be related to aspects of the myth, but there are other possible interpretations of them. His *Philoctetes* may have followed soon after Sophocles', produced in 409. In *Lemnomeda* he may even have combined the story of Euripides' *Andromeda* (412) with his *Hypsipyle* (408 or 7) or with Sophocles' *Lemnian Women*, perhaps in imitation of Aristophanes' technique in *Thesmophoriazusae*. His *Zopyrus Ablaze* was a parody of the tragedian Spintharus' 'Ἡρακλῆς Περικατόμενος (*Heracles Ablaze*). *Medea* seems to have dealt with the same part of the heroine's story as Euripides' play of 431 (fr. 34).³⁶ This period also saw comic parody of other genres, such as that of Philoxenus' dithyramb *Cyclops or Galateia* in Nicochares' *Galateia*.³⁷

This kind of dramatic self-referentiality³⁸ can also be found around this time in titles such as Alcaeus' *Κωμωδοτραγωδία* (*Tragicomedy*) and perhaps Phrynichus' undated *Tragedians*, and in the dedication of whole plays to famous contemporary artists: Strattis' *Cinesias* (post 405) was named after, and presumably dealt with, the dithyrambic poet, and his *Callippides* may have been named after the tragic actor.³⁹

As it happens, none of the (very few) fragments of Strattis' parodies has a political flavour, but we cannot know whether that meant that they eschewed political reference and/or comment altogether. Even if one or two fragments were political, this would not tell us much, since a fragmentary political remark would not necessarily prove that the play was 'political' in the sense we might use of the earlier plays of Aristophanes like *Knights*. These were dangerous times, and Aristophanes is careful about politics in his plays of 411,⁴⁰ but how far the dangers contributed to the trend for tragic parody is uncertain.

Myth and politics

We come now to plays which did have a strong political element alongside the mythical. The play about whose plot we know most is Cratinus' *Dionysalexandrus*, but even here there are problems in working out exactly how the political satire worked.⁴¹ The last sentence of the *hypothesis* (K-A IV 140 lines 44–8) is of particular interest: *κωμωδεῖται δ' ἐν τῷ δράματι Περικλῆς μάλα πιθανῶς δι' ἐμφάσεως ὡς ἐπαγοχῶς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν πόλεμον* ('Pericles is ridiculed in the play very persuasively through innuendo (*emphasis*) as having brought the war on the Athenians'). The fact that *δι' ἐμφάσεως*⁴² is used suggests that the action remained firmly in the mythical world, the spectators being left to work out how much of what went on related to Pericles and contemporary history. This is certainly how Quintilian defines *ἐμφασίς*: *in quo per quamdam suspicionem quod non dicimus accipi volumus, non utique contrarium, ut in εἰρωνείᾳ, sed aliud latens et auditori quasi inveniendum...* *Quod si*

ambiguitate sententiae possit eludi, nemo non illi furto favet (9.2.65, 68: ‘...used when we want, by means of an innuendo, to make the audience understand something that we do not actually say – not necessarily the opposite of what we say, as in the case of *eirōneia* (sarcasm, ‘irony’), but rather some other hidden meaning which is waiting to be discovered, so to speak, by the listener... When the danger [of giving offence] can be avoided by means of ambiguity, everyone admires this cunning device.’) We cannot recover now how far Cratinus helped the audience to follow his *emphasis*⁴³. Pericles, a handsome and notoriously sexually successful man, could easily be seen in Dionysus, and the gifts offered by the goddesses differ slightly from those in more serious accounts in order to convey appropriate jibes against Pericles: Dionysus is offered great beauty, tyranny and courage in war (*hypothesis*, lines 14–19: see K-A ad loc. for the textual problems). Decoding Helen herself is less easy: she might be Aspasia, and the charge against her and Pericles may have been of the kind made later by Aristophanes in *Acharnians* 515–37, but the very difficulty that we encounter in explaining her may tell us something about the nature of Cratinus’ allegorical method.

There are even greater difficulties in explaining how *emphasis* may have worked in Cratinus’ *Nemesis*. It dealt with Zeus’ use at Rhamnous of disguise as a swan to seduce Nemesis and create Helen. Zeus is told ‘you must become a big bird’ (fr. 114), and in fr. 115 someone says ‘Leda, it’s up to you: you must elegantly make yourself as much like a hen as possible, sit on this egg, and hatch us some fine and amazing bird from it!’ Political allegory is suggested by the address to Zeus μόλ’ ὦ Ζεῦ ξένιε καὶ καραίε (‘come Zeus, hospitable to strangers and long-headed’, fr. 118): the second epithet, though an actual cult-title in Boeotia and elsewhere, points clearly to Pericles’ curiously-shaped skull, and the first may perhaps allude to his friendships with distinguished non-Athenians (see K-A ad loc.). This time, however, it is not at all clear how far the play was a political allegory. Kaibel found it unthinkable that Nemesis stood for Aspasia; Schwarze (1971, 36–7) suggested that Pericles’ responsibility for the war was in question, with Helen again a symbol for that war, because she and Leda come from Sparta. The latter suggestion is not entirely happy, though perhaps more so than that which sees the egg as the Megarian decrees (ibid. 37–9). Again, the difficulties encountered in reading these plays as one-to-one allegories may suggest that the allegory was much looser than that, but the fragments may be deceiving us.

Whatever the case here, mythological comedy appears regularly to have used mythical names for contemporary figures. Pericles was famously compared to Olympian Zeus in Cratinus’ *Dionysalexandrus* (fr. 258; cf. frs. 73, 118; Telecleides, fr. 18; Ar. *Acharn.* 530) and was

addressed as βασιλεὺ σατύρων ('King of the Satyrs') in Hermippus' *Fates* (fr. 47). Aspasia was called Helen by Eupolis in the *Prospaltii* (fr. 267), as well as Hera in Cratinus' (*Cheirons*, fr. 259), Deianeira (fr. adesp. 704) and probably Omphale (Plut. *Peric.* 24.9; scholiast on Plato *Menex.* 235e; cf. K-A on Cratinus fr. 259). How exactly these comparisons worked, and whether the mythical figures stood allegorically for contemporaries or whether the names were sometimes applied in particular passages is largely opaque.

In these plays, we appear to be firmly in the mythical world. Other plays mix in various ways the mythical with contemporary events or events from the historical period. In Eupolis' *Taxiarchs*, Dionysus learnt military ways from the general Phormio (fr. 268; Wilson 1974, 1976). The date of the play is uncertain, but it is usually placed after Phormio's death (in perhaps 428): since there is no evidence that the play took place in Hades, this use of a dead man is intriguing. In Cratinus' *Pluti* the Titans, the personifications of wealth, rose from Tartarus and came to earth to seek their 'ancient relative' (of unknown identity), and engaged in a trial of the living Hagnon, Nicias' son, apparently on a charge of unjust enrichment (see the commentary in Carriere 1979, 213–29). Fr. 171.22–3 has a political flavour: ὥς δὲ τυραννίδος ἀρχὴ λ[έλυται] □ δῆμος δὲ κρατεῖ ('now that the reign of tyranny has been [?broken], and the people is in power'). The tyranny is presumed to be Zeus' and so there might be another reference to Pericles, who was removed from power in 429, though this is not certain and Aristophanes' *Birds* shows that such depositions need not have a specific analogue in contemporary history (see Luppe 1967).

A more complex mixture seems to have existed in Cratinus' *Runaways* (Δραπέτιδες). We do not know who these women were (if they were women and not cowardly men), nor what they were running from. There is reference to the seer Lampon, who was sent out by Pericles as one of the founders of the colony at Thurii⁴⁴ and is mocked for gluttony and magical practices (frs. 62, 66). Another fragment is spoken by the hero Theseus: 'and I discovered Cercyon shitting at dawn in the vegetables and strangled him' (fr. 53). However, putting Theseus into a plot together with Lampon and South Italy is not easy.

Cratinus' *Cheirons* had a similarly interesting mix of Centaurs and the ghost of Solon (fr. 246). Lyric songs parodied Orphic cosmogonies in describing the birth of Pericles, 'the great tyrant whom the gods call κεφαληγερέταν' ('Head-gatherer', in parody of Zeus 'Cloud-gatherer' in Homer) to 'Stasis and ancient Chronus' (fr. 258), and of Aspasia, 'the concubine dog-eyed one' to 'Licentiousness' (καταπυγούσνη (fr. 259), but the fact that these references are in lyric songs might mean

that these figures did not actually appear in the play.

These examples illustrate something of the variety that Old Comedy introduced into its use of mythological subject matter. Indeed, Sidwell has argued that ‘caricature of real individuals in disguise was a central aspect of the genre’⁴⁵ in highly complicated ways that are now hard for us to divine with only the texts to work with. The evidence is too fragmentary for us to be sure, but the fact that the non-political nature of Cratinus’ *Odyssēs* was noted may possibly suggest that that play was unusual and that a political sub-text was the norm in mythological comedies. In his chapter in this volume Henderson has suggested that comedy began to use mythology because this enabled it to bring on stage women and all the activities that male ideology attributed to them. This is possible, and one might extend the suggestion to say that mythology opened up in the same way the possibilities for political satire to make greater use of *emphasis* and to create a safer kind of criticism than the *λαμβικὴ ἰδέα* with which comedy is supposed to have begun (Arist. *Poet.* 1449b8). Either by straight allegory or by complex interweavings of the political and the mythological, a powerful weapon for savage, subtle and effective satire was produced which yet rendered the satire acceptable.

When exactly this mixture of the political and mythological was first introduced, the evidence does not allow us to say for sure. We have no certainly mythical titles before Cratinus, but, as we have seen, we are badly informed about the early period. One might be tempted to posit the middle of the century as the crucial time: it would not be surprising if the changes traditionally associated with Ephialtes and their consequences had been an important factor in the generation of political comedy in a more strongly democratic setting.⁴⁶ One suspects that ultimately, had we more evidence, when the onset of ‘political’ comedy was placed would depend on one’s definition of ‘political’.

Comedies about ritual

Turning to ‘ritual’ plays, we have something over twenty comedies which may have had a ritual character, but again there are obvious difficulties in such a discussion: consider *Frogs* and the Eleusinian Mysteries again (p. 318 above). The relevant plays are:

Aristomenes *Miracle-Workers* (Γόητες); Aristophanes *Seasons*, *The Women Pitch Camp*(?) (Σκηναὶς καταλαμβάνουσαι), *Thesmophoriazusae I and II*; Autocrates *Tambourine-Players*; Cephisodorus *Trophonius*; Crates *Festivals*; Cratinus *Delian Maidens*, *Euneidai*, *Thracian Women*, *Idaeans*, *Trophonius*, *Seasons*; Diocles *Bacchae*; Eupolis *Dippers* (Βάπται),⁴⁷ *New Moons*; Lysippus *Bacchae*, *Thyrus- Keeper*(?) (Θυρσοκόμος); Metagenes *The Keen Sacrificer*; Nicophon *Adonis*; Pherecrates *Stove or All-Night Festival*; Philyllius

Dōdekate (the second day of the Anthesteria), *Heracles*; Phrynichus *Initiates*; Plato *Adonis*, *Women Coming from the Rites, Festivals*.

Jeffrey Henderson (above, pp. 136–7) has again suggested that representation of festivals was, like the use of mythology, a method of putting women on stage, and if we look at the ritual titles we will see there are a certain number that concerned female cults. What is perhaps more striking is how many of the plays concern cults with unusual rituals, often with actual or claimed foreign connections.⁴⁸ One hesitates however to call these cults actually ‘foreign’, since the distinction between ‘Greek’ and ‘foreign’ is not easy to sustain: Dionysus himself is supposed to have come from the East, after all, and ‘one can scarcely insist enough on the paradox that ecstatic dancing, the mark *par excellence* of an “eastern” cult, was, in all seeming, indigenous in Greece’.⁴⁹ Parker suggests it is better to distinguish ‘between those traditionally honoured in Athenian public cult and all others’, in other words ‘established and non-established cults’ (1996, 158–9, 163). Of the main unofficial cults, Bendis, the Mother / Cybele, possibly the Corybantes, Adonis and Sabazius play a prominent role in one or more plays, as we shall see.⁵⁰

As with mythological comedy, it is almost impossible to say when this type of comedy began, but it may be that as early as Magnes’ *Lydians* play was being made with ‘foreign’ ritual activity: there are references to *ὄνειροκρίταισιν, ἀναλύταις* (‘dream-interpreters, releasers from spells’, fr. 4), and possibly ritual activity in fr. 3 *λούσαντα χρῆ καὶ βακκάριδι κεχριμένον* (‘one must wash and anoint with Lydian unguent’), though this might be simply a reference to luxurious living. It is around the middle of the century that eastern cults start to appear on vases, so one might imagine this as a time when these cults began to be introduced into Athens (Parker 1996, 197, cautiously). The earliest comedy (apart from *Lydians*) that seems to have treated these cults is Cratinus’ *Runaways*, variously dated in the 440s but, despite a reasonable number of fragments, of uncertain plot: how much play was made with the cults is thus uncertain. There Lampon was mocked as an *ἀγερσικύβηλις* (lit. ‘axe-collector’, i.e. ‘collector for sacrifice’, ‘sacrificer?’), and perhaps also as an *ἀγύρτης* (‘beggar-priest’, a word used pejoratively of miracle-working priests of unofficial cults) and *κυβηλιστής* (‘axe-wielder’: see fr. 66, and perhaps fr. 352).

Comedy bears out Parker’s cautious claim (1996, 197) that ‘native or foreign, the unlicensed god is exposed to suspicion, hostility, contempt, and the threat of actual repressive action’. It is interesting that Bacchic cult (as opposed to the god Dionysus) was the subject of a relatively small number of plays. Lysippus’ *Bacchae* described someone as rushing about ‘with *auloi* and reed-case’ (fr. 5), possibly a

Bacchic reveller, and, like Cratinus, mocked Lampon as an ἀγύρτης ('magician', fr. 6).⁵¹ Diocles' *Bacchae* referred to γυναικίζειν ('playing the woman', fr. 4) and used the verb ἐγκωμιάζειν ('to celebrate in a *kōmos*', fr. 5) in the sense of 'be in love with', both of which could be applied to bacchic activity. If Lysippus' Θυρσοκόμος (*Thyrus-Keeper*?) existed, it presumably had Bacchic subject matter. The evidence is woefully thin, but it looks as though what is mocked here is not official Dionysiac religion, but the more enthusiastic aspects of private Bacchic cult.⁵²

The same is true of other 'orgiastic' cults. Eupolis' *Baptai* (416 or 415 BC) concerned the members of the orgiastic cult of the Thracian goddess, Cotyto,⁵³ and the scholia on Juvenal 2.91–2 (K-A T ii (V 331–2)) say that Eupolis brought on effeminate men dancing in imitation of women. Alcibiades was a particular target, and the play was famous for the story that he ducked Eupolis in the sea near Sicily in return for the slander he suffered (T iii–v; see Nesselrath and Sidwell in this volume): whether this non-ritual dipping matched some ritual bath in the play is not known.⁵⁴ The plot is obscure, but in the fragments there are oaths sworn by apparently sacred plants (frs. 79, 84), a complaint to the magic *rhombos* that it has got the speaker a whipping (fr. 83), praise of a devotee for his ability at beating the drum, playing the lyre and dancing licentiously (fr. 88), and ritual cries (fr. 94). Significantly, a Hesychian gloss on ὀστύτω states that 'Eupolis put on stage a ridiculous divinity because of his hatred of the Corinthians' (fr. 93), which suggests that the play not only made fun of unofficial cult but also used such mockery against Athens' external opponents.

Cratinus' *Thracian Women*, which is datable to c. 430, most probably had a chorus of female devotees of the goddess Bendis:⁵⁵ we have her epithet δίλογχος ('with two spears', fr. 85) and the word κύβηβος, used of those inspired by the goddess (fr. 87). This cult was introduced into Athens some time in the second half of the fifth century, and by 429/8 it had status enough to appear in the accounts of the Treasurers of the Other Gods.⁵⁶ Its main centre was the Piraeus. Apart from the fact that Pericles appeared in the play as the 'squill-headed Zeus' (fr. 73), the plot is opaque. The precise nature of Bendis worship is uncertain. Strabo includes it in his section on orgiastic cults (10.3.16), and mockery of unrestrained worship is suggested by the gloss σαρβηνεύς (fr. 89), used of riotous flute-playing and of choruses where each member sang what he wanted, without any attention being paid to the leader.⁵⁷ More we cannot say: it would be interesting if there were a connection between the play and some contemporary official acknowledgement of Bendis, but we have no reason to posit such a connection on present evidence.⁵⁸

Autocrates' *Tambourine-Players* refers in its title to the *tumpanon*, an instrument especially associated with the devotees of Dionysus or Cybele,⁵⁹ which opens up the possibility that their cults were in question. A lyric fragment (fr. 1) describes Lydian girls dancing seductively for Ephesian Artemis in a simile which may have referred to the dancing of the devotees.⁶⁰ Presumably also critical of unofficial cults was Aristomenes' Γόητες (*Magicians*), another word for priests of unofficial and suspect cults. A fragment describes what was probably a magic ritual (fr. 5):

παντευχίαν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ
ταύτην λαβεῖν
καὶ περίθετον πρόσωπον ὃ
λαβὼν ἕσταθι

Take this panoply of the god
and the mask, and stand there.

Adonis is the title of plays by Nicophon (only the title is preserved) and Plato.⁶¹ Finally, in Aristophanes' *Seasons*, foreign deities, including Sabazius, were tried and expelled from the city.⁶² A fragment (fr. 581), possibly from the *agōn*, has a discussion between someone promising abundance and another expressing a lack of enthusiasm, but it is impossible to tell who is speaking.

The unusual oracle of Trophonius was the subject of two plays. In the few fragments of Cephisodorus' comedy of that name, we have an order to purchase unnecessarily luxurious unguents, perhaps in parody of the anointing with oil in the rituals at the oracle (fr. 3: cf. Paus. 9.39.7).⁶³ Cratinus' play offers little more light. We find restrictions on eating and sleeping (fr. 233, 236), which may be comic distortions of the ascetic rituals undergone before consultation⁶⁴ or of the fasting before incubation (cf. Tertullian *de anima* 4.83). There is a reference to 'big-cheeked snakes' (fr. 241), and Pausanias tells us that 'snakes were as sacred to Trophonius as to Asclepius' (9.39.3). An interesting fragment refers to ἀργυροκοπιστήρας λόγων (fr. 239), which, if correctly interpreted as 'silver-clippers of words', seems to attack people who in some way make their living out of cunning rhetoric. This points to possible charges of charlatanry at the oracle, and such mockery of a Boeotian oracle recalls Eupolis' satire on Corinthian worship of Cotyto in *Baptai*.⁶⁵

Festivals involving women alone belong in this category because of the way they permitted unusual gatherings of women without men. In addition to plays mentioned above, such as the *Adonis* plays, in Aristophanes' second *Thesmophoriazusae* the prologue was spoken by Calligeneia, who shares the name of the third day of the festival and was in the play apparently a nurse (τροφον, fr. 331 = 335 Kock). The

third day celebrated the return of Persephone from Hades and the return of wife to husband, and the fragments contain material that would be consonant with such a reunion. We have a long list of female accoutrements (fr. 332 = 320 Kock), a complaint (by a woman?) about the poor supply of food (presumably after the fasting of the previous day, fr. 333 = 318), another (by a man?) about perfumes (fr. 336 = 319; cf. fr. 334 = 317, a ban on sexually-arousing wine), a description of a girl loosening her clothes (fr. 338 = 325), a declaration of sexual desire (fr. 344 = 329), and women getting ready for drinking (fr. 345 = 330). There seems to be preparation for enjoyment on one side, but objections from another, but the extant *Thesmophoriazusae* warns that there might have been much else. Unfortunately, the fragments tell us nothing of the plot of Plato's *Women on their Way from Sacrifice* (Αἱ ἄφ' ἱερῶν), and it is unknown whether the women in Aristophanes' *The Women Pitch their Tents* (Σκηναὶ καταλαμβάνουσαι) were at an athletic festival or a specifically religious one.⁶⁶ A similar kind of play may have been Pherecrates' *Stove or Pannychis*, which probably dealt with the goings-on at such festivals that brought men and women together.

Major city festivals, apart from Dionysiac ones and those involving women, are not common as subjects: Dionysus and Demeter go together here as elsewhere. Two plays by Philyllius concerned Dionysus' Anthesteria, his *Dōdekatē*, which was the alternative name for the second day, better known as 'Choes' (the sole fragment appropriately concerns an amphora, fr. 6), and perhaps his *Heracles*, which had a character called 'Dorpeia', a name for the first day of the festival (compare Calligeneia, discussed above). It has similarly been suggested that Phrynichus' *Initiates* (Μύσται) was connected with Alcibiades' success in enabling the Eleusinian initiates, after a lapse of some years, to go under armed guard to Eleusis in 407 (Plut. *Alcib.* 34.4–7; K-A VII 411). There is no independent confirmation of the date, but such a celebratory play would have a parallel in *Peace*, and two years later Aristophanes was to make much use of the Mysteries in *Frogs*.⁶⁷

'Ritual' comedy therefore concentrated on unofficial cult more than official. Dionysus' comic gaze looked critically at the Other in religion, but could not but find there something of a reflection of itself and its city.

Notes

¹For the first line cf. Seneca *Thyestes* 999, presumably modelled on Euripides (Thyestes speaks): *quis hic tumultus viscera exagitat mea?*

²Taplin suggests (1993, 66 n. 26) that Euripides, whom he posits as tragedy's champion in the play, speaks the fragments quoted above and is talking about his plays as 'children'; the 'roast snout might refer to the shaven face of an actor'. This

seems strained. I cannot agree either that 'the Thyestes hypothesis makes no particular sense' of the snout and sausage (ibid.): the sausage is a likely, everyday sort of food for comedy to make children into, and the snout too regularly featured in lists of comic food (cf. Athen. 3.95a–e).

³No fragmentary play allows the kind of analyses I attempted in Bowie 1993, to which this chapter is a coda.

⁴For the problems, see esp. Nesselrath 1990 and his chapter in this volume; also Perusino 1987; Rosen 1995. For the titles, see the Biographical Appendix at the end of this volume.

⁵On the last two, see Mensching 1964, 20; on διασκευή, Galen *Hipp. vict. acut.* 1.4 (= Eupolis, *Autolycus* T ii (K-A V 321)).

⁶καὶ φέρεται αὐτῶν πάντα τὰ δράματα τξε' σὺν τοῖς ψευδεπιγράφοις τούτων δέ εἰσιν ἀξιολογώτατοι Ἐπίχαρμος... ('in total, with the *pseudepigrapha*, there are 365 plays by them extant; of these, the most notable are Epicharmus...'), *de Com.* III.9, p. 7 Koster; for φέρεται here see Lampe 1961 s.v. φέρω 11.

⁷This figure is very much a maximum, crudely arrived at by presuming 5 x 100 for the Dionysia competitions and 5 x 50 for the Lenaea which began c. 440. I am inclined to accept the arguments of Luppe 1972 (cf. 1988, which I have not seen) that there was no reduction in the number of comedies during the Peloponnesian War. If there was such a reduction, the number would fall by about 100. Other calculations by Mensching 1964 and Mastromarco 1975.

⁸On mythological comedy, see Moessner 1907 (list of mythological comedies with brief discussion, 57–82); on Middle Comedy Hunter 1983, 22–30 is useful. For the differences between these two types, cf. Nesselrath 1990, 188–241: 'sie [Middle comedies] neigen dazu, die märchenhaften Züge zu rationalisieren und so das ehemals Wundersame weitgehend zu eliminieren, und sie durchsetzen den Mythos stark mit Elementen aus dem zeitgenössischen attischen Leben' ('They tend to rationalise the folk-tale aspects of the myths, and thus to eliminate much of the miraculous nature of their models; they also intersperse the myths with a large number of elements taken from contemporary Athenian life.') (236); the political element is also removed. The distinction he makes is perhaps a little strict, as we shall see.

⁹Fr. 1: πολλοὺς ἐγῴδα κού κατὰ σὲ νεανίας □ φρουροῦντας ἀτεχνῶς κὰν σάμακι κοιμωμένους ('I know a lot of young men who are better than you who get on with guard-duty and lie on rush-mats') could suggest it was not entirely mythological.

¹⁰*Alcyoneus, Amycus, Atalanta, Bacchae, Busiris, Dionysus, Marriage of Hebe, Heracles and the Girdle, Heracles chez Pholus, Cyclops, Comasts or Hephaestus, Odysseus the Deserter, Odysseus Shipwrecked, Pyrrha and Promatheus, Sirens, Sciron, Sphinx, Trojans, Philoctetes.*

¹¹There are uncertainties in the entry in the *Suda*, which gives *Admetus, Alcinoüs, Halcyones* (or *Halcyoneus*?), *Capture of Troy, The Horse, Cepheus or Perseus.*

¹²*Althaea, Amazons, Comoedotragoedia, Medea, Telephus.*

¹³*Poet.* 1449b5–9. As Heath says, 'universal' here means 'in accordance with necessity or probability' (1990, 143–4; cf. *Poet.* 1451b8–9), i.e. not a concatenation of episodes but a coherent story. On *iambos* and Old Comedy in general see Rosen 1988.

¹⁴*De Com.* V.14–15, p. 14 K; cf. anon Cramer I, XIb.60–6, p. 41 Koster.

¹⁵The traditional costume of the comic actor is first seen on vases c. 430, but how that fact should be related to the introduction of 'plots' is uncertain (cf. Seeberg 1995, 8).

¹⁶Knox 1979, 8–9; he calculates that we know some 300 titles out of a total of some one thousand fifth-century tragedies, a rather poorer striking rate than for

comedy.

¹⁷On gods in Old Comedy see Moessner 1907, 82–93; Carriere 1979, 51–5.

¹⁸We cannot tell whether the two plays about Heracles' marriage concerned Omphale on earth or Hebe in heaven.

¹⁹For this type of 'birth' play, see Nesselrath 1995, esp. 14–18 on the Old Comedy examples.

²⁰Pace the scholiast to Dion. Thrax, XVIIIb.3.6, p. 74 Koster, who asserts that heroes appeared in comedy generally κατὰ τὸ σπάνιον, 'seldom'.

²¹According to Athen. 6.270a this play was ἀδίδακτόν, 'unperformed'; cf. Mensching 1964, 16–17.

²²It is not certain whether there were one, two or three plays on Odysseus by Theopompus.

²³Apparently the equivalent of Manes (a slave name) and Hector (cf. e.g. *Aeolosicon*); this play may be the same as his *Hermioneus*.

²⁴See K-A IV 245 on the subject-matter and Hesiodic parody; note esp. fr. 253 σκῆψιν μὲν Χεῖρωνες ἐλλήλυμεν, ὥς ὑποθήκας (of uncertain meaning: see K-A ad loc.).

²⁵It is possible that Hermippus' and Plato's *Cercopes* may have involved Theseus and not Heracles. The two fragments of Cephisodorus' *Amazons* do not reveal whether it concerned Theseus and Athens.

²⁶Using Meineke's *Index* and Kearns 1989, we find Erechtheus and Aegeus but once, summoned as witnesses, it seems, rather than as characters in the play (Ar. *Banqueters* fr. 217 = 211 Kock), Pericles as Buzyges (Eupolis, *Demes* fr. 103), and very sporadic mentions of other Athenian heroes, again not as characters.

²⁷Compare perhaps the way Pindar does not rely heavily on local legends in his epinicians.

²⁸This last figure does not count plays like *Gerytades* or *Poesis* which have a mythical schema, such as a *katabasis* or *anabasis*.

²⁹On Plato's mythological plays, see now Rosen 1995, 124–33.

³⁰*Diff. com.* I.51–2, p. 5 Koster = K-A IV 192. On this play, see also Perusino 1989, 80–4; Sutton 1990, 86. We have a fragment spoken in a storm (fr. 143), and instructions, paraphrasing Homer, on how to get to Ithaca (fr. 144), the verb ἀλυσκάζω (fr. 148; cf. *Od.* 5.276–7), reference to the wine and Maron its supplier, Odysseus' trick with his name (frs. 145–6), part of a 'false tale' (fr. 147), and Polyphemus' recipe for the Companion (fr. 150). There are differences from Homer: Polyphemus probably revealed the oracle about his blinding at an earlier stage, and Odysseus' falsehood involves both the trick about his name and a false story.

³¹Meineke 1839, I.283–4. Halliwell 1991, 57–9 argues for the historicity of the decree and that it was 'prompted by the immediate political sensitivities aroused by the Samian War' (59); see Halliwell's notes for earlier discussions.

³²Fr. 70, τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων 'parodies probably a lyric poet' (Fraenkel 1950, 725), though the epithet is not found until later epic apart from Aesch. Ag. 1531 εὐπαλάμων μεριμνᾶν. Was Cratinus in fact also parodying Aeschylus? See Sommerstein 1989, 11–12 for the problems relating to *Eumenides* as the title for the last play of Aeschylus' trilogy; and K-A IV 156 for problems concerning Cratinus' *Eumenides*.

³³Cf. Newiger 1961, 427–30; and (briefly) Cantarella 1974, 424–5.

³⁴Platonius argues that this came about because of the poets' fear of reprisals for their mockery of the powerful (cf. *Diff. com.* I.13–31, esp. 27–31, p. 4 Koster for Aristophanes' *Aeolosicon*), and that it became a feature of New Comedy, whose poets abandoned political satire, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ σκώπτειν ἱστορίας ῥηθείας ποιηταῖς ἦλθον ('and turned to making fun of stories told by poets', *ibid.* 47; cf. 53–6). See Nesselrath's and Sidwell's chapters in this volume for further discussion.

³⁵Aristophanes' own *Phoenissae* was probably a parody of Euripides', and also of this period.

³⁶Strattis' *Troilus*, apparently of this period, contains a quotation from Sophocles (fr. 42 = Soph. fr. adesp. 561), which may come from the latter's *Troilus* produced perhaps a decade earlier. We do not know if his *Myrmidons* parodied Aeschylus' play.

³⁷Hegemon, as well as writing comedies, seems to have been the first to write non-dramatic literary parodies: in 413, his *Battle of the Giants* was being recited to such great hilarity that, when the news of the disaster in Sicily arrived, no-one left the theatre to grieve (Arist. *Poet.* 1448a12; Athen. 9.406e–7b, 15.698c–9a; cf. Sutton 1990, 87–8). Hermippus (first comic victory at the Dionysia in 435) is also said to have written parodies (Ath. 15.699a): see Gilula in this volume, pp. 81–2.

³⁸Taplin 1993, 55–66 sees – somewhat controversially – two comparable instances in contemporary vase-painting. The *Choregi* vase (New York, Fleischmann collection F93, dated 400–380 Bc: Taplin pl. 9.1) shows an apparently tragic figure named 'Aegisthus', a comic figure labelled 'Pyrrhias', and two *choregi*: 'Aegisthus' is a 'representative of tragedy', and the play opposed two semi-choruses of tragic and comic *choregi*. Taplin is opposed by Shapiro 1995 and Gilula 1995 (further discussions are listed in Storey's Bibliography at the end of this volume). On the New York Goose Play vase (Metropolitan Mus. 24.97.104, dated c. 400 BC Fig. 7 in this volume, p. 294) a small figure named ΤΡΑΓΟΙΔΑΟΣ is (Taplin claims) 'in some sense a diminishment of tragedy, a jibe at the solemn, allegedly greater genre'. [We would prefer to see this naked and stiffly upright figure as a statue. – Eds.] A more certain example, involving not comedy but satyr-plays, is the Oxford oenochoe of the satyr approaching the sleeping maenad Tragedy (ARV² 1258; last third of the fifth century).

³⁹He won five victories at the Lenaea (IG ii² 2325; cf. 2319); see *RE* X.2 (1919) 1657–8 for the traditions and stories connected with him, and Braund in this volume for Strattis' play.

⁴⁰See e.g. Dover 1972, 168–72; Henderson 1987, xv–xxv; Sommerstein 1990, 1–3, 1994, 3–4; MacDowell 1995, 251–2.

⁴¹On Cratinus' mythical plays see Rosen 1988, 49–58.

⁴²For *emphasis* see Ahl 1984. *Emphasis* is also used in *Tract. Coisl.* XV.32, p. 65 Koster. For a similar expression cf. Tzetzes on Eupolis, allegedly drowned on the orders of Alcibiades: παντελῶς διεφθαρμένος τοῖς κύμασι τῆς τε φανεράς καὶ τῆς συμβολικῆς κωμωδίας ἐπαύθη ('completely destroyed by the waves, he was prevented from writing both overt and allusive (*symbolikē*) comedy', *prooem.* I, XIaI.87, p. 27 Koster: see Nesselrath in this volume on this anecdote.). Cognates of συμβολικός and αἰνιγματώδης ('riddling') appear not infrequently in ancient discussions of comedy: this play of Eupolis is said to have been the last comedy to make its criticisms openly (e.g. Tzetz. *Prol.* XIaI. 66–105, pp. 25–7 Koster), introducing a 'middle', αἰνιγματώδης period of comedy. They are not explicit about how exactly this later period of Old Comedy was more 'riddling' than the earlier: for suggestions, see Janko 1984, 244–50. On these questions in general see Sidwell's chapter in this volume as well as Nesselrath's.

⁴³See Schwarze 1971, 6–24, who tries too hard to relate play and history, and (most recently) Revermann 1997.

⁴⁴Plut. *Peric.* 6.2–5 with Stadter 1989, 83–4; PA 8996.

⁴⁵Sidwell 1994, 112; cf. 1993, 1994, 1995, which also importantly stress the likelihood of considerable intertextual rivalry between comic poets.

⁴⁶Cf. Carey 1994, 71: 'Comedy helps to define the city not only as a cultural centre but as the democratic polis *par excellence*.' Cf. perhaps the similar idea in the scholion to Dion. Thrax, XVIIIb.1, p. 72 Koster: κωμωδία ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν μέσῳ λαοῦ

κατηγορία ἥγουν δημοσίευσis ('comedy is accusation made in the midst of the people, or a making public'). Landfester 1979, 363 suggests that comedy was 'political' from its earliest days, basing himself on ancient traditions that *komoi* of poorer men mocking richer were at the root of comedy.

⁴⁷On the problems of the meaning of this word see Parker 1983, 306 n. 125.

⁴⁸Cf. in general Strabo 471: πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρεδέξαντο ὥστε καὶ ἐκωμωδήθησαν καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ τὰ Φρύγια ('the Athenians accepted many foreign cults into the city, with the result that they became the targets of comedy, and especially the Thracian and Phrygian cults'); Parker 1996, 188–98.

⁴⁹Parker 1996, 160. On 'new gods' and this distinction, see *ibid.*: 152–98, esp. 158–63 also Garland 1992.

⁵⁰For Asclepius see Ar. *Plutus* 653–747; Pan is mentioned certainly only in Cratinus, fr. 359 (a scholion?: cf. fr. 75.1), but eight times in Aristophanes.

⁵¹See Burkert 1962; Bowie 1993, 112–24 for an instance in Aristophanes.

⁵²Moderns are most struck by the wild irrationality of ecstatic cults; but in the ancient world the charges characteristically brought against them by outsiders were of frivolity and luxuriousness': Parker 1996, 162.

⁵³On the meaning of the title see K-A V 333. On the content, Juvenal 2.91–2 *talìa secreta coluerunt orgia taeda* | *Cecropiam soliti Baptae lassare Cotyto* with the scholia (K-A T ii), which give information about the cult, though Srebrny 1936, 423–6 suggests that this depends on Eupolis (and a commentary on him): 'den Kult selbst hat er schwerlich naher gekannt; in den erhaltenen Bruchstücken seiner Komödie findet sich nichts, was Überhaupt zur Charakteristik jedes beliebigen orgiastischen Kults nicht gehören könnte' (425: 'It is unlikely that he [Eupolis] knew any details of the cult itself; in the surviving fragments of his comedy there is nothing that could not refer to the characteristic rites of any popular orgiastic cult'). This may be extreme: distortion there may have been, but there is no reason why Eupolis should not have known about a Corinthian (fr. 93) cult. For Cotyto's rites, cf. Aesch. *Edones* fr. 57 Radt. 'If she had worshippers in Athens itself, nothing is known of their doings' (Parker 1996, 195). For her worship in Sicily and the Peloponnese, see Srebrny 1936; Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky 1993, 23–5.

⁵⁴Doubted, because ritual bathing was not generally held as contemptible, by Parker 1983, 306 n. 125, though perhaps such bathing in certain contexts could be the subject of comedy's mockery. For ritual bathing in general cf. Ginouvès 1962, 233–428. For suggested associations between the historical Alcibiades and these rites see Lozanova 1996.

⁵⁵Cf. the role of the γυναῖκα...Θράττα[v] in Sokolowski 1962, no. 6.15, regulations for the cult of Bendis. On Bendis see Gočeva & Popov 1986; on her intriguing acceptance into Athens, Simms 1988; Garland 1992, 111–14 (with pl. 26); Parker 1996, 170–5, 195.

⁵⁶IG³ 383.143 Be[vδιδος]; cf. 369.68 (= ML no. 72; 423/2 BC).

⁵⁷Athen. 15.697f. Parker in *OCD*³ 238–9 s.v. Bendis wonders whether Strabo knew what he claims: the fragment may offer slight support to Strabo.

⁵⁸Cf. on Cratinus' *Delian Maidens* below. For tragedies that may have had a celebratory function, compare Aeschylus' *Oreithuia*, perhaps composed for the dedication of the temple of Boreas in return for his help at Artemisium (Hdt. 7.189: cf. Aeschylus *TrGF* 3.377; Simon 1967, 117–21), and *Aetn(ae)ae*, written for Hieron's foundation of Aetna in 476/5 (*Vita* 9; *TrGF* 3.126–30).

⁵⁹Cf. e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 59 τύμπανα, 'Ρέας τε μητρός ἐμὰ θ' εὐρύματα ('*tympana*, the discovery of my mother Rhea and myself'); cf. Pearson 1917, 262–3; further bibliography in Harvey 1995, 280. Τυμπανιστής is not attested elsewhere before Strabo, but cf. τυμπανιστρία of Aeschines' mother (Dem. 18.284; cf. 259–60). On Cybele in Athens, see Parker 1996, 188–94 (with bibliography).

⁶⁰Cratinus' *Idaeans* is ill-attested, and it has been suggested it concerned the Idaean Dactyls, who were connected with the Corybantes (Strabo 10.3.22). The chorus may therefore have been the effeminate devotees of Cybele: there was a shaving-scene like that in *Thesmophoriazusae* (Cratinus fr. 90, with K-A ad loc.) However, an uncertain notice suggests the appearance of 'divine forms' (τὰς θείας μορφάς, fr. 91), and so the title has been translated as *The People of Mount Ida* and taken as an alternative title to the *Dionysalexandrus* (Luppe 1966, 187).

⁶¹On the problems of this play, see p. 322 above. Adonis is mentioned also in Cratinus fr. 17 (*Boukoloi*) and Pherekrates fr. 181 (unknown play), and of course in Ar. *Lys.* 387–98 (see Henderson 1987, 119), and frequently in Middle and New Comedy (Atallah 1966 98–104). For Adonis at Athens see Parker 1996, 194. The closely related deity Attis is referred to by Theopompus (fr. 28, *Kapēlides*).

⁶²*Novos vero deos et in his colendis nocturnas pervigilaciones sic Aristophanes... vexat, ut apud eum Sabazius et quidam alii deiperegrini iudicati e civitate eiciantur* (Cic. *Laws* 2.37, K-A T ii (vol. III.2 296): 'Aristophanes makes such a violent attack on new gods and the all-night vigils involved in their rites that Sabazius and various other foreign gods are put on trial in a play of his and expelled from the city'); this passage is generally taken to refer to *Seasons*. For Sabazius at Athens see Parker 1996, 194.

⁶³On Trophonius see Schachter in *OCD*³ 1556 s.v. Cephisodorus fr. 6 refers to fuller's earth, which may have had something to do with ritual purification, though there is no reference to this earth in Pausanias' account.

⁶⁴Cf. Paus. 9.39.5: δαιτιώμενος δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰ τε ἄλλα καθαρεύει καὶ λουτρῶν εἶργεται θερμῶν...καὶ οἱ καὶ κρέα ἄφθονά ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν θυσίων: 'during his sojourn there he [the person consulting the oracle] observes rules of purity, and, in particular, refrains from warm baths. He gets plenty of flesh from the sacrifices'. The fear experienced at these consultations is mentioned in passing by Ar. *Clouds* 507–8: cf. Dover 1968, 163 ad loc.

⁶⁵Plato's *Festivals* may have concerned the kind of dietary regulations associated with unofficial cult: there was a recommendation that only pigs should be eaten, because 'four-footed beasts have sweet flesh, but pigs give us only whips, mud and noise' (fr. 27). Of Metagenes' Φιλοθύτης we know nothing, but it looks like a character-play about one over-enthusiastic for his religious duties.

⁶⁶For this kind of title, cf. Epicharmus' Θεαροί (*Temple-Visitors*) and Sophron's mime Ταῖ θάμεναι τὰ Ἰσθμια (*Women Observe the Isthmian Games*).

⁶⁷Cf. Lada-Richards 1998. On Sommerstein's revival (1986) of Droysen's theory about a restriction on the mention of individuals connected with the profanation of the Mysteries and the Hermocopidae, see Halliwell 1991, 59–66. Another (much less certain) example of a celebratory comedy may have been Cratinus' *Delian Maidens*, which has been referred to the purification of Delos and the inauguration by the Athenians of the four-yearly Delian games in 425 (Thuc. 3.104; K-A IV 134). Frs. 32–3 concern preparations for a procession.

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Carey C.	
1994	'Comi
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Terracotta D. Mon. AT 22 (p. 58). Man seated (probably a slave), with chin on his hand, which pushes his beard up into his mouth. Dotted *chitōn*, looped phallos. Early 4th cent.; examples found in Athens, Gela and Volos; height 8.9 cm.

Chapter 21

EDIBLE CHORUSES

John Wilkins

Crates *Wild Beasts* fr. 19 contains the following exchange:

A: Καὶ τῶν βοσάνων ἐνεῖν χρή
ἰχθῦς ᾿ὅστων αὐς πε περιχθῖς, ἡμῶν δ' ἀπο χεῖρας ἔχουσιν.
B: οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' οὐδὲν κρέας, ἀς ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, οὐδ' ὅσων ἐδόξασθα.
οὐδ' ἐξ ἀγορᾶς οὐδὲ τάκωνας ποιησάμεθ' οὐδ' ἀλλάντας.¹

A: And you must boil some of the
cabbages,
bake the fish and the salt-fish, and keep your hands off
us.

B: Will there be no meat, according to your formula,
none at all for us to eat?
Not from the market? Won't we even make rissoles or
black puddings?

Too little of the play survives to determine how this exchange was developed, but this much is clear. The speakers appear to be the chorus or chorus-leader (A) and a human interlocutor (B). The fragment brings together two important features of Old Comedy, the so-called animal chorus and the prominence of food and eating.² The chorus of wild animals proposes the modification of the human diet to exclude meat – at least the meat of ‘us’, the wild beasts. This chapter explores the tension between the alimentary codes of comedy and the possibility that the chorus itself might become food for humans. This tension provided the dramatists with a number of creative options. Eating is an extreme form of aggression and domination over another. The eater consumes his enemy. The chorus of Old Comedy often begins the play in opposition to the protagonist (see Zimmermann in this volume); their hostility may be expressed aggressively even to the extent of threatening to consume the enemy (see below on *Birds* 348 and 352). The chorus will never actually be eaten – there would obviously be severe dramaturgical problems if the chorus were to disappear – but the possibility is raised, as Crates fr. 19 demonstrates. The principal plays to be investigated are the *Birds* of Aristophanes (414 BC), the *Wild Beasts* of Crates (date unknown) and the *Fishes* of Archippus (soon after 403/2 (K-A II 542)), but the enquiry also extends to the *Goats* of Eupolis.

Animal choruses

Plays with animal choruses are listed by Sifakis (1971, 76) as the following: Magnes *Frogs*, *Birds*, *Fig-Wasps*, Crates *Beasts and Birds*,³ Pherecrates *Ant-Men*, Eupolis *Goats*, Aristophanes *Knights*, *Wasps*, *Frogs* and *Storks*, Plato *Griffins and Ants*, Archippus *Fishes*, Callias *Frogs*, Cantharus *Nightingales and Ants*, Diocles *Bees*, and Antiphanes *Knights*. Most of the creatures selected for these choruses were apparently not eaten by the Greeks in antiquity. Edibility certainly does not arise in the cases of the griffins, the men who were knights on horse-back, the insects⁴ and probably the frogs. The creatures who were chosen to comprise the animal choruses may be described as gregarious animals marginal to human society.⁵ Some were of great utility to mankind, such as bees and fig-wasps, while others formed a significant part of the diet, such as wild animals, birds and fish, but they are not the domesticated animals of agriculture.⁶ The exception are the goats of Eupolis, which were part of pastoral agriculture. The range of creatures represented in choruses suggests that edibility was not a criterion for the selection of a species, but it was not a criterion for non-selection either. I hope to show that when a selected species coincided with edibility the poets did not fail to explore the implications which arose.⁷

These choruses of animals whose activity impinged on human life might have a positive, negative or neutral relationship with mankind. Interaction may include both exchanges in the real world and a wide range of linguistic adaptation. Aristophanes, for example, exploits to a limited extent the sting of the wasp in metaphors in his *Wasps*. We should expect the *Bees* of Diocles to have concerned itself in some way with the production of honey and the *Fig-Wasps* of Magnes to have something to do with the fertilising of fig trees and the co-operation between the human and insect world. Wasps, ants, storks and frogs might be said to have a neutral effect on human society. As for animals which men consumed, the relationship might be described as beneficial to human society but harmful to the animals.

In the animal world, most species have enemies, that is predators, who eat them.⁸ There are insect predators of the fig-wasp (*psēn*) that formed the chorus of Magnes' play. In Aristophanes' *Birds*, gnats (*serphoi*) are consumed by the birds (82, 569). This potential for predation applies to the animal choruses of Old Comedy. Human beings are an enormous predator of many species. The principal plays under consideration are those with choruses of wild animals that were hunted by men. The birds of Aristophanes, the fish of Archippus and the wild beasts of Crates happen to comprise the three categories of hunted animals (cf. e.g. Oppian *On Hunting* 1.47–8). Hunting is often visualised as warfare between man and beast (e.g. Xen. *On Hunting*

12.1–9, Oppian 1.88; cf. Anderson 1985, 17–29). This is important for the comic chorus and the construction of the *parodos* and *agōn* as a battle between the protagonist and chorus, between ‘us’ and ‘you’ (Crates *Wild Beasts* fr. 19, Archippus *Fishes* fr. 27, *Birds* 327–447).

Food and eating in comedy

Food and forms of consumption are a major interest of all Greek comedy, from Epicharmus to Menander and beyond (see Wilkins forthcoming). Comedy concerns itself with agricultural production and trade, with the buying and selling of foods in the market-place, with sacrificial and other ritual, with festivity and commensality within the polis, with the *deipnon*-symposium and sympotic themes (see Fisher in this volume), with the discourse of luxury and appetite (see especially Davidson 1997), with imagined feasting in utopia (see Ruffell in this volume) and with the enormous potential offered by the material world of foods, pots and pans for representation in comic poetry.

Comedy is normative, castigating those who stand out as different, the fat and the thin, the greedy and the abstemious, and particularly those who eat privately and not within the festivals and rituals of the polis.⁹ Communal feasting based on an abundance in the supply of food is the objective of many plays in Old Comedy and is sometimes achieved through a comic reconfiguration of society which seeks to feast all the people equally, to the disadvantage of those well placed in the hierarchy in the ‘real’ polis. Feasting is based on consumption, most importantly of animals, both within and outside the sacrificial code (see Detienne and Vernant 1989, 1–86). Domestic animals are sacrificed, birds, fish and hunted animals generally not. The utopian plays appear to present a similar form of eating, even though some of them are set in the Age of Kronos rather than under the dispensation of Zeus (see Ceccarelli in this volume). Feasting is the goal of many of the protagonists and characters of Old Comedy, but feasting in the wrong context or on the wrong foods may be construed as ‘luxury’. Fish in particular may be construed as a luxury food (see Davidson 1997, 3–20), partly because it was not usually included in the sacrificial order.

Human beings are occasionally eaten (or threatened with being eaten) in Old Comedy, but normally only in mythical burlesque or in violent debate. Cratinus *Odyssēs* fr. 150 provides a fine example (the Cyclops is speaking): ‘in return for which, I shall take all of you trusty comrades and after toasting, boiling and roasting you on charcoal, and dipping you into brine and brine- vinegar and then into hot garlic-brine, I shall crunch up whichever one of you is obviously the most roasted, my brave soldiers’.¹⁰ Humans may also be consumed in metaphorical ways. Thus women may be represented either as

sacrificial animals (e.g. *Acharnians* 790–5) or fish (see pp. 345–7 below on Archippus *Fishes* fr. 27). Similarly, households may be consumed by the spending of money on food and *hetairai* (Davidson 1997, 209–10).

Aristophanes *Birds*

Our investigation of eating in plays with animal choruses begins with the play which is preserved in full and about which we know most, the *Birds* of Aristophanes. Nan Dunbar recently published an essay (1997) in which she studied the relationship between the comic poet, the broad knowledge of ornithology displayed in his plays and his choice of largely edible birds to compose his chorus.¹¹ At the beginning of the play the human beings set out with sacrificial equipment (line 43); they defend themselves with cooking pots, spits and dishes (356–65) and Euelpides jokes that Peisetaerus' preparations to speak resemble the preparations for dinner rather than for rhetorical display (see Dunbar 1995, 318–22 on lines 462–4).

The normal practice of human beings, as Peisetaerus points out to the chorus (526–33), is to hunt birds with snares and sell them at market to buyers who feel them for plumpness. Birds end up on the plate, suffering the humiliation of a dousing in strong-tasting and oily sauces as if they were carrion. If we set aside the detail of the humiliating sauce, Peisetaerus has defined the fundamental relationship between birds and human beings in ancient Greece as predation by human beings. The play presents a radical reordering of the cosmos in which the gods are replaced by birds as rulers of the universe and the protagonist becomes king of the birds. There are also changes in the regulations for sacrifice, by which in the past human beings demonstrated their dependence on the gods. Now the birds will receive sacrifice before the gods (561–3) and the birds by reciprocity will make blessings available to human beings and provide all the things formerly provided by the gods. It is notable, however, that the provision for sacrifice has not changed very much. The birds are the new gods but human beings continue to offer sacrifice to the gods and domestic animals remain the sacrificial victims. The gods do not replace the birds as prey for human beings; rather, in the new order, there are parallel sacrifices to gods and birds: if Zeus is offered a ram, the wren (the ὄρχιλος; Dunbar 1995, 383–4) will receive a sacrificed gnat (568–9). And so on for other gods and other birds.

The new order seems somewhat limited. A systematic amalgamation of birds and gods into a new pantheon is dismissed (851–94), the proposer, a priest, being compared with kites and other raptors that snatch meat from altars (cf. *Peace* 1043–1126, esp. 1099–1100). In the central scenes of the play, much is made of the sacrifice

of a goat offered to the new gods, the birds (846–902, 1055–7), but there are no details of the sacrifice or the distribution of the animal to birds and human beings, and they are told (1118) that the sacrifice is propitious, a further indication perhaps that the old gods are still the recipients. Moreover, the new Zeus is Peisetaerus, a human being. In the organisation of sacrifice, the birds, for all their new-found divinity, have made little progress. Humans continue to offer domesticated animals in sacrifice to the gods. The new gods are a mere adjunct, receiving sacrifices of wheat, honey cakes and gnats at the same time as sacrifice is made to corresponding Olympians (565–70). Furthermore, at the end of the play birds continue to be doused in sauce and roasted. This time the chorus is immune from danger. The roasted birds have not been hunted, but are treated as political dissidents who are punished in an appropriate way for a bird dissident. However, their roasted flesh forms part of the final feast of the comedy (1688–9) just as surely as doves and thrushes did for the protagonist of, for example, *Acharnians*. Little has changed.

Many have written of the ambiguity of the utopia in *Birds*,¹² but there can be few more powerful indications than the maintenance of the sacrificial order in which human beings offer the life of a lesser being (a domesticated beast) to a higher being, a god. The birds are no more than tacked on to this system – there is no interest in the details of the sacrifices offered to them. However, the play has considered more radical proposals and has explored the area of new divinities and new relationships of eating between man, god and animal. Wide areas have been considered, sacrificial and non-sacrificial, but Aristophanes has maintained the traditional order by making a human being king of the birds and lining up birds in parallel with the gods. Human predation has been modified to political punishment, and the chorus is assuredly not eaten. Furthermore, the consumption of human beings by birds is not taken beyond initial threats in the *agōn*.¹³

A series of alimentary codes lies behind eating in *Birds*. Sacrifice is paramount. It is explored and reordered to take account of the new bird-gods, and yet remains curiously similar to the sacrifice in the city of domesticated animals by human beings to their traditional gods.

Archippus Fishes

Twenty-one fragments of the *Fishes* of Archippus are listed in K-A, though seven of them are very small. The plot appears to centre on the relations between fish and human beings (see K-A II 542). A number of fragments assimilate human society to the society of fish, as Aristophanes had done with human and bird society in *Birds*. There are fish-seers (fr. 15), fish-heralds and trumpeters (fr. 16) and fish priests (fr. 17). The gilt-head is declared sacred (fr. 18), and lists of

fish are given which may or may not have impinged on the human world (frs. 19, 20, 24, 25, 26).

Fish are the enemies of men in this play, as birds are inimical to men at the beginning of *Birds*. Four fragments concern us here.

Fr. 23 (Athen. 6.227a):

Αἰγύπτιος μιαρώτατος τῶν ἰχθύων κάπηλος,
Ἑρμαῖος, ὃς βίαι δέρων ρίνας γαλεοῦς τε πωλεῖ
καὶ τοὺς λάβρακας ἐντερεῦον, ὥς λέγουσιν ἡμῖν.

The Egyptian is the foulest seller of fish,
Hermaeus: he violently skins angel-shark and sells dog-
fish
and disembowels sea-bass, so they tell us.

Fr. 27 (Athen. 7.329b–c):

ἀποδοῦναι δ' ὅσα ἔχομεν ἀλλήλων, ἡμᾶς μὲν τὰς Θράιττας καὶ Ἀθερίνην τὴν
αὐλητρίδα καὶ Σηπίαν τὴν Θύρσου καὶ τοὺς Τριγλίαις καὶ Εὐκλείδην τὸν
ἄρξαντα καὶ Ἀναγυρουντόθεν τοὺς Κορακίωνα καὶ Κωβιτοῦ τοῦ Σαλαμινίου
τόκον καὶ Βάτραχον τὸν ἀρέδρον τὸν ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ.

[the peace treaty between the warring sides]: to restore
whatever we¹⁴ have that belongs to the other: on our
part the Thracian Women¹⁵ and Atherine¹⁶ the pipe- girl
and Cuttle-fish (a prostitute according to Bergk: see K-A),
wife of Thyrsus and the Red Mullet (the exact reference
is not understood) and Eucleides the former archon and
the Coraciones¹⁷ from Anagyros and the son of Goby of
Salamis and Monkfish the official (*paredros*) from
Oreos.¹⁸

Fr.28(Athen.8.343c):

κομμοῖδουσιν δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὀψοφαγίαι Λεῦκων ἐν Φράτεσιν, Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν
Εἰρήνῃ, Φερεκράτης ἐν Πετάλῃ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰχθύσιν Ἀρχιππος τῷ δράματι ὥς
ὀψοφάγον δήσας παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἰχθύσιν ἀντιβρωθησόμενον. Similarly Eustathius
on *Iliad* p.1201.3: ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι παίζων ὁ ποιητὴς Ἀρχιππος εἰς τὸν κατὰ τὴν
Ἡσιόνην μῦθον, ὃς αὐτὴν βορὰν τῷ κῆτει ἐκτίθεται, πλάττει Μελάνθιον τὸν
τραγωιδὸν ἐν τινι αὐτοῦ δράματι δεθῆναι, καὶ οὕτω παραδίδωσι αὐτὸν τοῖς
ἰχθύσιν ἀντιβρωθησόμενον. ἦν γάρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὀψοφάγος, κατὰ ἰχθυοφαγίαν δηλαδὴ.

Athenaeus: 'The following lampoon [Melanthius] for his
gourmet tastes: Leukon in
Clansmen, Aristophanes in *Peace* and Pherekrates in
Petalē. In *Fishes* Archippus has
him tied up in the play as a gourmet and hands him over
to the fish to be eaten in
retaliation.' Eustathius: 'It should be recognised that the
poet Archippus is alluding
playfully to the myth of Hesione which presents her as
food for a sea-monster. He

represents Melanthius the tragic poet tied up in one of his plays and so hands him over for the fish to eat. The man was a gourmet, evidently a fish-gourmet.'

fr. 30 (Athen. 8.331c):

καὶ μὴν, ἄνδρες ἰχθυεῖς κατὰ τον "Ἀρχίππον...

Furthermore, "Gentlemen Fish", as Archippus has it..¹⁹

The peace treaty of fr. 27 indicates that warfare between mankind and fish has now ceased. The military language recalls the first encounters between men and birds in *Birds* (327–450). Under the treaty, one side (I think the Athenians) agrees to hand over all the fishy people now in Athens, some of them *hetairai* and informers, others unknown. The hated fishmonger of fr. 23 and the gourmet Melanthius of fr. 28 (see Davidson 1997, 10–11, 145) may be two human beings who are hated by both fish and human beings. The fish hate the fishmonger for his excessive cruelty and Melanthius for his consumption of fish, while the human beings hate them both because of their implicitly antidemocratic sympathies.²⁰ Both fishmongers and fish-eaters are suspected elsewhere in comic discourse of pursuing their own interests at the expense of the common good of the Athenians.²¹ The comedy may have so contrived it that Athenians and fish could agree who it was that was the mutual enemy, among whom were numbered fishmonger and fish-eater. Fr. 30, 'Gentlemen Fish', may constitute a stage in the play where the chorus was being won round and on the way to incorporation with the human beings.

Of all the plays with animal choruses, *Fishes* presented the greatest challenges to the playwright. Fish are the most alien creatures who live close to mankind since they inhabit the most remote medium of the three habitats, earth, air and water (see Purcell 1995, 132–5). Epicharmus in his *Muses or The Marriage of Hebe* (frs. 41–75 Kaibel) had explored this area, apparently in a long narrative (see Harvey in this volume, p. 104). Many fish are consumed at a banquet of the gods (frs. 42–3 and 71), probably the wedding breakfast of Heracles and Hebe, yet some fragments appear to present the fish ambiguously as if they are at one moment guests and at the next dishes to be eaten. Crabs and sea urchins 'arrive' in fr. 53²² and in fr. 54 (which is corrupt) Poseidon is the 'leader' of two kinds of sea-bream. It was thus not only Attic comedy which played with human (and divine) relationships with creatures normally eaten by men. Archippus had a problem to solve which did not concern Epicharmus, namely the choreography of his chorus of fish. We do not know how the fish were represented on stage, how they were dressed or how they danced. There are vase paintings of men riding on fish that date

to the late sixth and fourth centuries. We do not know whether the chorus of Archippus represented fish or fish with men riding on them, as in these paintings.²³ I simply note that comic poets and others²⁴ represented the movement of fish as play (Heniochus *Polypragmōn* (*Busybody*) fr. 3.2) or dance (Diphilus *The Painter* fr. 43.1, *Daughters of Pelias* fr. 64.4). Archippus appears not to have been alone in expanding human relations with fish beyond consumption alone, though he was probably unique in giving the fish words and dance on the stage.²⁵

Fishes had a particular importance for Athenaeus, for he wrote a monograph on the play, which appears to have included information on the *thrassai* of fr. 27 (7.329c). The much-repeated dictum that Athenaeus has distorted our understanding of Middle Comedy by his concentration on alimentary and sympotic themes is true only in so far as we lack other elements of the plays. The plays of Old Comedy probably reflected this area of culture to a similar degree. A high proportion of the fragments of Crates *Wild Beasts* and Archippus *Fishes* comes from Athenaeus: in this respect, therefore, they resemble the fragments of ‘Middle Comedy’: thirteen out of twenty-one fragments of *Fishes*, two and a half out of four of *Wild Beasts*. Anyone who knows the seventh book of Athenaeus will understand the importance of fish in comedy, and in particular in Epicharmus’ *Muses or The Marriage of Hebe*. Athenaeus has less to say on meat, which may explain why he cites only seven of the surviving thirty-four fragments of *Goats*. Alternatively, perhaps that play did not concern the consumption of goat-meat – fr. 13 is about what the goats themselves eat (see p. 348 below).

Crates *Wild Beasts*

The fragments of *Wild Beasts* are quoted and discussed elsewhere in this volume by Ruffell (pp. 481–3) and Ceccarelli (pp. 453–5); these authors address the utopian elements of the play, which may have been set in the Age of Kronos before agriculture and sacrifice were instituted. Whether or not this utopia was set in the distant past or in another place, like Aristophanes *Birds*, the fragments reflect the civilised life of the Greek polis with its cooked foods, hot baths and so on, as is normal in comic representations of utopia. Fr. 19, which is quoted at the beginning of this chapter, addresses my theme in the most radical form of all the fragments under consideration. The chorus appears to decree that henceforth no meat is to be eaten. Too little survives to indicate whether this new order was accepted by the human beings in the play. Crates imitates fragment 31 B141 DK of Empedocles, which may indicate that a vegetarian diet was envisaged. (No restrictions are placed on the eating of fish, however. The *Wild*

Beasts tolerate the eating of fish in fr. 19 and in fr. 16.9–10 a fish appears to be capable of turning itself over on the grill in order to cook itself properly.) The dismayed response of speaker B in fr. 19 appears to indicate that all meat-eating is now banned. The mention of meat, rissoles and black puddings bought in the agora implies that the ban extended to meat from all sources, including sacrifice. If the sacrificial order was brought into question and human beings and animals now lived as equals, then the polis of this play was reordered in a form that Aristophanes carefully avoided in *Birds* and that appears not, on present evidence at least, to have concerned Archippus in *Fishes*.

Eupolis Goats

Kenneth Dover reminds us in the Foreword to this book that Eupolis' goats are nanny-goats. Fragment 13, the longest of the thirty-four surviving fragments, taken from the parabasis, lists the trees and bushes on which they subsist:

We feed off trees of every kind, silver-fir, kermes oak,
strawberry tree, nibbling
off the tender shoots, and still more to add to these, tree-
medick and fragrant
sage and leafy bindweed, wild olive, mastic, manna-ash,
poplar, cork, common
oak, ivy and heath, willow(?), thorny shrubs, comfrey,
asphodel, rock rose, valonia
oak, thyme, savory.²⁶

Other fragments refer to goat-herding (1, 12, 19), to goat-dung (fr. 15) and to speaking about goats (3).²⁷ The only references to the human consumption of animals is to small fish or 'boilers' (frs. 5 and 16) and to tripe (fr. 34). Was the issue of the sacrifice and eating of goats raised in the play? The question is impossible to answer but our study of potentially edible choruses allows this much to be said. It would be surprising if the sacrificial order was disturbed in this play, since, with the possible exception of Crates, the comic poets appear to have avoided so radical a step. Even in *Birds*, when the power of the gods is removed, sacrifice to the Olympians remains intact. Further, comedies (as far as we know) did not end with the protagonist in conflict with the chorus, let alone eating it. *Wild Beasts*, *Fishes* and *Birds* suggest that the question may have been raised, and the first of them may even have questioned the sacrificial order (it certainly questioned the eating of meat) – but only in the context of the pre-Olympian order of Kronos. John Evelyn writes in his *Acetaria*, *A Discourse of Sallets* (1699), 'once in Macrobius *Saturnalia* 7.5 we find Eupolis the comedian in his *Aeges* bringing in goats boasting the

variety of their food etc. After which follows a banquet of innumerable sorts.' This banquet exists only in the mind of John Evelyn, not in Macrobius or Plutarch, who preserve fragment 13.

Conclusion

Old Comedy combined its inheritance of animal choruses with the alimentary codes of the polis to produce plays which explored the relationship between mankind and animals. We have no evidence beyond Crates fr. 19 that choruses ever attempted to overturn the established order, but the creation of roles for human beings dressed as animals allowed the comic poets to explore and occasionally to challenge the alimentary codes that underlay the social and religious life of the polis. Old Comedy reinforces Athenian culture as the Athenians defined it and portrays many scenes in which foods are cooked and consumed. But it was not above giving a voice occasionally to the animals and fish on which human culture depended for its subsistence.

Acknowledgement

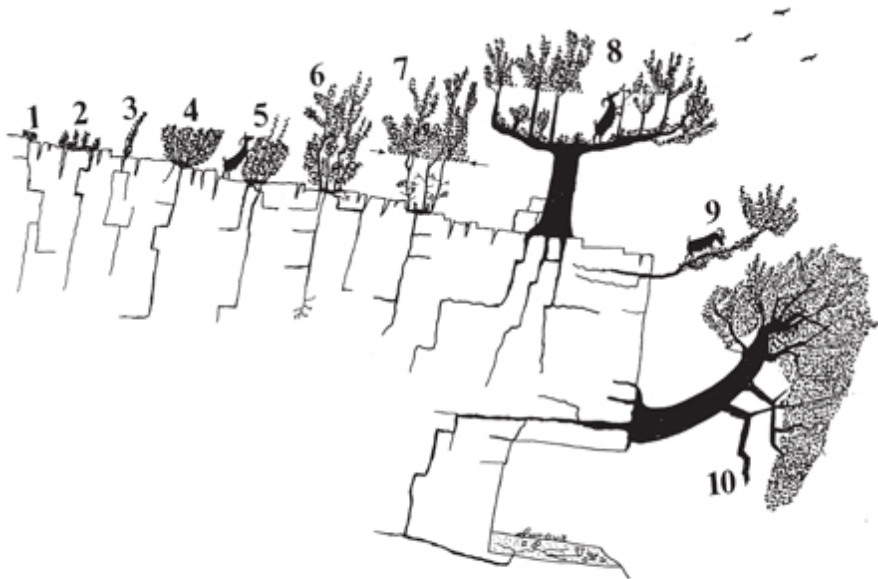
I am most grateful to David Harvey for the many improvements he has made to this chapter.

AEGEOLOGICAL NOTE ON
EUPOLIS Fr. 13

Oliver Rackham (Corpus Christi
College, Cambridge)

Goats are choosy feeders, and it is a curious fact that Eupolis seems to be quite indifferent to their actual attitude to different plants. His list includes plants right across the range, from those that they are specially fond of, like ivy, to those like asphodel, which they refuse. Various explanations are possible. Θύμβρα, which goats do not eat, may be mentioned simply because it jingles attractively with the adjacent word θυμῶ. Not all modern identifications are certain. Those in the list that follows should not be taken as definitive: Greek plant names are more tricky than they look.

Greek	Identity	Palatability for goats
ἐλάτη	fir, <i>Abies cephalonia</i> (not pine)	****
πρῖνος	prickly-oak, <i>Quercus coccifera</i> (not holm-oak)	****
κόμαρος	strawberry tree, <i>Arbutus unedo</i>	****
κῦτισον	<i>Medicago arborea</i>	***?
σφάκον	wild sage, <i>Salvia pomifera</i>	*
σμίλακα	yew?	***** (but supposedly poisonous)
κότινον	wild olive	*****
σχῖνον	lentisk, <i>Pistacia lentiscus</i>	*
μελίαν	mannan-ash, <i>Fraxinus ornus</i>	*****
λεύκη	white poplar	****
πεύκη (MS reading)	pine	*
ἀρίαν	holm-oak, <i>Quercus ilex</i>	****
δρῦν	deciduous oak, <i>Q. pubescens</i> and <i>brachyphylla</i>	****
κιττόν	ivy	*****
ἐρίκη	heather, <i>Erica arborea</i> and <i>manipuliflora</i>	****
μυρίκη (alternative reading)	tamarisk	***?
πρόμαλον	unknown [LS] suggest willow]	
ράμνον	a thorny shrub of some kind	
φλόμον	<i>Verbascum</i> (mullein) or <i>Phlomis</i> (Jerusalem sage) species	not eaten
ἀνθήρικον	asphodel	not eaten
κισθόν	<i>Cistus</i> (rock-rose) species	*
φηγόν	deciduous oak, <i>Q. macrolepis</i>	****
θύμα	thyme, <i>Thymus capitatus</i>	**
θύμβραν	savory, <i>Satureja thymbra</i>	not eaten



States of trees-and-shrubs in relation to browsing, as illustrated by prickly-oak. 1: cushion. 2: topiary. 3: columnar. 4: thicket. 5: just after get-away. 6: recently got-away. 7: re-browsed after get-away, showing browse-line. 8: goat-pollard. 9: special form on edge of cliff. 10: never browsed.

Fig. 8. Maligned goats From O. Rackham and J. Moody, *The Making of the Cretan Landscape*, Manchester 1996, 113, fig. 10.4; discussion *ibid.* 115–16.

‘We feed off trees of every kind’, says Eupolis’ nanny-goats (fr. 13). But the damage that they cause to vegetation has been overestimated: they browse selectively, not omnivorously.

Notes

¹The first speech is preserved by Athenaeus (3.119c), the second by Pollux (6.53). It is possible that some lines came between the two parts of the fragment in the text of Crates: see K-A ad loc. (IV 95).

²Much of the eating is done by human beings, but animals also eat: the dung-beetle in *Peace*, the horses in *Knights* and the birds in *Birds*: cf. Gilula 1995, 397 n. 5.

³The *Birds* of Crates is not included in K-A. See Kock I p. 137, Meineke I pp. 62–4.

⁴The Greeks ate some insects, such as grasshoppers, but those selected for animal choruses were not among them.

⁵Sifakis 1971, 78–85 reviews the principal theories on the origins and significance of the animal choruses, together with the earlier vase-paintings representing choruses of dolphin-riders, knights, cocks and ostriches.

⁶Handley 1985, 365 observes that the *Birds* of Magnes could have had a choruses of domestic fowls – similar to the cocks in the vase-paintings reproduced in Sifakis 1971 plates VI–VIII – rather than a chorus of wild birds, which was Aristophanes’ preference.

⁷It was apparently not possible to extend animal choruses to plant choruses or to choruses of cooked foods. The latter are sometime animate in Old Comedy (Crates *Wild Beasts* fr. 16.8–10 (p. 454 below), Teleclides *Amphictyons* fr. 1.12–13, Pherecrates *Miners* fr. 113.23–5, Nicophon *Sirens* fr. 21.4, Aristophanes *Peace* 1313–4) but only by report. A chorus must conform to natural laws of locomotion. How the fish were represented in Archippus' choruses is not known.

⁸See for example Beavis 1988 on most of the species in his book.

⁹Eupolis *Kolakes* may be singled out in this regard (see Carey in this volume, pp. 423–5). In *Knights* Kleon/ Paphlagon satisfies his appetite at the expense of the polis which had honoured him with free meals in the prytaneion.

¹⁰A further example is provided by Phrynichus fr. 77 (= Ar. *Clouds* 553–6) which refers to a sea monster attempting to eat an old woman.

¹¹Dunbar's study is instructive for our purposes since most of her attestations for the cooking of birds are drawn from comedy. Aristophanes' audience thus watches a chorus of what in the normal life of the city is potential food.

¹²See above all Konstan 1997 with bibliography; also Hubbard 1997, Romer 1997, Slater 1997, Dobrov 1997, and Ceccarelli's and Ruffell's chapters in this volume.

¹³348, 352. The eating of human corpses by certain birds, for example, a strong theme in literature (e.g. Homer *Iliad* 8.379–80, Sophocles *Antigone* 29) is not raised.

¹⁴Athenaeus makes clear that 'we' are the fish. The treaty, unlike comedy, but like a real treaty, is not in verse but in prose, and mimics the formal style of Greek diplomacy: see K-A II 547, who cite Thuc. 3.114.3 and 5.17.2.

¹⁵The herring family? On the *thraitta* or *thritta* see Athen. 7.328c–329e and Thompson 1947, 77–8. There appear to be double meanings throughout (see K-A ad loc.): here, for example, we have a *thraitta* where a real treaty might refer to Thrace.

¹⁶The *atherinē* is a small fish according to Athen. 7.285a, the sand-smelt according to Thompson 1947, 3–4.

¹⁷The Coraciones may derive from *korakinos*, a well-attested fish of uncertain identity: see Athen. 7.308d–9a, Thompson 1947, 122–5.

¹⁸The names of Athenians named or alluded to are unclear, except for Eucleides the archon for 403/2, but they are all presumably real persons known to the audience (see K-A for further details).

¹⁹Athenaeus uses the phrase in the vocative case, modelled on addresses to the Athenian assembly and juries. It seems probable that the phrase was also in the vocative case in Archippus.

²⁰Fr. 14, on fish and politicians who might be 'caught twice', suggests that the play playfully explored, at least at the linguistic level, similarities between fishing and calling politicians to public account.

²¹See *Peace* 801–14 and the plays cited in Archippus fr. 28, *Frogs* 1068, and on Middle Comedy Davidson 1997, 7–11, 144–5, 186–90 and Wilkins forthcoming.

²²A further example of a narrative of a banquet in which fish 'arrive' and perform but are also dishes to be eaten is provided by the *Attikon Deipnon* of Matro, written in the fourth century. Matro was a parodist who wrote mock-epic hexameters and presents his fish as spoof heroes (who are nevertheless eaten): see Degani 1995.

²³For the vase paintings see Pickard-Cambridge 1962, Sifakis 1971, Trendall 1967 nos. 9 and 144, Webster 1956, 57, Trendall & Webster 1971. Further speculation on the form of dance that may have been used and on possible links with Artemis may be found in Lawler 1941.

²⁴Athenaeus 7.328f (who may be quoting Aristotle fr. 298 Rose) reports that some people claim that the *trichis* (a small fish similar to the *thrassa* of Archippus fr. 27) enjoys dancing and song and leaps out of the sea when it hears music. Dancing fish are also found in Herodotus (1.141.1–2) and singing fish in Pausanias (8.21.2).

²⁵Some fish make noises but none normally speak. See Ar. *Hist. Anim.* 535b12–36a3 and Athen. 7.277c (on Soph. *Ajax* 1297); LSJ⁹ s.v. ἔλλοψ.

²⁶Trs. H.B. Hoffleit in the Loeb Plutarch *Moralia* VIII. 307–9, modified. Zimmern (1931) 45 refers to the ‘few lines of their bleat about their favourite bushes’ while Rackham & Moody 1996, 115–6 (with figs. 10.3 and 4, reproduced here as [Fig. 8](#)) maintain that damage traditionally ascribed to goats has been overestimated. Cf. also

Meiggs 1982, 385–6.

²⁷So Photius, περὶ αἰγῶν λαλεῖν. Without his testimony, the verb αἰγιάζεις might have been taken to mean ‘speaking like a goat’, ‘bleating’. The text of Photius is not secure. In fact it reads περιάγων and περὶ αἰγῶν is a correction.

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1985

Henry M.

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Meiggs R. 1982	<i>Trees</i>
Pickard-Cambridge A.W. 1962	<i>Dithyrambs</i> Lewis
Purcell N. 1995	'Eating <i>Antiquities</i>
Rackham O. & Moody J. 1996	<i>The Muses</i>
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Chapter 22

SYMPOSIASTS, FISH-EATERS AND FLATTERERS: Social Mobility and Moral Concerns in Old Comedy

Nick Fisher

This chapter is a part of a wider attempt to explore the complexities and contradictions of Athenian practices and discourses in relation to collective leisure activities: it focuses on the presentation of drinking and commensality in Old Comedy. The position I am concerned to argue is that we should recognise, in the developments of social life from (at least) the mid-fifth century onwards, contradictory discourses in the sources, which reflect conflicting ambitions and attitudes among many non-elite Athenians towards leisure activities and expenditure (cf. also Fisher 1998). There are, of course, on the one hand, frequent expressions of envy and moral disapproval towards the excessive expenditure of the rich, and especially in sympotic contexts, of their monopolisation of and self-indulgence in expensive foods (especially fish) and wines: moral condemnation of such excesses focuses on the deterioration of their bodies, the diminution of their heirs' estates, and the reluctance to spend adequately for the benefit of local or polis communities. Stronger alarm and hostility are directed at rich men's readiness to flaunt their wealth and luxuries, to abuse and insult (*hybrizein*) fellow-drinkers or others met in the streets when drunk (e.g. on a *kōmos*); or more secretively to plan political, sycophantic or anti-democratic moves. There were, of course, a number of legal and social mechanisms available to control these excesses.¹ Meanwhile, 'ordinary' Athenians (and metics) no doubt drank and snacked a great deal and quite cheaply sitting in or outside their local bars (*kapēleia*), or they took the necessary food and drink home or out on shared picnics.² What, I think, also need more exploration are the opportunities for fairly ordinary Athenians also to claim a part (and perhaps an increasing part) in aspects of the pleasurable life on the terms originally defined by the elites. There is considerable evidence that many wished to obtain a greater share of tastier substances to eat and drink, and to consume them collectively on occasions which approximated rather more to the formalities of the accepted rituals, procedures and accompaniments of the elite *symposion* or *deipnon*.³ Here I wish to consider primarily the evidence from comedy, first, for such signs of desires and such upward mobility

in these areas; second, for persistent concerns about the types of entertainment offered at these formal occasions; and third, at the humour and moral concern displayed at certain methods whereby some individuals appear to have squeezed their way in to enjoy more such goodies than were justified by their social and economic position.

Even taking into account the fact that the great majority of our comic fragments come from Athenaeus, presentations and discussions of sacrifices and food-preparation, meals, drinking parties and types of guests all loom very large among the scenes displayed or reported in Greek comedies of all periods. Parties are, of course, entertaining episodes to show or report, and can helpfully reveal character or develop plot; but what comes out as strongly, in ancient as in more recent drama, is the social and moral interest in the issues of access to different sorts of parties, in behaviour at them and in the complex relations between the guests at the feast.⁴

The sympotic enjoyments of the ordinary Athenian

Some famous scenes in Aristophanes form the obvious starting point. From his first play, the *Daitaleis* of 427 BC, the moral issues of the *symposion* can take centre stage. As in the *Clouds*, the debate between the decent (*sōphrōn*) and the debauched (*katapugōn*) sons explores the moral problems posed by the new sophistic and rhetorical education. Many surviving fragments show that in this debate, as in that between Strepsiades and the newly-trained Pheidippides, levels of luxury, buying perfumes, foreign cuisine, fancy wines and cups, types of *skolia* or other drinking songs, *kottabos*, tragic recitations or themes for intellectual discussion were all contested issues.⁵ It is striking, too, that the *Daitaleis* featured an eponymous chorus consisting of the members of a Herakles' cult-association, entering apparently after a club-dinner (T iii K-A (III.2 122–3); cf. below). The *Wasps*, most famously, raises one central issue very neatly. Bdelykleon, apparently upwardly mobile and versed in the details of upper-class *symposia* in the most luxurious Athenian houses, attended by members of various elite groups, only succeeds to a very limited extent in teaching his coarse and crudely self-pleasuring father how to behave at them – in his drunkenness and *hybris* he is as devoted to maximising his own enjoyment of drink, song, sex, insults and violence as to maximising that of his fellow-guests, but he lacks totally the alleged upper-class veneer of culture and charm, capable of smarming away (or intimidating through the power of the group) any demands for compensation or threats of legal action for their criminal acts (1123–end). There is here a clear and sharp polarity, which is the basis of the humour of this scene, between the smart, politically active, *sympotai*,

the *kaloi kagathoi* (1219, 1256), and the irredeemably vulgar and coarse old man.

But it would be a considerable simplification to suppose that Athenians were so sharply divided into two camps: on the one hand, those as unsophisticated as Philokleon before his training session, who never used to recline on *klinai* to drink, put on smart evening clothes, sing songs and poems or hold discussions, or have sex with *hetairai* or boys: men for whom, as Oswyn Murray (1990, 150) put it, ‘the *symposion* remained largely a private and aristocratic affair’, ‘an alien world of licence and misbehaviour’; and on the other hand the wealthy, town-based elite, many still of inherited wealth and position,⁶ who may be supposed to dine and drink in style, most nights, in houses with some elaboration of wall, ceiling or sofa covers, either in private parties of friends, with the guest lists on occasions compiled during the afternoon and evening, or in more secretive sessions with extra agendas, political, legal or violent. Such a sharp division seems implied in these remarks of Murray’s, and still more clearly in the paper by Cooper and Morris in the same volume (Murray 1990, 78). For them the *Wasps* scene, and the provision of *andrōnes* (dining-rooms) and regular state-paid reclining *symposia* under the programme of the women in the *Ecclesiazusae*, show that ‘both generation and class seem to separate those familiar with sympotic behaviour from those ignorant of it’, and emphasize ‘how exclusive was elegant dining in general, if not reclining, and how far removed from the daily life of the ordinary Athenian citizen’.⁷

But is Philokleon really presented as ‘the ordinary citizen’, an Athenian Everyman’ as these scholars suppose (so too Davidson 1997, 53)? Other treatments, more plausibly, offer subtler analyses of the backgrounds and values of this father and son. Philokleon’s ignorance and lack of social expertise may well be signs that his portrayal here reflects rather a determinedly, obsessively old-fashioned, if shrewd and vigorous, elderly citizen (though one who is not as poor as the juryman-chorus);⁸ while the incongruity of the completely different habits of his son may be partially explained (in addition to comic need, and some carelessness about psychological realism) by an assumption of social mobility in a time of considerable change and generational conflict.⁹ Bdelykleon, that is, may be supposed to have acquired wealth, made friends and learnt sympotic practices, and adopted more snobbish and conservative views, thus creating a comically reversed form of that generational conflict.¹⁰

The utopian programme of the women in the *Ecclesiazusae* could equally be seen as the attempt to turn the polis into a vast and luxurious *oikos* (673–5) in order to provide its members regularly with systematically sympotic commensality of the sort only affordable to

most citizens on rare or very rare occasions (cf. especially 834–76), rather than offering to all the privilege of sympotic dining hitherto totally unfamiliar to most.¹¹ There are hints of similar scenes of instruction of rustic characters in Anaxandrides frs. 1–3 (from the *Agroikoi*) and Antiphanes frs. 1–5, esp. 4 (*Agroikos*) and 57 (*Births of Aphrodite*): in all these sets of fragments (mentioned by Cooper & Morris 1990, 78), although we lack the fuller contexts, it seems at least as likely that any rustics presented as needing instruction in passing the drinks (from left to right), in taking luxury snacks during the drinking part of the party, in deep drinking and in the rules of *kottabos* were intended to be seen as exceptionally out of touch and old-fashioned, as that they were typical of the majority of ordinary Athenians.

One positive reason for holding these interpretations as more probable is the very extensive knowledge of the details of sympotic activities that is constantly presupposed, by brief and unexplained allusions, in play after play – and in tragedy, from the *Oresteia* onwards, and in satyr plays such as *Cyclops*, where again a crude, if brutal, rustic needs education,¹² as well as in comedy. In another fragment from Antiphanes' *Agroikos*, we find 'Harmodios was called upon, the paian was sung, people raised a great boat-bowl for Zeus Sōtēr' (fr. 3 = Athen. 15. 692f); and after a few more quotations on the subject of toasts to Hygieia, Athenaeus moves to another quotation (from Nikostratos' *Pandrosos* (fr. 18)) on the drinking of small amounts of unmixed wine to the *Agathos Daimōn*, with the appropriate remark that this use of the *kratēr* has been mentioned by 'almost all the poets of Old Comedy' (693B). Allusive references to sympotic techniques, procedures and values do in fact pervade the plays to a remarkable extent: such things as reclining, the order of eating and drinking, wreaths, myrtle-branches, clearing tables and the libation to the *Agathos Daimōn*, praise of wine, competitive singing, other games such as *kottabos*, riddle-guessing and perfumes, cushions, girl-pipers and *hetairai*, equality between participants and shared contributions. The frequency and the nature of such constant references to the details of sympotic rituals and behaviour – both lengthy descriptions and brief casual allusions – seem *prima facie* to indicate two things. First, that these procedures were well known to theatre audiences (cf. E. Bowie 1995, 113–25; A. Bowie 1997, 3), and whatever the precise social composition of the male citizens in the audience, a hotly contested issue,¹³ it was certainly numerous enough to contain many more than just the elite. Second, that sympotic issues were of constant interest and concern to enough of the audience for them to be so constantly referred to, and to be exploited and explored as central themes of many of the plays.¹⁴

An immediate objection presents itself: that the audience's knowledge of these details could be essentially vicarious, acquired through repeated watching of such dramatic representations, as many in Britain may be supposed to 'understand' without having experienced themselves some of the supposed formal procedures of dinners and dessert (such as the withdrawal of the ladies or passing the port) in country houses or Oxbridge High Tables. This may well hold for some of the more recondite and expensive elements. But there remains, I think, a general implausibility in the idea that all aspects of sympotic behaviour were, for a century or more, wholly or largely alien to the majority of the audience and of overwhelming interest to them as a source of humour and anxiety. Secondly, such a view of the essential exclusiveness of sympotic activity underrates the complexity of the sympotic experience, and the probability of variable access to different of its elements, just as it would be odd to claim that most Britons had no experience whatever of a 'dinner-party'. There are many gradations of sophistication current today between the exclusive, multi-coursed country-house dinner and (say) fish and chips eaten from newspapers.

In fact, much in Old Comedy and elsewhere can be argued positively to suggest that at least some elements of formal eating and drinking which could be found in their full form in the standard elite *symposion* were occasionally experienced by 'average' Athenians, and were part of the expectations of standard 'comic' peasant-hoplite characters. Even the very simple and rustic delights celebrated by the chorus of Athenian peasant-hoplites in the second parabasis of *Peace* include brief but unmistakable references to the preparation of myrtle wreaths for the shared drinking, as a chorus-leader significantly called Komarchides sends out to Aischinades, who can provide the myrtle, and to Charinades to 'drink in the group (ἐμπίῃ) with us' (1149–58).¹⁵ In a fragment from a chorus from Hermippos' *Moirai* (fr. 48, discussed by Silk in this volume, pp. 306–9), ordinary hoplites, having to arm themselves for the war, leave their *kottabos*-equipment lying around the yard and garden. The chorus in the *Acharnians*, too, makes constant use of the contrasts of peace and war with many specific references to sympotic habits and accoutrements (esp. the song at 977–99: cf. A. Bowie 1997, 16–17). In the same play Dikaiopolis, for all the multiple identity problems presented by his character (it is still debated how many comic poets he may merge into or remind the audience of),¹⁶ remains also a non-political, rurally based hoplite; yet he remembers how he had known the pleasures of eels before the war, as he welcomes one back from Kopais, 'sold' to him by the Theban, and his preparations for the *Choes* celebrations show good knowledge of the necessary sympotic details (*Acharn.* 885–94, 1090–3, 1135–49

with A. Bowie 1997, 17; for the *Choes* see p. 364 below). Strepsiades in the *Clouds* (not poor, but solidly rustic) gives a formal *symposion* to welcome his son back from his Socratic education, and gets involved in the violent debate on the types of poetry to sing (1353–76); the violence which then disrupts the *symposion* matches the graver disruption of son/parent relations (see A. Bowie 1997, 4–5).

Comic portraits of Utopias, set in the Golden Age or in the blessed life after death, which focus on the consumption of large amounts of food and drink, are handled by Ian Ruffell in his chapter in this volume. For my purposes I note merely that in some of the treatments of these popular themes, increasingly as the chronological sequence of the *topos* unfolds, easy availability of elements of luxurious and sympotic enjoyments appear, not merely basic abundance of self-preparing food and drink, and often allusively and in passing. In Krates' *Thēria* the hot flowing bath-water and sponges suggest luxuries which might ideally be readily available for those who have participated in the *gymnasia* and the *palaistrai*, other areas of Athenian social life which arguably at this date were being made available to wider sections of Athenian society (Fisher 1998), whereas the perfume bottle full of myrrh suggests the subsequent party (fr. 17). In Telekleides' version, the happy primitive men are seen casually reclining on couches as rivers of soup flow past (*Amphiktionēs* fr. 1 line 8). In Pherekrates' *Miners* (*Metallēs*) (if it is his: see the testimonia in K-A VII 155) the dead are served rich red wine, poured through the appropriate strainers into large cups by serving-girls, wearing silk see-through shawls and with their pubic hair trimmed (Pherekrates fr. 113); and in Aristophanes' *Tagēnistai* fr. 504 K-A (488 Kock) the blessed people drink as soon as they get to the underworld. One may compare Plato's complaint at such popular visions as found in the poems of 'Musaeus', which present an after-life where on arrival one is made to recline, is garlanded and provided with an endless '*symposion* of the pious', as if the supreme reward for virtue were eternal drunkenness (*Rep.* 363C).¹⁷ All these fantasies may nonetheless suggest at the very least a sense of sympotic ambitions among ordinary Athenians.

Other more practical arguments for a wider spread of the sympotic experience may be derived from the material culture of Athens: the various physical settings at which many would be able to drink and eat, at home or in the community, at least on special occasions, and the objects on the table. Current archaeological evidence for private housing, presented for example in the second edition (1994) of Hoepfner and Schwandner's *Haus und Stadt* with full discussion and glamorous (if perhaps over-confident) reconstructions, is strongly suggestive. Many examples of fifth- and fourth-century so-called

‘Hippodamian’ town- planning,¹⁸ from the Peiraieus and many other cities (for example, Olynthos, Priene and Kolophon), demonstrate widespread patterns of standard ‘egalitarian’ town-houses, combined in symmetrical orthogonal blocks, suggesting some degree of central planning of the provision of housing for middling citizens. In many cases, including those (relatively few) houses excavated in the Peiraieus, such standard houses often contained a main room near the front entrance which displayed the characteristic asymmetrical setting of the door to facilitate the setting of couches appropriate for a *symposion*, and was often furnished slightly more elaborately, at least in the fourth century BC, with perhaps a cement or pebble mosaic floor, a larger window, or plaster on the walls. One need not assume that such a room, usually labelled the *andrōn* in archaeologists’ plans, was kept exclusively for the formal, all-male *symposion*; rather, it is likely to have functioned as the ‘parlour’ or ‘best room’, kept tidy, and used for many types of discussions and the entertainment of visitors, whether members of the wider family of either gender, business callers, or political or other friends.¹⁹ But the important fact remains that it was designed specifically to accommodate the couches for formal drinking-parties, normally no doubt all-male affairs, at which the guests reclined. Thus many planners of Greek cities, from the period when democratic and egalitarian ideas were spreading, appear to have operated under the expectation that such social events were a significant (if not necessarily a frequent) part of such people’s lives.

Current controversies, however, make it less easy to derive any firm conclusions concerning the market for the considerable amounts of the different shapes of painted pottery and plain ware designed for various sympotic functions (cups, wine amphorae, water bowls, mixing bowls, jugs, ladles, coolers etc.). It is generally agreed that at least some of the time elite drinkers would have used gold, silver or bronze ware (very little of which, naturally enough, has survived). Gill and Vickers²⁰ have argued that metal vessels were exclusively used by the rich and even the moderately wealthy, while ceramic wares, including what have traditionally been regarded as the finest painted pots, most of which were apparently designed for the *symposion*, were imitations of metal-ware, sold pretty cheap, and used by most of the population. If they are right, this would constitute a powerful argument for a very extensive downward spread of a form at least of the sympotic life-style. On the other hand, Hoffman’s view (e.g. 1994; 1997, ch. 1 (1–17)), which agrees with Gill and Vickers on ceramic as imitation of metal ware, but claims that painted pots were made essentially to be dedicated as votives or placed in graves (whether in Greece or overseas, e.g. in Etruria), would have less positive implications for my argument. Both these views have their merits, but

have been expressed in exaggerated and one-sided ways.²¹ There is some evidence that fine painted pots were valued, and might well have been used by the rich as well as metal ware (e.g. Pindar *Nemean* 10.35–6: Sparkes 1996, 151): a good deal of plain ware, and some painted ware, has been found in domestic contexts in Attica, and it is hard to believe that all or almost all painted pots were in effect dedicated or buried in graves.²² Further, it does seem likely that very large quantities of sympotic ware were manufactured and sold for relatively little. The picture thus seems to offer some support for the view that the formalised mixing of wine and water in *kratērs*, the sociable drinking of the mixture in cups, and the interest in buying vessels decorated with self-referential images of the enjoyments and perils of the *symposion* were all disseminated through Athenian society to levels considerably beyond that of the wealthy elites who entertained each other in such a manner many nights a month (see now Rotroff 1996, esp. 16).

The dining styles of the various official state bodies seem to have varied in the extent to which they approximated to, or distanced themselves from, the elements of the classic *symposion*. It seems likely, on grounds of space, that when all the fifty Prytaneis (and the six to ten officials) ate together in the Tholos, they sat together in their austere round building; literary references and excavations suggest they ate simple utilitarian food, and drank from state-stamped cups.²³ Recent treatments suggest that this may have been a deliberate democratic and/or rustic style, in contrast to traditionally aristocratic *symposia*.²⁴ But even so, the ideology of eating seated in the Tholos may have reflected not so much a general anti-aristocratic restraint common to democratic bodies, but rather a desire specifically for the *prytaneis* to be seen to be alert and on the job, not relaxing (cf. Athenaeus' 'sober and salutary shared meals', 186a). Further, this style may not have been completely uniform in the Tholos throughout the day. The third of the prytaneis who spent each evening and night together, each group selected each day, it seems, by the presiding *epistatēs*, may well have dined reclining together on many quiet days, and behaved in a more companionable and relaxed style.²⁵

At the other extreme, entertainment at the Prytaneion, feasting distinguished foreigners, ambassadors and other magistrates (including *prytaneis* on assembly days, Ar. *Acharnians* 125) and all those Athenians given the honour of permanent dining rights (for the most part, a traditional and aristocratic list, especially favouring major athletic victors),²⁶ was probably rather more lavish, and sympotic in form (reclining, garlands etc.); but the tradition was of elegant simplicity, somewhat dented, allegedly, by Kleon's admission to the body, as he insisted on meat, fish and wheat bread (Ar. *Knights* 281–

The rubbish pits explored by Rotroff and Oakley (1992) in the north-west of the Agora, apparently from the dining rooms and kitchens of the fifth-century archons, and perhaps the hipparchs and phylarchs too, also suggest the consumption of reasonable amounts of meat and fish, and much mixing of wine, including fine imports, often served from a good number of painted *kratērs* perhaps donated by magistrates, and they – as well as the diners in the Tholos – maintained a pipes-player, an *aulētēs* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 62.2 with Rhodes 1981, 692–3). Fifteen official dining rooms laid out for reclining and communal eating have also been excavated along the South Stoa of the Agora, for the use of the *mētronomoi* and other boards (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 51.2, Vanderpool 1968). Rather than, with Schmitt-Pantel, posit a rather too polarised disjunction between the aristocratic and archaizing style of the Prytaneion dinners, and the individualised, democratic nourishment in the Tholos, it seems better to envisage a more fluctuating and flexible set of strategies appropriate for different bodies of the polis – strategies which involved both the display of appropriate levels of wealth to impress outsiders, and the adoption of some restrained encouragement to conviviality, consistent with efficiency, by some citizen officials who were not expected to have significant pre-existing friendships (Dow 1976). The fullest description of a public banquet from a text written in classical Athens seems to be the fictional and mythical description of the Delphic public feast in Euripides' *Ion* (1127–1201). It sets all the invited guests (representing at once both Ion's friends, and the assembled citizens of Delphi) under a huge marquee, wreathed, eating, and then drinking in gold and silver cups – first small, then large – drawn from the mixing bowls in the proper sympotic manner (presumably reclining, though this is not stated explicitly); but it remains unclear how far this is an unrealistic combination of public and private modes, or a reasonable – if idealised – fifth-century presentation of the ideal of civic public feasting (on which see Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 209–21).

Major festivities of the polis and other organisations offered multiple opportunities for large groups to eat, drink and process in revelry together, and the probability at least exists that many 'aristocratic' sympotic and komastic elements came to be incorporated into the styles of these collective celebrations.²⁸ Many feasts took place, no doubt, in the open air – on the ground in the Kerameikos, outside the city or wherever – while smaller groups may have often reclined in the rooms laid out for feasting in that position in many sanctuaries.²⁹

For the Panathenaia, for example, Schmitt-Pantel (1992, 123–30) effectively distinguishes between the mode of sacrifice on the

Acropolis, where division of the meats reflected the somewhat hierarchical structure of the procession, and the evening feast in the Kerameikos, probably provided by the tribal liturgy of the *hestiasis*, which went to all citizens (and families) in their deme groups. These groups may well have reclined – imitatively – in cohesive groups, rather than sitting on benches or on the ground, and may well first have consumed the sacrificial meats and the accompanying foods provided by the *hestiatores*, and then drunk together, if perhaps in a rather loud, confused but mostly convivial manner.³⁰

Dionysiac festivals are naturally particularly important in this context, and commonly reflected in comedies, actually performed at the Dionysia. The City Dionysia featured *apompē*, an elaborate procession, and a *kōmos* with general revelry, which was either part of the *pompē* or perhaps (or as well) took place later, for example on the evening of that same day (this is probably the implication of the ‘Law of Euagoras’, Dem. 21.10). We hear of citizens and foreigners making their preparations for the procession (dressing up?), having lunch parties, and of a scandalous attempt by some fairly wild elite revellers to rip the foreigners off (Aeschin. 1.44); and we hear of Aeschines’ brother-in-law causing scandal by ‘playing the *kōmos* in the processions without wearing the mask’ (Dem. 19.287: ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου κωμάζει).³¹ Oracles from Dodona quoted by Demosthenes (21.52–3) to illustrate the establishment of extra sacrifices and feasts for Dionysos and other gods emphasise the general wearing of crowns, the performing of sacrifices at state expense, the mixing of *kratērs*, and the participation of all (e.g. free and slaves). At the plays, according to Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F171 = Athen. 11.464f), the audience lunched and drank, then watched, wearing garlands, while wine was poured for them throughout and dessert sweets (*tragēmata*) were served; and the choruses too were given drinks on entering and leaving, testimony that is confirmed in part by Aristotle’s record that the audience ate their confectionery especially when the actors were bad (*Eth. Nic.* 1175b12). It might be rash to trust any details here that sound especially sympotic, and the suggestion that Philochoros cited jokes in Pherekrates does not inspire much confidence (e.g. Pherekrates fr. 101, suggesting that thirsty spectators can get a *lepastē* of wine filled and swig it down);³² but even so, both the comic passages and the historian’s gloss may suggest something about the sympotic familiarity and aims of the theatre audience. What may be more indicative is that many of the audience in any case will have served at some time as *choreutae* in drama or dithyramb, or in athletic teams for other festival contests, and will have had a good chance of enjoying the dinner usually put on by the liturgists. Such men might well seek to enhance the mood of harmony

and collaboration by including some sympotic elements in their arrangements.³³

Details concerning two of the three days of the Anthesteria may help a little more. Phanodemos (*FGrH* 325 F12 = Athen. 11.465a) offers a description of the *Pithoigia*, with references to drinking new wine at the shrine of Dionysos *en Limnais*.³⁴ The emphasis is above all on the careful mixing of the wine with water, and the singing of appropriate hymns to the well-flowered, dithyrambic and inspiring Wine-god. The scholiast on Hesiod *Works and Days* 368 mentions the ‘ancestral festival of the *Pithoigia*’, and comments, once more, on the accessibility to all of the wine; and Tzetzes, in his commentary on the same text, calls the *Pithoigia* a ‘common *symposion* (κοινὸν συμπόσιον)’.³⁵ So some sympotic elements in this opening and drinking of the *attique nouveau* are suggested, if doubts remain on how extensive they may have been; nor is it at all clear how many Athenians, from how widespread an area of Attica, actually brought their casks to the sanctuary to be ritually opened and tasted. The evidence for the peculiar drinking arrangements for the day of the *Choes* may take us further. The primary source for these activities, the later scenes of the *Acharnians*, indicates that the *Choes* party to which the priest of Dionysos invites Dikaiopolis (1088–93) seems in general to be built very strongly on ‘sympotic’ lines, with couches, lavish food, garlands, perfumes, girl-pipers and prostitutes (*pornai*). There is much comic idealisation here, in line with Dikaiopolis’ extra provisions and the general use of the peace /*symposion* theme, but it still seems probable that the underlying idea of this, and perhaps many other such celebrations, was to adapt elements as far as seemed appropriate from a ‘sympotic’ model.³⁶ But of course other evidence, above all the account in Euripides’ *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (947–60) and the *scholia*, attests also a peculiar solitary drinking custom at the *Choes*, where each individual, at his own table, drank from his individual pitcher and cup, allegedly reflecting the myth of Orestes’ reception in Athens. I accept the views that this was a genuine practice, reflecting an ancient and deep-rooted ambivalence in the festival, and the inversion of drinking practice has apparently itself become structured against the festive norm of ritualised shared drinking from the mixing bowl for the whole community.³⁷ As Angus Bowie and I have argued, there is a possibility that this solitariness is to be recalled by the audience of the *Acharnians* as a further sign of Dikaiopolis’ continued isolation and ambivalence.³⁸ The evidence remains tantalizingly partial and patchy, but in one way or another festival feasts and *kōmoi* seem likely to have incorporated many elements associated with *symposia*, such as reclining, ritualised mixing of wine and water, wearing garlands and perhaps perfumes, and dressing-up.

Varied evidence suggests that a good many Athenians enjoyed regular (if not necessarily that frequent) co-operative and friendly shared meals (*deipna apo symbolōn*), to which all brought their contributions, as well as the dinners of the religious or semi-religious associations (*thiasoi*, groups of *orgeōnes*), friendly societies (*eranistai*) or more temporary groups.³⁹ The importance of such groupings in Athenian life was acknowledged in the supposed law of Solon quoted by Roman lawyers, granting legally binding status to the regulations of these and other groups, provided that they do not conflict with the laws of the polis.⁴⁰ They also play a significant part in Aristotle's analysis of what holds communities together: in both of his ethical treatises he argues that the collective activities of both the community sacrifices and festivals and of the voluntary groups such as *thiasoi* and *orgeōnes* provided relaxation and pleasure, at times of the agricultural year when people had leisure,⁴¹ and in the *Politics* (1280b30–40) his view is that this very variety of social groups – kinship groups, in-law groups, phratries, and all who share common sacrifices and social activities – through their differently focused types of ties of friendship (*philiai*), constitutes an essential part of the good life of a polis (cf. Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 238–42). Their activities are documented in a large number of inscriptions, which publish their regulations and agreements. Lambert and Osborne have well brought out how these voluntary associations added cohesion to Athenian political life by modelling their modes of organization, election and control of officials, and the honouring of their members, along the basic democratic patterns well established by the city and the deme (Lambert 1993, 238–41; Osborne 1990a, esp. 272–3, 275–7). Their contribution to social solidarity becomes more clearly evident when one emphasises that central acts of these groups express their solidarity through shared sacrifices and commensality: terms like *thusiai*, *hieropoioi* or *hestiatores* recur constantly in the documents,⁴² and some of them also reveal that members reclined at these regular dinners and *symposia*. For example, a document of the *orgeōnes* of the hero Egretes (306/5 BC), detailing the arrangements for the leasing of the club-buildings and equipment, mentions a kitchen, and couches and tables for two triklinea.⁴³

As Osborne notes, the uniform political patterning of these 'respectable' social and religious groups contrasts markedly with the more extreme types of *hetaireiai*, which emphasised their non-conformity by not recording their decisions on stone; by calling themselves by offensive names such as the *kakodaimonistai* to which Kinesias allegedly belonged, and the Triballoi, *ithyphalloi* and *autolēkythoi* with whom Konon associated himself; and by binding themselves through conspiratorial oaths, *pisteis*, hybriistic violence, and

eating forbidden foods such as pigs' testicles.⁴⁴ Murray tends to treat the secretive drinking practices and hybriatic behaviour of these types of groups, which include those involved in the profanation of the Mysteries and the mutilations of the Herms, as the apogee of the true, aristocratic *symposion*, the private world of the elite, alien from the lives of the ordinary citizen. Osborne's analysis, however, like that adopted here, would rather treat such ritualistic and sympotic excesses as deliberate perversions of more conventional practices of sociability, which would be shared by much larger numbers of the citizens, as also by many groups of foreigners.⁴⁵

It remains difficult to assess the social level of membership of these varieties of clubs. Those singled out for abuse for their political activities or their conscious mockery of conventional religious rituals were certainly predominantly wealthy, and naturally suspected of oligarchic tendencies. Also probably well-off were those we can identify on the cult-table owned by the *thiasōtai* of Herakles (IG ii² 2343). This was headed by Simon of Kydathenaion, arguably the hipparch and writer on horsemanship mentioned in *Knights* 242, and included Philonides, Aristophanes' early producer, and Amphytheos – a group upon which the chorus of *Daitaleis* may in some sense or other have been based.⁴⁶ It has been plausibly suggested that they may have met at a shrine of Herakles near the tannery worked by Kleon's family, and that Aristophanes himself may have been a member. This may be relevant to the jokes made against Aristophanes' reliance on his collaborators and co-producer, which involve reference to people like Herakles with 'fourth-day birthdays' and to the need for Herakles to 'work for others'.⁴⁷ Newcomers to the elite equally could belong to such clubs. Relations of the 'new politicians' Kleon and Thoudippos were members of a *thiasos* of Herakles at some time in the early fourth century (Isaios 9.30); and it was a further mark of social acceptance that the step-father Theophrastos took his step-son Astyphilos, along with his natural son (the speaker of Isaios 9), about everywhere he went, and specifically to the *thiasoi* of Herakles, in order that he might become a member of the association (*koinōnia*). We can say little of the members of the strife-ridden club to whom a disgruntled farewell speech (Lysias 8) was apparently delivered, except that this curious little speech somehow became treated as if composed by Lysias: there was a dispute over the ownership of a horse, and the members went on a collective religious trip together to Eleusis.

But it does not follow that all members of such groups were wealthy, though they all had to contribute to their (monthly, or less frequent) meetings.⁴⁸ Associations may have included members of slightly different levels of wealth, at varying times, and perhaps this may have enabled some members to help each other, as well as subtly

to mask their differences in shared meals; temporary problems were of course primarily aided by the *eranos-loan* mechanism.⁴⁹ But the overriding ideals of reciprocity and shared pleasures in voluntary associations will have limited the formation of groups that perpetuated such permanently unequal relations, as did the different locations of power in Athens that distinguished it from societies where formalised patron-client relations more evidently flourished. Other dining-groups may have been more temporary friendship-groups, contribution-parties or dining clubs less associated with a specific divine or hero cult. There was evidently a growth in metic-only cult associations, and signs of mixed-gender groups, from the third century BC, and there are indications of mixed citizen/metic groups from the second century (Parker 1996, 337–42).

The fragments of many comedies provide many casual but valuable indications of the importance of drinking and feasting among such associations, and some hints that not all the members were unambiguously rich. So, for example, in Aristophanes fr. 419 K-A (= 408 Kock) from *Holkades* (probably of 424 or 423 BC), someone, perhaps a standard comic ‘hero’, reports ‘Yesterday, feasting the *eranistai*, I boiled up the soup (*etnos*)’. Kratinos fr. 494 allegedly used the word *strōmatites*, applied to a shared meal at which people brought their own *strōmata*, couch-covers (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 1090, among the preparations for the *Choes* party) – presumably some sort of outdoor picnic. Some examples may be added from fourth-century comedy. Alexis fr. 260 reveals a stingy host, criticized for providing the previous day nothing but porridge, anchovies and olive-paste for the *tetradistai* (‘fourth-day feasters’), which suggests both that members of such semi-religious clubs expected a decent attempt to provide some delicacies, and that some might claim that they could not afford very much.⁵⁰ In Menander’s *Kolax* (fr. 1 Sandbach = 292 Kock = Athen. 14.659d), a *mageiros* describes the libations and sacrifice he is performing for the *tetradistai* at their celebration of the festival of Aphrodite Pandemos; from the remaining fragments it is plausible that this was a feast attended by, and perhaps hosted by, the young Pheidias and his friends (lines 10–12 Sandbach = A 10–12 Arnott). The words of the pimp (lines 120–32 Sandbach = E 225–37 Arnott) suggest that Pheidias was markedly less well-off than the profiteering soldier Bias, though just as likely to resort to violent affray (with his sixty *hetairoi*) in order to regain control of the *hetaira* over whom they are competing.⁵¹

It seems not unreasonable, then, to suppose that a good many of the typical audience at the theatre will have experienced a good few dinners and drinking parties in different public and social contexts, though precise assessments of the extent of popular involvement in

voluntary associations, in dinners for choruses, or just among friends, will continue to elude us, as does indeed the precise social composition of the theatre audience. Of course, some elements – the most expensive luxuries, such as the best fish, insouciant and hybriatic violence, anti-democratic plotting – could still be standardly presented as part of the unattractive life-styles of the elites. But the widespread and extensive familiarity with all the details of such occasions that is assumed in these passages is most easily explained if occasional participation in parties which had some at least of the sympotic elements was part of the legitimate expectations of most middling Athenians (e.g. those designated as *zeugitai* and on the hoplite registers). A further argument for this view can be derived, I would argue, from the law which fixed the maximum price for female-pipers, harp-players and lyre-players at two drachmae per night, a law apparently implemented by the *astynomoi*, and on one occasion at least strictly enforced by the heavy-handed device of an *eisangelia* (during the Lykourgan period, and probably supported by Lykourgos himself).⁵² The *astynomoi*'s main function was to maintain order in the city, and there is much evidence that fighting often took place in the streets or other public places over such female musicians who also offered sexual services. Violent competition over the price of a girl might occur at the moment of initial hiring, or subsequently during a *kōmos*, when guests of another party might seek to attract her away.⁵³ The law was doubtless designed to maintain public order in the streets (hence the *agoranomoi* were involved), and perhaps also in part to restrict expenditure and competition among the better-off.⁵⁴ But the decision to frame such a law in terms of a maximum price would make good sense if it were also designed to keep down the cost of such entertainers, so as to remain an affordable luxury for the (relatively rare) celebrations of moderately well-off people or their associations, and thus to avoid groups of the less rich complaining at the monopolization of pleasure by the rich as well as at their unruliness.⁵⁵

Davidson's illuminating discussions show how intensely sensitive and 'political' an issue was the price of fresh fish. Fish were indeed seen as equivalent forms of consumption and pleasure, and equally as models of power, just as 'sexual objects' such as boys and *hetairai* were;⁵⁶ as Davidson suggests, there may also have been some slight legal attempts made to moderate the prices of luxury foods. At times, though, he may perhaps exaggerate the extent to which richer punters achieved a virtual monopoly of the market. It might be seen rather as a constantly feared danger, an anxiety that crops up repeatedly in comedies, and produces apparent expressions of serious envy and accusations of criminal wealth-creation and of political conspiracy. We

should not, perhaps, underrate the probability that the middling citizens could get some fish regularly, if not as often as the rich, and occasionally even the more expensive types of fish, by saving up for a treat, or taking advantage of lower prices;⁵⁷ while associations planning their joint dinners could pool their resources for a fish or, of course, for a sacrificial animal. Such a procedure seems to be supposed in the elaborate discussions in Alexis frs. 15 and 16, where a club-member who bought the fish, vegetables and wine for a club dinner gives itemised accounts – increasingly high – to a sceptical fellow-member who is being asked after the dinner for his contributions.⁵⁸ The repeated picture in the comic fragments tends to be of alarm at the sudden rises in fish prices, or the behaviour of the fishmongers: for example Kratinos fr. 236, where it seems people are complaining they can no longer eat red mullet, sting-ray or black-tail; or Antiphanes fr. 188, where it is held to be undemocratic that well-known gourmets (*opsophagoi*) can no longer buy their fish. Here there is evidently a joke on the standard *topos* that the right of *ordinary* people to buy fish was a democratic principle.

Most prices cited in the fragments do seem high, and are the subject of complaints: Davidson and Schaps both find comforting congruence between these prices and the maximum prices for fish set on the late third-century inscription from Akraiphia in Boeotia.⁵⁹ However, they admit that one might have expected higher prices at a later period, and at that place, than in fourth-century Athens; Akraiphia was further from the sea, and was a smaller place, and one might add that the law was probably aimed at restraining very high prices produced by the sudden influx of people for the *Ptoia* festival. It might be more plausible to conclude that all our actual fish prices are (like the figures in comedy for dowries) systematically, if for different reasons, set considerably higher than what was felt to be normal in the Athenian agora. Davidson plausibly suggests that the comic fragments suggesting that *agoranomoi* might intervene to keep fish-prices down may have some reflection in reality, and that in particular the law forbidding vendors from changing the stated price attributed to the Lykourgan politician Aristonikos might be genuine (Alexis fr. 130, from his *Lebēs*); it is supported in part by a law from third-century Delos (SEG³ 975.8–18: see Schulhof & Huvelin 1907) and a proposed regulation in Plato's *Laws* (11. 917bc).⁶⁰ If so, it may have been (as Arnott ad loc. suggests) a measure produced by unusually high prices in that period.

Ordinary Athenians in Old Comedy do after all occasionally eat expensive fish as a treat. Dikaipolis had tasted Kopaic eels before the war, even though the fish-eater Morychos was especially associated with them; and he was delighted to see one again when he made his

private peace, and knew how he'll have it cooked (Ar. Ach. 881–94).⁶¹ Trygaios anticipates the delights of peace when again good things will flock in from Megara and Boeotia, culminating in baskets of Kopaic eels, so that 'we (= ordinary Athenian farmers) may do our fish-shopping in crowds', jostling Morychos and many another glutton, so that finally Melanthios may come too late, and utter a tragic lament (*Peace* 999–1015). There is doubtless fantasy and wish-fulfilment here in the overturn of the normal dominance of the fish-market by the *opsophagoi*, but the democratic ideal that supplies and prices should allow ordinary citizens to buy some good fish at some times remains evident.

'Moral decline' at the *symposia*

Moral concerns about perceived changes in the conduct of *symposia* and *deipna* emerge clearly from many scenes in Old Comedy. At the time of the Archidamian War, there were evidently thought to be significant social changes in a number of areas. One may mention here an increased spread of some wealth and available luxuries; the recognition of the teachability of certain necessary skills, especially of rhetoric, and the concomitant promulgation of new and radical ideas in 'advanced education' offered by the 'sophists'; the accompanying intrusion of new themes and new treatments in drama and other poetry; and greater access to political power for those of previously poor families, especially perhaps for those who were supposed to have formed associations as 'boyfriends' or 'flatterers' with older men. All these supposed developments had an impact on debates on proper sympotic conduct: Rösler (in Murray 1990, 236) speaks with reason of 'the crisis of the traditional aristocratic *symposion*' as part of the growth of democracy. The prime evidence presented by the *Clouds*, especially the debate that arose at the welcoming *symposion* offered to Pheidippides, need not be treated in detail here (see A. Bowie 1997, 4–5). In the *Daitaleis*, enough remains of the *agōn* between the restrained and the debauched brothers, the *sōphrōn* and the *katapugōn*, to suggest that the *katapugōn* is completely given over to trendiness. It is probably he who tests and buys perfumes in the perfume-shops, centres of news, gossip and fun (frs. 210, 213 K-A = 205 + 234, 206 Kock);⁶² there may well be a suggestion that he has given up serious gymnastic activities (fr. 214 K-A = 214 Kock: 'there is no strigil there nor oil-jar'); and who, having worn himself out with pipes and lyres (see A. Bowie 1997, 4–5),⁶³ is disinclined to turn to agriculture (fr. 232 = 221); he knows all about *kottabos*, too (fr. 231 = 209). Most significant of all is fr. 225 (= 216): 'he didn't learn these things from the [school] I sent him to: no, he's learnt to drink, to sing shamefully, [to indulge in?] Syracusan cuisine, Sybaritic feasts, [drinking] Chian

wine from Spartan cups neat with pleasure and friendship'.⁶⁴ There is here combined criticism of new luxuries, politically incorrect and deep drinking, and improper after-dinner songs. It is frustrating that the point of some of these details, and the tone of the debate as a whole, may escape us, as does the social level or levels at which this family was pitched. One can at least say that the family seems to have been rich enough to send the sons to be traditionally educated, and the trendy son has been able to learn legal niceties and indulge in loads of luxuries and *symposia*.

Alcibiades, mentioned (and perhaps also alluded to) here (fr. 205 = 198), as in many other plays, is elsewhere singled out for the initiation of sympotic excesses. It is probably he who is active in a debate in an unknown Eupolis play (fr. 385 = Athen. 1.17d).⁶⁵ Alcibiades (if it is he) says he hates Spartan fashions and wants to buy fish for frying; is accused, and admits it, of having screwed large numbers of women, and of having introduced 'drinking early in the day' as well as other forms of *lakkoprōktia* ('tank-arsery', i.e. insatiable desires); and specifically boasts of having had the idea of calling for the potty in mid-drink, and other 'Palamedean' devices.⁶⁶ The idea that the 'young men' engage in early drinking is also found in Aristophanes fr. 360 K-A (347 Kock) – 'it's midday, the time when the *neōteroi* have to dine'. Worse, probably, is the behaviour of some (deserters?) in Pherekrates fr. 34, from his *Automoloi*, apparently effeminate people who drink and get drunk before the *agora* is full; and perhaps also, less grossly, Aristophanes fr. 695 K-A (675 Kock = Athen. 11.106 = 502b (from the epitome)), where someone says that as it is the time when the shadow (of the sundial) points to seven feet, he must leave 'as the "friendship chorus" (*choros philotēsios*) calls me to dinner': he is presumably a member of a group of friends, association or chorus which dines a bit early. The time indicated is apparently mid-afternoon, which might more usually be time for the baths, so this particular debauchery would have seemed less excessive.⁶⁷

One could also accumulate evidence for considerable concern over the extent and the control of the drinking (the role of the *symposiarch*), the nature of the cups and mixtures to be used, and the danger of excessive arguments or fighting;⁶⁸ but I end this section with a brief demonstration that songs or recitations were evidently also of considerable interest, and that here too issues of social class, fashion and moral decencies arose. It may be a sign of the very widespread knowledge of some 'drinking songs' that in the *Wasps* (1222–49) Bdelykleon obtains a better response from Philokleon when he asks him to cap traditional *skolia* than he does with other aspects of his sympotic teaching (he matches the Admetos song, which advises

one to befriend only the *agathoi*, not the *deiloi* who give no return, with a warning against foxy double-dealing).⁶⁹ There may perhaps also be a hint of a class conflict in a comparable passage in Aristophanes' *Pelargoi*, where one man was singing the (aristocratic?) Admetos song 'to the myrtle', and another made him sing the (more 'democratic'?) Harmodios song (Ar. fr. 444 K-A = 430 Kock).⁷⁰ Many other passages refer allusively and easily to these famous songs: for example in Kratinos fr. 254 (from his *Cheirones*) a character is singing the Kleitagora song to the aulos-tune of the Admetos song (through ignorance or incompetence);⁷¹ and in Theopompos fr. 65 men are recalling a *symposion*: 'After that we began to drink... | reclining very softly on a *triklinion* | groaning songs of Telamon to each other'.⁷² New fashions of singing begin, as one would expect, with Aristophanes' *Daitaleis*, where someone is asked to take the myrtle and sing a *skolion* of Alkaïos or Anakreon, though the trendy youth likes to sing immoral songs (frs. 225, 235 K-A = 216, 223 Kock). So too in Eupolis fr. 148 (from his *Helots*) a trendy character declares that it is old-fashioned to sing Stesichoros, Alkman and Simonides: Gnesippos is the one to hear, with his popular songs for swinging adulterers to serenade their women with (see Davidson in this volume). Comments on recitations of tragic speeches are found not only in the *Clouds*, but in later plays as well.⁷³

Given the numbers of Athenians who had to learn such songs and speeches, to fill the choruses needed in the dramatic and dithyrambic contests (over a thousand each year), we should conclude that knowledge of different types of songs and poetry was very widespread, and that disputes over what to sing or recite at picnics, feasts and drinking parties at many social levels were very frequent occurrences.⁷⁴ These debates in Old Comedy, then, may support the suggestion that there were some at least of the wealthiest young Athenians (like the 'Old Oligarch', n. 27 above) who regretted that some luxury and some sympotic customs and practices were available to the many, and responded ostentatiously by resorting to greater luxury, indulging in earlier and longer drinking, and introducing more shocking or controversial accompanying entertainments. More extreme sympotic groups, of course, as noted above, adopted the more spectacularly anti-democratic postures of oligarchic conspiracy and mockery of rituals.

Interlopers at the symposia: *kolakes* and parasites

Many Athenians, then, wished to enjoy more frequent and better-equipped feasts, drinking parties or association dinners, and could be relied on to find (uneasy) humour in the endless comic jokes directed at sympotic developments, at the ignorance or embarrassments of the

naive, or at the *hybris* and immorality of the enjoyments of the rich, whether old or new. But one alleged mechanism whereby less wealthy Athenians got to enjoy more than their share of such delights came in for especially insistent comic treatment and aroused, it seems, especial anger, perhaps from both sides of this fluid and insecure division: the habits, or even way of life, allegedly adopted by characters known as *kolakes*, *bōmolochoi*, *episitioi*, *gelōtopoioi*, or (from the early fourth century) *parasitoi*. I conclude with some preliminary thoughts on what produced such interest and moral concern at their activities, and how serious a social phenomenon it may have been; what, if any, social realities underlay these apparently common and much-abused characters, above all in the period of Old Comedy.

The primary social purposes of friendly *symposia*, as of the associations and clubs, were shared pleasures and mutual benefit for the members – whether of similar or varied status; they were based on the values of reciprocity and fairness, of the mutual co-operation of all members, and of the provision of appropriately equal shares for all at feasts. Such values were also built into public feasts by the divisions of the meats and drink according to fixed principles (Schmitt Pantel 1992, 121–43 and *passim*). There was in fact a state office regulating equality of consumption at some public feasts: three officials called *oinoptai* had care of the lamps and wicks, and generally had charge to ensure that all could see, and got equal amounts of wine to drink (Athen. 10.425a–b). The earliest reference to them is in Eupolis fr. 219, where they are used as an example of low-status, but well-established, officials – the complaint is that men one would not have appointed to such a job are now *stratēgoi*.⁷⁵

For privately-organized dinners and *symposia*, the rules of reciprocity and the supposed disgrace of breaking them are equally constantly reiterated and played with. Either one dined at an *eranos*, or ‘from contributions’ (apo *symbolōn*) as it came to be called (n. 49 above), sharing the expenses for each meal, and taking in turn the responsibilities of the shopping and organising, or, if one was entertained by one’s friends, or by one of the members of the phratry or club or whatever, one was expected to entertain back. Therefore, to eat and drink solely at others’ expense (*t’allogria deipnein*) or not to pay one’s contributions (*symbolai*, to be *asymbolos*) may have been recognised as a temptation for those who were poor but keen on luxurious consumption, but it was properly regarded as serious and gross *anaideia* (effrontery, lack of decent restraint).⁷⁶

Originally, persistent offenders against these rules were among those stigmatized as flatterers, *kolakes*. At some point during the fourth century, and, as Geoffrey Arnott has argued (1968), probably as a result of Alexis’ comedy *Parasitos*, the traditional name for cult-

officials with ritual duties and dining rites at certain sanctuaries, *parasitōi* ('parasites'), became accepted as a conveniently denigratory term.⁷⁷ The word *parasitos* clearly became the prime term for food-scroungers; the extent of overlap with *kolax* is debated, and I would tend to agree that no absolutely clear or precise distinction between the two ever emerged in Middle or in New Comedy. None the less, while there was much overlap, and roughly equal disapproval for both, a *kolax* was more likely to be seen as someone flattering and providing varied services for a single richer or more powerful man, while the primary benefits to him were seen in terms of *trophē*, a constant place at his table, dining and drinking with him and his friends; whereas a parasite was yet more focused on the accumulation of 'free' meals, from a variety of hosts, in exchange for providing some form of entertainment, usually jokes.⁷⁸ Both types repeatedly justified themselves in comedies, often in set-piece speeches (the sequence apparently started with Epicharmos, and in Athens with the chorus in Eupolis' *Kolakes*). The moral point underlying the humour in these speeches, however lively and plausible they may seem, is that they ignore, or else shamelessly admit, the degrading and unfree elements of the parasitical life. These include having to flatter and please their hosts or patrons whatever they say or do, and having to accept, without response or retaliation, insults and blows from other independent guests or friends. However much these 'parasites' seek to justify their contributions to their patron or to the general party atmosphere in terms of their jokes and wit, by the genuine reciprocal friendship they offer, by reference to the gods' habit of 'attending' feasts without making contributions, or to the example of Zeus Philios, audiences would not fail to notice the refusal to acknowledge the diminution in the manhood and independence proper to the citizen that was necessarily involved in the acceptance of such relationships, whether with a single patron or a variety of party hosts.⁷⁹

Two initial points thus emerge from this constant comic attention to these characters and their elaborate, yet clearly morally unacceptable, self-justifications. First, there is a heavy focus on the consumption of desirable food and drink as a major ambition. Second, this primary set of terms in common use in Athenian society, where one might see an approximation to patron-client relations, is restricted to, or concentrated on, the settings of friendly socialising and luxury consumption, rather than on the provision of necessities. It is apparently not spread widely through rich/poor relations, but restricted to relatively few people, who were allegedly prepared to seek greater wealth or more regular pleasures, while risking social marginalization and ridicule, and the stigmatization of a demeaning nickname (Lark, Crab, Crawfish and so on: see Athen. 6.235e–248c;

Ribbeck 1883).

But it does not follow that there were in fact many, or even any, Athenians who really accepted in this way (let alone revelled in) the shameful life of pleasures and advancement. One may compare the similar questions asked of those related stereotypes the sycophant or the *kinaidos* (and, as will be seen, often the same individuals receive all these labels) – did they exist, or were they extreme social types, as used in political invective or comedy?⁸⁰ I have space here merely to scratch the surface of this large and neglected topic, by considering essentially the evidence of Old Comedy on the varied sorts of people characterized as *kolakes*, and their possible responses to such representations. One might start with two famous but very different elite Athenians, who, in plays of the 420s, appear to have stood out for offering *trophē* to *kolakes*. This will reveal clearly the many types who can be stigmatised as *kolakes*, the other accusations often associated with that of *kolakeia*, and the fact that many of these *kōmōdoumenoi* were anything but representatives of the miserable and cringing poor.

First, Kleon is attacked twice in Aristophanic parabases as a Hesiodic monster with a hundred *kolakes* snaking round his head (*Wasps* 1030–5, *Peace* 755–9; cf. *Wasps* 683–4), and in *Wasps* the following individuals are identified: Theoros, Aeschines, Phanos, Kleonymos and Euathlos (*Wasps* 42–51, 419, 592, 1220, 1236–7). We know enough about these characters to say that these are younger, ambitious politicians, who turn up variously as ambassadors, drafters of decrees, orators and prosecutors in lawsuits⁸¹ – the last an area of activity which of course lays them open also to the charge of sycophancy.⁸² All were doubtless also among Kleon's regular fellow-sympotai, as the guest-list of *Wasps* 1220 suggests; in some of these cases the allegation of unsubstantiated claims to wealth (as in Aeschines the 'Smoke') adds to the impression of sponging. In the case of Euathlos, as for many others, according to the scholia on *Acharnians* 710, allegations of being a *euryprōktos* as well as a sycophant were attested – that is, that he had used sex as a starting point for his political relationships.⁸³ That these political associates of different ages and experience shared *symposia* enabled the younger ones easily to be labelled as free-loading *kolakes*, and also explains why Aristophanes was happy to describe a party of Kleon's at *Wasps* 1219–49. There need be no doubt that all these men would have ridiculed the charge, and claimed to be Kleon's friends and allies, not his *kolakes*. It is precisely the nature of the friendships which causes the moral anxiety.⁸⁴

Second, there is the case of Kallias and his friends or *kolakes*, apparently central to two plays produced in successive years by

Eupolis. In the first of these, the *Kolakes* of 421 BC (Hypoth. I to Ar. *Peace*), the longest surviving fragment is the chorus' self-justification of their way of life (*diaita*) (fr. 172) – the first Athenian example of such justifications, following that of Epicharmos, in the long series of them quoted by Athenaeus (6.235e–41e). Here the *kolakes* are interested solely in their free meals, and describe their expertise in latching quickly on to a likely host when they get a whiff of a meal.⁸⁵

The moralising summary of the plot in Maximus of Tyre (K-A Test. iv (V 381)) conforms to this pattern: he says that in the play Kallias is satirised as being subjected to flattery in *symposia*, where the reward for the flatterers is access to wine-cups, *hetairai*, and other shameful and slavish pleasures. Other fragments suggest that some apparently very expensive fish was bought (frs. 160, 165[?], 174), and dancing girls appeared along with fish and hares (fr. 174), while many expensive gold and silver vessels and water-basins were disappearing (frs. 162, 169). But on the other hand, among the named *kolakes* appear to have been Protagoras (frs. 157, 158), an 'appalling pseud (*alazōn*) about things in the sky, but a good eater of earthly things', and other sophists (see Carey in this volume), and also Socrates' friend Chaerophon (fr. 180), also mocked as 'poor' in Kratinos fr. 215 as well as in *Clouds*, and as a sycophant in Aristophanes' *Telemēssēs* (fr. 552 K-A = 539 Kock).⁸⁶ Other supposed *kolakes* on the scene were 'Orestes' (a nickname for a friend suspected of a particularly offensive drunken assault, perhaps),⁸⁷ 'Marpsias' (another nickname) (fr. 179) and the tragedian and fish-gourmet Melanthios (and perhaps his brother Morsimos), who was apparently presented in this play as a *kinaidos* and a *kolax* (fr. 178). These specific *kōmōdoumenoi* are a varied crew, reflecting Kallias' extravagance and pretensions (which were of course presented rather more favourably both in Plato's *Protagoras* and in Xenophon's *Symposium*) in collecting all these 'friends' and 'guests' in his house. *Kolax* thus appears in this play to have been a wide category, embracing all those who could be presented as attached to Kallias, whose great wealth was, most notoriously of all, prey to *kolakes*. There are famous intellectuals and poets, others of some wealth and varied independent interests and talents, as well as the general gang of poorer, more anonymous 'parasites'.

In the next year, 420 BC (Athen. 5.216d), Eupolis' *Autolykos* focused apparently on relations between Kallias, his boyfriend Autolykos, and Autolykos' father Lykon. The precise relationships alleged between them are not quite clear. Evidence for Lykon's wealth and status before his son took up with Kallias is ambiguous. There are faint suggestions in Xenophon's *Symposium* (3.13, 2.7, 8.36–43) that, while the relationships were entirely proper, Lykon was yet considerably less rich than his son's lover, who generally spread his

money about generously, had already helped Autolykos to find the best trainer and inspired him with *philotimia* and endurance, and was now going to train him for the next stage in his career, in politics; though there is also a flattering allusion to Autolykos, like Kallias, having a notable (*onomastos*) father (*Symp.* 8.7).⁸⁸ There is also an interesting allegation that Kratinos satirised Lykon as a ‘poor man’ in the *Pytinē* (scholiast on Plato *Apol.* 23e = Cratinus fr. 214). Eupolis’ play, and others, evidently attacked Lykon for keeping a disorderly wife, ‘Rhodia’ (or possibly ‘the Rhodian woman’). Lykon himself apparently could be stigmatized as effeminate (*malakos*), while Autolykos was explicitly presented as ‘well- bored’ (*eutrēsios*) in this play (frs. 48, 58, 61, 64).⁸⁹ All this may reflect comic perceptions that the super-rich Kallias had been instrumental in raising the wealth and political chances of both of them (whether the family had thereby obtained its wealth, or had lost wealth earlier); and hence the father could have been presented as a relatively elite type of *kolax*, like many others in the previous play, while the son acquired the demeaning nickname ‘Eutresios’ as the boyfriend (fr. 64 = Athen. 5.216d).⁹⁰

This preparedness to label as spongers or *kolakes* any regular guests who might be thought significantly less rich than their hosts may lead one to be more inclined to suppose that similar points are being made when people are satirised in Old Comedy as hungry or cold, especially in sympotic contexts. They may, that is, be presented not as seriously lacking the wherewithal to cover or feed themselves, but rather as some form of ‘spongers’, and they would often in fact have been minor politicians, or other minor celebrities, supposed to be attached to more important figures. This may help with some of the doubtful identifications of men on the list of *sympotai* at the party Philokleon disrupts in the *Wasps* (1299–1325).⁹¹ About the host (Philoktemon, line 1250) and one of the guests (Hippylos) little can be said – perhaps they were unquestionably wealthy men, known for enjoyment of the sympotic life, as perhaps was Phrynichos, the last to be mentioned, with his associates or acolytes (i.e. other younger politicians, who might be designated as his *kolakes*?)⁹² Lykon, the man just discussed, clearly shared this life-style, but could in some contexts be considered as a sort of *kolax*. Similarly, Antiphon, perhaps more likely to be intended to be the famous speechwriter and later oligarch rather than the liturgy-performer son of Lysonides favoured by Storey,⁹³ was said earlier in the play to be ‘hungry’ along with Arynias, another ‘boaster’, who was once able to dine (luxuriously) with Andokides’ father Leogoras (1265–74). So it appears that both Arynias and Antiphon, who alike had some involvement in politics, could be presented as only too prepared to ‘sponge’ dinners off those considerably wealthier than them.⁹⁴ The remaining pair seem to me to

be presented as fulfilling two other definite roles as *kolakes* at the party. Thoupkrastos is evidently the recognized joker, *gelōtopoios* or *bōmolochos*, like Philippos in Xenophon's *Symposium*?⁹⁵ he sneered in a superior and clever manner at Philokleon's behaviour, and was then abused by him, as a man 'who fancied himself, pretending to be smart, comedian-lickspitting (κωμωδολοιχῶν) around whoever's doing well'. Similarly, I am in agreement with Sommerstein (against Storey) that Lysistratos of Cholargai, here and elsewhere in Aristophanes, is presented as an ambitious but relatively poor and 'hungry' *kolax* and comic, if perhaps less of a dedicated comic than Thoupkrastos (and perhaps also, as the scholia on *Wasps* 787 suggest, a *kinaidos*, i.e. formerly – allegedly – someone's boyfriend).⁹⁶ At the party, he started the *eikasmos* game, as if he, like Thoupkrastos, was annoyed at the comic threat provided by the coarser old man. Difficulties must remain in relation to the details of many such references to 'hungry', 'thin-clothed' or 'poor' *kōmōdoumenoi* who attach themselves to richer pleasure-seekers in Old Comedy. Another interesting pair are Pauson, the alleged painter, joker and pauper, and Theagenes the merchant and pauper, whose appearance together in the parabasis of Eupolis' *Dēmoi* (fr. 99) is discussed by Storey and by Zimmermann elsewhere in this volume. We are perhaps bound to miss many of the jokes. Nonetheless, steps in the right direction, I suspect, would be recognition, first, that comic poetespecially interested in branding people as *kolakes*, focusing on their scrounging invitations to, or simply gate-crashing, the *symposia* of those richer or more influential than themselves, and, second, that there are a great many varieties of *kolakes*.

A further consideration is the need to make a sharp divide between the comic stereotype, as it may have become more precisely defined in fourth-century comedy, and the accumulation of related, if separable, accusations that could be levelled at individual *kōmōdoumenoi*. Thus it may well be correct to see the fully-developed *kolakes* and parasites as comic characters presented as so exclusively concerned with the accumulation of food, drink and joviality that they were excluded from the varied worlds of sex, love and marriage (so Avezzu 1989). But the fluid, and no doubt mostly twisted or simply false, accusations in Old Comedy against *kolakes* often, as we have seen, add further allegations of their record as *euryprōktoi* or *kinaidoi* and of their future hopes of sexual access to *hetairai* through the patron (as indicated for example in the plot-summary of Eupolis' *Kolakes*, Test. iv K-A (V 381)), or of picking up boys at the *gymnasia*. It is notable that in Pollux's lists the masks and accoutrements of the *kolax* and the parasite seem to indicate acquaintance with the palaistra, and parasites typically carry strigils and lekythoi;⁹⁷ and 'Smoke' (*Kapnos*), a common

nickname for those ‘spongers’ who claim more wealth than they are shown to have, can also imply those who try it on with the pretty boys (τοὺς καλοὺς περιᾶν: Aristophon *Iatros* fr. 5 = Athen. 6. 238c).⁹⁸ Interestingly, such allegations also formed the subject of by-play between the comic poets (*Wasps* 1025–6, *Peace* 762–4, Eupolis fr. 65). Eupolis apparently created a comic *persona* for himself, admitting his use of his fame to seduce boys; Aristophanes denied that such charges could be applied to him, but went on, at the end of the anapaests of the parabasis of the *Peace* (767–74), to claim that none the less his popularity as a comic poet entitled not only him, but all other bald men, to extra helpings of desserts at the table and the *symposion*. Comic poets (whose wit will have made them attractive guests, as in Plato’s *Symposium*), like many others attaining the ranks of the famous for whatever reason, must also have found themselves wide open to allegations of involvement in *kolakeia* and other improper forms of friendship.

The picture of *kolakes* in Old Comedy, then, suggests first that comic poets latched on to the concern that many individually known and ambitious men, junior politicians and others, may have formed a close attachment to wealthier or more powerful men which could be attacked as shameful and demeaning, and their obloquy is especially focused on the enjoyment of drink, dinners and other pleasures. Not in fact seriously poor, not ‘professional’ parasites, they were held to be compromising their citizen integrity and manhood in the service of their patrons, their own immediate enjoyment, and their future careers. There are also indications of the alternative concern that genuinely poorer citizens were thought more regularly to engage in earning a ‘living’ by cadging invitations to parties as comedians, or seeking *trophē* from varieties of rich men by cruder ‘flattery’ (as with the chorus of *Kolakes*). It is difficult to tell, but it seems unlikely that this was a widespread or a dangerous phenomenon. Such attacks on the poorer ‘devotees of the belly’ articulate and explore the contradictory attitudes of many ordinary ‘hoplites’, keen to acquire as much of the good life as possible, yet equally concerned to maintain their own reputations as free, unslavish citizens and who respected the fundamental values of reciprocity. Thus they could often react with outrage, envy and uneasy laughter at those whose allegedly reciprocal services were thought inadequate for the rewards they were evidently receiving.

In later comedy ‘ordinary’, fictional, parasites seem to have predominated over *kōmōdoumenoi*, men known to the audience for their activities, achievements or associates. But such men still attracted attention, especially the famous Athenian parasites whose names, nicknames and best jokes are featured in Athenaeus’ extended

treatment (6.235e–62a: n. 79 above).⁹⁹ Some of these are identifiable members of the political and sub-political scene: particularly notable are the sixty comedians who allegedly hung out together voluntarily at the *gymnasion* of Herakles at Kynosarges, including one of the most notorious ‘fish-lovers’ and ‘parasites’, the politically prominent and apparently wealthy Kallimedon the ‘Crayfish’ (on whom see Davies 1971, 279; Davidson 1997, 145, 265). These men seem to have taken a curious pride both in the derivation of their appellation from that of the sacred parasites (Bruit Zaidman 1995), and in the marginal associations of the *gymnasion*.¹⁰⁰ The story that Philip II of Macedon took an interest in their wit, with its unlikely elaboration that he sent specially to them for their joke-book, combines the continued concern for parasites in Athenian social life with the newer concern for the form of *kolakeia* displayed by Athenian politicians, intellectuals and other celebrities towards Philip, and thus prefigures the great extension of high-class patronage for ‘friends’, supporters and entertainers offered at Macedonian and other Hellenistic courts.¹⁰¹ Thus concern over the social position and reputations of ‘flatterers’ and ‘parasites’ continued, and may indeed have increased, through the fourth century and well beyond into the Hellenistic and Roman periods; but the issues in the age of Lucian, Athenaeus and Plutarch were not entirely the same as those of the epoch of Kleon and Aristophanes.¹⁰²

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Notes

¹See e.g. Ober 1989; Murray 1990; Davidson 1993.

²See S. Lewis 1995, 1996 and Davidson 1997, 52–60, whose analysis of the evidence for drinking at *kapēleia* shows that they can be seen as lower-class, less ritualised, more commercial alternatives to the *symposia*, and also as ‘locals’, offering their own networks of friendship and trust (both for shared drinking and purchasing ‘on tick’). Excavation of an early fourth-century building in the Agora, and of pottery and food remains in an adjacent well, suggests a tavern and food outlet, where local and more expensive foreign wines were sold and drunk: Shear 1975, 346–61.

³Cf. also Foxhall 1998 for an argument that even in the archaic period the desire of the less well-off to enjoy ‘semi-luxuries’ occasionally was an important element in the great expansion of trade and exchange.

⁴A good recent example is provided by the extended scene of the birthday barbecue in Mike Leigh's film *Secrets and Lies*, where interestingly some of the tensions arise from varied levels of social mobility and consciousness of formalised behaviour among the participants; or again many of his plays, e.g. *Abigail's Party*.

⁵Frs. 210, 213, 219, 225, 232, 235, 236 K-A = Kock 205 + 234, 206, 213, 216, 221, 223, 224. The family of the *Clouds*, if it can be considered in any way as a 'realistic' one, would have to be seen as the result of a social misalliance between a pretty comfortably-off, though rustic, farmer and a high-class, Alkmaionid mother (41–55); Dover 1968, xxviii commented on Strepsiades that he might resemble Squire Weston in Fielding's *Tom Jones*, except that 'he lacks Weston's courage and panache, and Periclean Athens has imbued him with higher standards in the arts than were normal among the gentry of eighteenth-century England' – to which may be added that his Periclean cultural horizons seem to have included garland-wearing and singing snatches of Simonides and Aeschylus at domestic *symposia* (1353–65). The wealth and status of the family of the *Daitaleis* seems less clear.

⁶The term 'aristocrats' is perhaps best avoided altogether in the classical Athenian context, in the absence alike of inherited titles and of structured patterns of social respect and electoral support for the descendants of top office-holders (on the Roman model).

⁷Notice that Cooper & Morris slip in the notion of generation as well as class, a covert acknowledgement that things are changing. Various divergent or modified statements can be found in Pellizer 1990; Wilkins 1995, 10; E. Bowie 1995; S. Lewis 1995; A. Bowie 1997, 3.

⁸For divergent views on the poverty of real (as opposed to Aristophanic) Athenian jurors see Markle 1985 and Todd 1990.

⁹Devotees of elderly British sit-coms might recall the Steptoes or Alf Garnett and his daughter and son-in-law, for both the characterisations of the old men and the humour derived from the constant conflicts between the vulgar but lively old men and their upwardly mobile, would-be sophisticated, and morally censorious younger relations.

¹⁰Cf. Humphreys 1985, 359 n. 34; deeper analysis in Konstan 1995, 15–28, for whom Philokleon is characterized as an obsessive type, seriously 'old-fashioned' (despite now having some wealth) in his selfish pursuit of money and pleasure, as well as in his instinctive and crude drunken violence, while the sympotic scenes also satirize the anti-democratic affectations and violence of the rich; further modifications in Olson 1996.

¹¹As taken by Cooper & Morris 1990, 78. On the theme of the *Eccles.* as the substitution of a continuous *symposion* for the political associations, the consequent revolution in the roles of women and questioning of the *symposion* itself, see A. Bowie 1997, 19–21 and Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 228–31. On women and drink, not treated here, see now Burton 1998 on women and commensality, with men and on their own, and Venit 1998 on images of women drinking.

¹²See e.g. Macleod 1983, 26 and Fisher 1992, 272–6; on the Ion, p. 362 below; on satyr-plays (esp. the *Cyclops*) Seaford 1984, 57, 195–7 and Rossi 1971.

¹³See Sommerstein 1997 for an argument that the theatre audience was by and large better-off and more 'conservative' before the introduction of the *theōrikon*, probably in the time of Eubulos, c. 350. Even if this is right, the number of citizens attending was considerably larger than that of those attending the assembly, and must have included at least a great many registered hoplites.

¹⁴A. Bowie 1997 explores other ways in which Aristophanes' extant plays find both positive and negative uses for these themes, and Lada-Richards 1998 offers a detailed analysis of Dionysos and sympotic themes in the *Frogs*.

¹⁵Cf. also the names, language and songs of Philokleon and the chorus of 'Wasps'

(allegedly a more poverty-stricken crowd: n. 7 above) in the parodos of *Wasps*, with A. Bowie 1997, 9.

¹⁶See E. Bowie 1988; Parker 1991; Olson 1991; Goldhill 1993 and Sidwell 1994.

¹⁷Plato's phrase συμπόσιον τῶν ὁσίων is surely a mocking jingle, *pace* Shorey's note in his Loeb translation. On comic utopias in general see also Ceccarelli and Ruffell in this volume, and the first five chapters in Dobrov 1997. Cf. a later example, not from a Utopia or the after-life: Alexis fr. 224 refers to a general Athenian custom of all leaping up and dancing as soon they smelt the wine – so that an outsider joining the *symposion* would think a disaster had occurred.

¹⁸For our evidence for Hippodamos' own contribution to town planning (perhaps more concerned with the demarcation of public and private space, since orthogonal planning is certainly older) see Burns 1976; D.M. Lewis 1990, 250–1; and Gorman 1995.

¹⁹Hoepfner & Schwandner 1994, esp. 40–1, 327–8; debates in Schuller, Hoepfner and Schwandner 1989, and a rather more sceptical overview in Grandjean 1997. For Olynthos, Robinson & Graham 1938; for Athens and Attika, also Ellis Jones 1975. General discussion of the functions of the *andrōn* by Jameson 1990a, 171–95, and 1990b, 92–113, esp. 99–100.

²⁰See e.g. Vickers 1990; Vickers & Gill 1994, 33–46; Sparkes 1996, 140–5.

²¹For a balanced survey see Sparkes 1996, ch. VI = 140–67.

²²See e.g. recently Camp 1996, 242–52 on a deposit found in a well in the Agora, north of the altar of Aphrodite: apparently from a late Archaic house and discarded before 480, it contained a good amount of kitchen ware, and a fair set of decorated *symposion* pieces, black and red figure, not of the highest quality, with sympotic scenes. See also the survey of the types and quality of painted and plain pottery found in the Agora in Moore 1997 and in *Agora* vol. XXX.

²³Cf. Thompson 1940; testimonia in *Agora* III (= Wycherley 1957), esp. Dem. 19.198, Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43.3. The alternative view, that they reclined in shifts (Miller 1978, 55–8), fits the evidence less well.

²⁴See Cooper and Morris 1990, 75–9; Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 168–77; Luke 1994.

²⁵As argued by Dow in Bonfante & von Heintze 1976, 69–70; cf. Miller 1978, 58–60. On the problem of the *trittys tōn prytaneōn* see e.g. Rhodes 1981, 533 on Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 44.1. One may also note Hesych. s.v. *tholos* = *Agora* III (Wycherley 1957) no. 596, where there is a reference to the place where the 'sympotic equipment is stored'.

²⁶IG i³ 121; Miller 1978, 12; Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 147–68.

²⁷Cf. the explicitly sympotic entertainment offered to Spartan delegates, and to wider groups, to celebrate the making of peace at the end of the *Lysistrata* (esp. 1182–5, 1223–38).

²⁸Cf. ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.7 and 2.9: thanks to the empire and the democracy, the *dēmos*, the author grumbles, has found out about gastronomic luxuries, and thanks to the establishment of the polis sacrifices and festivals, its members enjoy the feasts they could not afford individually.

²⁹See Bookidis 1990; Cooper & Morris 1990; Bookidis 1993; Morgan 1993. Cf. also the picture of men reclining on a mattress in the open, wearing curious animal-horned head-dresses, and with a pipes-player between them, on both sides of a large skyphos found in the deposit from the well in the Agora mentioned in n. 22 above = Camp 1996, 246–7 with pl. 72 (no. 22), our [Fig. 9](#) below.



Fig. 9. A puzzling symposium from Athens (see n. 29) Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations. Skyphos (drinking bowl) attributed to the White Heron Painter, c. 500 BC. Athens, Agora excavations P 32413. Height 16.2 cm.

John McK. Camp describes this large Attic-type skyphos as follows: 'A group of two banqueters with a flute [or rather, *aulos*] player between them share a single large mattress. The banqueters wear unusual headdresses. The one on the right is clearer, with two elongated animal ears between curving horns. The figure on the left has three large projections off the front of his headdress, with an elongated bulge at the back. [The reverse shows] a similar scene, less well preserved, with a female lyre player as the central musician. Framing the main scenes and clustered under the handles are numerous large, plump, long-necked birds.. thirteen in all. The birds, the outdoor picnic, and the headdresses are all hard to parallel, and it is not clear whether these are scenes taken from drama or cult ritual.' Camp J. McK., 'Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1994 and 1995', *Hesperia* 65 (1996) 231–61 at 246.



Fig. 10. A comic symposium from Thebes From J. Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting* (London 1998), fig. 507. Skyphos (drinking bowl) from the workshop of the Mystes Painter, first quarter of the 4th cent. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 3286, destroyed during World War II. Height 21 cm.

Symposium scene. On the left, a girl playing the *aulos*, drawn in outline (invisible in the photo and omitted from the copy; sketch in Neugebauer 469 [fig. 2](#) and Bruns 107 [fig. 6](#)). Two pairs of ludicrous male figures reclining on couches; food and drink on low tables beside each couch. Two older (bearded) men are symmetrically engaged in lively conversation with two younger ones. All of them have fillets and twigs in their hair (cf. Hemberg 199–200). The triangular objects on their heads are puzzling. They might be a shorthand version of the *pōlos* (headgear) much affected in Boiotia by goddesses and women in general, which would imply (ritual?) transvestism; perhaps they are no more than fancy headbands (Boardman, pers. comm.). The younger figures wear grotesque masks; the older figures may be masked too. One of the young men supports himself with a slender stick. Is this a joke? We would expect the older man to need it. The other side, not illustrated here, shows a female figure (a Mother Goddess, says Neugebauer), Pan, Hermes et al. Both sides are carefully described by Bruns 106–7.

The vase belongs to the Kabeirion class, so called because the

majority were found at the sanctuary of Kabeiros near Thebes (Bruns, Braun, Boardman 258–62; earlier bibliography in Bieber 194, Hemberg 187). The activity of this particular workshop is dated between the last years of the fifth century and the beginning of the second quarter of the fourth (Braun 7–9) – in other words, during the heyday of Middle Comedy, and contemporary with Aristophanes' *Ekklesiazousai* and *Ploutos*. Other artists continued to paint in this grotesque style until c. 320 (Braun 26).

³⁰Much the same may have been true of the feasts of the subordinate bodies of citizens such as the demes and the phratries (cf. Ath. 185c–186a). At the main phratry festival, the Apatouria, for example, we hear of convivial dinners and much eating of sausages (e.g. Ar. *Acharn.* 145–6 and scholia), and there is one intriguing story of a group feasting in a cave who got so drunk that they slept right through and found themselves celebrating the Koureotis on the wrong day (Simplicius on Arist. *Phys.* 4.11, 708.17 Diels); see Lambert 1993, 86–7, 152–61 and Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 83–90. For the procedures at other polis festivals see Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 130–42.

³¹Was he otherwise dressed as a satyr, and engaged in 'ritual' abuse of others, which was only acceptable if the mask was kept on? Cf. Seaford 1984, 8–10 and 1994, 266–7; Frontisi-Ducroux 1992.

³²E. Bowie 1995, 113; A. Bowie 1997, 3 and n. 27; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 272.

³³Ach. 1154–5, *Clouds* 338–9 (large mullets and thrushes for dithyrambic poets – and choruses?), *Peace* 1356–7 ('you'll eat and drink a lot of wine'), *Eccl.* 1153, 1181; also Ach. 886 – the eel beloved by comic choruses.

³⁴Hamilton 1992, 7–9 seems to me over-sceptical on this point, as often in his severely

The Kabeiroi were worshipped in the plural at Samothrace and elsewhere, but the deity at Thebes was Kabeiros, in the singular (for the Kabeiroi see Kern, Hemberg, Fauth, Burkert 281–5, 457–9, Vollkommer-Glöckler and Graf; for Kabeiros see Kern 1437–42, Hemberg 184–205 and Burkert 281–2, 457). Like the Kabeiroi, Kabeiros presided over a mystery cult, which, like his attributes and nature, was very similar to that of Dionysos (see e.g. Hemberg 193–4). He was associated with wine, and some vases show characters with masks, and sometimes with padded costumes and leather phalloi, strongly suggesting dramatic performances (Bieber 153–5, Hemberg 200 n. 6, Braun 9–10, 26). Similarities with the costumes of Athenian Middle Comedy have been noted (Braun 9–12, 24–6). An attempt has even been made to associate the vases with the titles of known plays (Braun 26–9, citing Ath. 8.336d: over 800 plays – too many for the major Athenian festivals), but the performances at Thebes may well have been unscripted.

As John Camp said of [Fig. 9](#), 'it is not clear whether these are scenes taken from drama or cult ritual'. But the ludicrous masks and gestures on this vase make it much more likely that it shows a symposium scene from a comic performance than any sort of cult meal. Yet the other side, remarkably, presents an entirely serious

picture of deities. We remain tantalized.

Bieber M., *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, Berlin and Leipzig 1920 Boardman J., *Early Greek Vase Painting*, London 1998

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minimalist account of the festival. Phanodemos was, after all, a leading expert on – and reformer of – Athenian rituals in the time of Lykourgos: see Jacoby *FGrH* 325 Intro.

³⁵Hamilton's argument (1992, 8) for discounting the passage, that a public *symposion* would be 'almost a contradiction in terms', of course begs the question I am concerned with. He is right to point out that the phrase 'the ancestral festival of the Greeks' is rather vague; but there seems no reason to doubt that the Athenian festival underlies Tzetzes' comment.

³⁶Cf. A. Bowie 1997, 16–8: note especially Dikaiopolis' happy comment at 1142: 'Mine is sympotic business.'

³⁷Burkert 1983, 213–43; Gould 1985, 19–22; Bremmer 1983, 108–22. For an alternative view see Hamilton 1992, who is prepared to suppose, implausibly, that Euripides' account of the custom, as well as its *aition*, may have been a total invention, and that, not much later, this invention was repeated and promulgated by Phanodemos, a well-informed religious expert (*FGrH* 325 F11): cf. A. Bowie 1997, 18. In practice, however, the solitary and gloomy ritual may have been dealt with pretty rapidly, and the drinking parties may thereafter have become pretty cheerful and communal: Bremmer 1994, 46–8.

³⁸Fisher 1993; A. Bowie 1993, 29–30 and 1997, 15–18. Against this view, Habash 1995 argues that at 1067–8 Dikaiopolis has, by putting aside his own treaty, in effect fully re-integrated himself into the community; but his words ('take away the treaty') seem to say no more than that he is returning the treaty to his store, after giving a portion to the bride, and to her 'alone' (1061), not that it has been abandoned.

³⁹See the very useful list and account of them in Parker 1996, 108–11, 333–42 (Appendix 4), following the earlier studies of Ferguson (1944, 1949). Parker recognizes both their steady growth and their importance from the fifth century onwards. For the Hellenistic period, see now Mikalson 1998, esp. ch. 5 (137–67). On *deipna apo symbolon* and *eranoi* see n. 49 below.

⁴⁰Justinian, *Digest* 47.22.4. A Solonian origin for all parts of this law is doubted by Arnaoutoglou 1998, 72–3, but accepted, or at least contemplated, by Lambert 1993, 87, 250–1, Baslez 1996, 286 and Carter 1997, 100–1, whose paper speculatively suggests similarities (and differences) between *andreia* in Crete, *syssitia* in Sparta, *thiasoi* or *orgeones* in Attica and the *marzeah* in Phoenicia and Carthage.

⁴¹Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1241b14–27 and *Eth. Nic.* 1160a14–30; cf. also Arnaoutoglou 1998, 69–70.

⁴²e.g. *IG* ii² 1255, 1259, 1261, 1297, 1301, 2501, *SEG*xxi 530.

⁴³IG ii² 2499. IG ii² 2350 is the beginning of a list of members of a dining club in the Peiraieus described as the ‘couch-sharers’ (*synklinoi*). See Baslez 1996, 286–9.

⁴⁴Andoc. 1.34–70; Lys. fr. 53 Thalheim (Kinesias); Dem. 54.14–17, 39 (Konon).

⁴⁵See Murray 1990, 149–50 and Osborne 1990a, 277. For the phratries cf. Lambert 1993 *passim*, esp. 238–41, 249–51, 266–7. On the integrative function of these associations for foreigners, especially in the Peiraieus, see Arnaoutoglou 1998, 78–9.

⁴⁶IG ii² 1267 offers only the intriguing beginning of a fourth-century decree featuring οἱ Δαί ταλ[εῖς].

⁴⁷e.g. Ameipsias fr. 27, Aristonymos fr. 3, Sannyrion fr. 5. It may also be relevant that Aristophanes claims to have displayed a Heraklean spirit in his attacks on monsters like Kleon (*Wasps* 1029–30, *Peace* 571–2). See the speculations in Welsh 1983 and Lind 1985, building on Dow 1969. Parker 1998, 334 and n. 4 is non-committal.

⁴⁸Cf. the treatments of these cult associations by Arnaoutoglou 1994 and 1998: he argues, against Gallant 1991, 159–66, that they should not be seen as settings for formalised patron-client relations. On *thiasoi* of Herakles, see also Lambert 1993, 82–4, 88–9. In his further study of IG ii² 2345, Lambert (1999) has developed the suggestion that the members of *thiasoi* listed here may not be all members of one phratry, but rather members of a group of *thiasoi* of Herakles (cf. the plural *thiasoi* at Isaios 9.30). Prosopographical analysis of these *thiasotai* does not disclose many connections with the propertied or liturgical class. I am most grateful to Dr Lambert for a sight of his paper before publication.

⁴⁹Cf. Millett 1991, 153–9. The original meaning of *eranos*, a one-off meal where each brought contributions, came to be designated by the term *deipnon apo symbolōn*, while *eranos* came to be used for a friendly (interest-free) loan or a regular association of friends who would help each other and have regular social meetings. Arnott, however, is perhaps over-dogmatic in his view (1996, 86–7, 423 n. 1) that the use of the word *eranos* to refer to common meals became totally obsolete: cf. Harris 1992.

⁵⁰See Arnott 1996, 728–9 ad loc., commenting that the foods offered by the stingy host were those characteristic of the poor. Another important source is Theophrastus’ *Characters*, where there are many examples of the regularity of such club meetings and meals, and the emphasis is on those who incur social disgrace by getting the protocols wrong, whether through meanness or bad taste: cf. e.g. 10.3, 10.11, 15.5, 17.2, 20.10, 21.2, 27.2–7, 27.11, 30.2, 30.18.

⁵¹See the notes on these fragments in Arnott’s Loeb edition (II 162–3, 182–3). Other passages mentioning drinking associations will be discussed below.

⁵²The law: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 50.2 with Rhodes 1981, 574 ad loc.; cf. Souda Δ 528). *Eisangelia*: Hypereides 4 (*Euxenipp.*) 3; the case was brought against an Athenian Diognides (or Diognis? PA no. 3877) and Antidoros, a metec, for allegedly hiring girls out at too high a price – thus the charge lay against the pimps rather than the punters (as Davidson 1997, 82).

⁵³Philokleon’s drunken antics at *Wasps* (1341–87) involve him first in stealing an *auletris* away from the other guests at a *symposion*, and then having her dragged away from him by his stern son; cf. also Dem. 21 (*Meidias*) 36.

⁵⁴See Davidson 1997, 82–3, with useful material on the nature of street life; also Halperin 1990, 110, and Wilson 1999, 83–4.

⁵⁵Cf. Rhodes 1981, 574 ad loc. and S. Lewis 1995, 438. Cf. also Theophrastus’ Revoluting Man (*bdelyros*), given to ‘flashing’ at women, who can also on occasion go shopping for *opson* for a party and hire girl-pipers (*Characters* 11.2, 7). At some point the Athenians introduced a board of *gynaikonomoi*, among whose sumptuary activities included the restriction of the number of guests at weddings or other

feasts. Athenaeus' discussion (6.245a-c) quotes New Comedy (Menander fr. 238 Koerte, Timocles fr. 34), Lynkeus of Samos and Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F65). The recent discussion in Ogden 1996, 364-75 (Appendix) contemplates their introduction in the period of the fourth-century democracy; but in the light of the facts that no reference to them certainly predates c. 320, and that neither the *Politics* nor the *Ath. Pol.* mentions such an office at Athens, it is much more likely that it was a creation of the legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron (cf. Habicht 1997, 55-6), designed to restrain competition among the rich, and perhaps also to minimise envy among the less well-off – more important now that they had been deprived of much political power.

⁵⁶Davidson 1993, cf. 1997, 186-90, 234-6, 278-301, rather more nuanced and subtle discussions on the issues of 'class-distinctions' and social change in relation to fish-consumption and other aspects of sympotic behaviour.

⁵⁷Cf. Davidson 1997, 187. There are frequent references in Theophrastos to people of varying levels of wealth shopping for *opson*, which often, though not always, implies fresh fish: probably so at *Char.* 10.12, where the Penny-pinching Man (*mikrologos*) doesn't buy any, or 11.7, where the Revolting Man (*bdelyros*) buys *opson* and hires girl-pipers; but at 9.4 and 22.7 meat and vegetables are in question.

⁵⁸Cf. also Arnott 1996, 86-102 ad loc. At Diphilos fr. 3 (= Athen. 11.499d-e) an innkeeper, apparently abandoned by customers in favour of the man selling dodgy wine smuggled out in a jug under the arm from a wine-tasting, is like the man left behind at an *eranos* – presumably the man collecting contributions, but for a loan or for a dinner?

⁵⁹Davidson 1993, Schaps 1987; on the Akraiphia inscription see also Vatin and Salviat 1971, 95-109 and Schachter 1994, 11-21.

⁶⁰Davidson 1997, 189-90, and Arnott 1996, 377 ad loc. As Arnott suggests, Alexis may well have changed the law's provision against either raising or lowering the stated price to just lowering it. On Aristonikos see Hansen 1983, 161 and D.M. Lewis 1959, 240-1.

⁶¹Thus it seems less likely that we should suppose he had only eaten eel as a result of his comic activities (cf. line 886).

⁶²See S. Lewis 1995 and 1996, 16-18. On the meaning of *katapugōn* see now Davidson 1997, 167-82.

⁶³Cf. Alcibiades' disdainful attitude to pipes-playing in Plut. *Alcib.* 2.5-6, and see now Wilson 1999.

⁶⁴On the text and interpretation of the fragments, see Cassio 1977. On Spartan cups in this passage and elsewhere see Davidson 1997, 61-3.

⁶⁵It is conjectured that it is Alcibiades because of Pliny the Elder's remark (NH 14.144) that Alcibiades among the Greeks, like the Parthians in general and Torquatus among the Romans, was famous for introducing drinking early in the day, before eating. Cf. Davidson 1997, 152-3, 176-78, 299. The view that Alcibiades largely escaped sustained criticism in Old Comedy (Sommerstein 1996, 334-6) may need qualification, though there remains an apparently striking contrast with the treatment of Kleon or Hyperbolos.

⁶⁶Palamedes was credited with numerous useful inventions, including meal-times: see K-A ad loc. (V 510-11) and Aesch. fr. 182 Radt.

⁶⁷Cf. E. Bowie 1995, 119; a more usual time would be 10 feet, as in Ar. *Eccl.* 651-2 for the new regime of the women; cf. also Alexis fr. 21. So too at a Hellenistic public feast on Keos, *IG* xii 5. 647.16.

⁶⁸See e.g. Pellizer 1990, 178-9; Slater 1990, 213-20; Davidson 1997, 43-52, 61-9.

⁶⁹Cf. MacDowell 1971, 290-3 ad loc., and the speculations on an allusion to the Alkmaionidai in D.M. Lewis 1963, 23.

⁷⁰See Ostwald 1969, 121–36 on the song and its democratic credentials.

⁷¹Cf. also the pleasantries at Ar. *Lys.* 1236–8: the reconciliation party of the Spartans and Athenians has gone so well that the Athenians applauded when someone sang the Telamon song when they should have sung the Kleitagora.

⁷²See the collection of *skolia* in Athen. 15. 694c–5f, with Page 1962 (*PMG*) nos. 894–916. Cf. also the frequent allusions in extant Aristophanes: *Ach.* 1093, *Lys.* 632, 1237–8, *Eccl.* 938–45.

⁷³*Clouds* 1361–79. See e.g. Ehippos fr. 16, where unpleasant tasks include having to learn Dionysios' plays or Demophon's speeches.

⁷⁴Osborne 1993, 1–37; Green 1994, 9–10. Cf. also the stories that Athenian troops after the final disaster in Sicily, whether in flight, imprisoned or enslaved, found sustenance or release if they were able to recite or sing some Euripides: Plut. *Nicias* 29.

⁷⁵Exactly whose feasts they operated at is not clear – the phratries, i.e. at the *Apatouria*, according to Photios s.v., but possibly others as well, such as those of the polis, the deme and the *genos* (they were mentioned in Lykourgos' speech on the dispute between the two *gene* Krokonidai and Koironidai). See Lambert 1993, 154–5; also Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 85–6; Gernet 1968, 189–90. *Oinoptai* may appear on a decree concerned with sacrifices from the *phylobasileis* (*IG* ii² 1357.23), but the reading is disputed. Other officials, *protenthai*, seem to have tasted and approved food for some festivals, especially again the *Apatouria*: *Clouds* 1198–2000, Athen. 4.171c–e, who also quotes two other comic fragments and a fourth-century decree. Other polis officials concerned with the proper regulation of feasts, the provision of contributions, and the distribution of wine and food at them, are attested in some of our earliest Greek 'laws': note especially the mysterious *platiwoinarchoi*, with their powers to fine any offending *platiwoinoi*, in the late seventh-century texts found on the Cyclopean walls at Tiryns (Verdelis, Jameson and Papachristodoulou 1975; *SEG* XXX 380), and the original Athenian *parasitai* attached to various cults and often regulated by the archons (Ath. 234c–235e). See Davies 1996, 633–8.

⁷⁶An early statement of this view can be found in Archilochos (fr. 124 West), who describes his enemy Perikles as being like the people of Mykonos: he drank lots of the poet's strong wine, while bringing no contribution, and not waiting to be invited like a friend: his belly led his wits astray to *anaideia*. The remark about Mykonian scroungers and their stinginess was picked up by Kratinos fr. 365, where Ischomachos – presumably the famous one – is described as not fond of giving presents, and son of Mykonos (Davies 1971, 266–7): a rich scrapper, rather than a *kolax*.

⁷⁷For the old officials see Bruit Zaidman 1995 and Davies 1996; for the introduction of the term in its social sense, Arnott 1968; alternative view in Nesselrath 1985, 102.

⁷⁸See Brown 1992, against Nesselrath 1985, 88–121; also Millett 1989, 15–29, Avezzu 1989.

⁷⁹The justifications are collected by Athenaeus, above all in 6.235f–240c, and range from the very simple and blatant 'how pleasant it is to scoff [fish?] from the pan without paying the contributions (*symbolai*)' in Phrynichos fr. 60 to infinitely more elaborate statements that it is parasites who take the values of friendship and sociability to their fullest extent, are genuinely democratic, are as valuable as Olympic victors, or were invented and supported by Zeus Philios: see esp. Timokles fr. 8, Antiphanes fr. 80, Euboulos fr. 72, Diodoros fr. 2; on being prepared to endure insults and loss of manhood for the sake of pleasure, see Aristophanes fr. 5, Antiphanes fr. 193, Axionikos fr. 6 (all from that same passage of Athenaeus). In particular, it is notable that one of these parasites includes sycophantic behaviour such as 'bearing (false) witness' among the services that he'll undertake to 'be a

friend to his friends in deeds, not words alone', Antiphanes fr. 193. 8–10.

⁸⁰For the *kinaidos* see Winkler 1990, 52–5 and Davidson 1997, 173–82; for the sycophant, Osborne 1990b and Harvey 1990. Cf. also the interesting remarks on parasites and sycophants in Davidson 1997, 269–77.

⁸¹Ambassadors: Theoros, *Ach.* 134–66; Aischines, *Wasps* 1248. Drafters of decrees: Kleonymos, *IG* i³ 61 and 68 = Meiggs & Lewis 1969 nos. 65 and 68, the decrees concerned with Methone and with tribute-collecting. Orators and prosecutors: Euathlos, *Ach.* 710 with scholia; Phanos, *Knights* 1256. Charges of sycophancy: Ar. fr. 452 K-A = 437 Kock, from *Pelargoi*. Cf. also the interesting remarks on parasites and sycophants in Davidson 1997, 69–77.

⁸²Cf. Lofberg 1920. The archetypal career which might unkindly be described as that of a *kolax* whose services to his patron included sycophancy is of course that of Archedemos in Xen. Mem. 2.9 (see Osborne 1990b, 96–8); at the end of the chapter it becomes clear that he faced the obvious charge of being Krito's *kolax*.

⁸³For *kōmōdoumenoi* subjected to these varied if related charges, cf. e.g. the case of Ameinias: a dice-lover in *Wasps* 74–5, he was allegedly the subject of comic abuse in Kratinos fr. 227 (*Seriphioi*) as a *kolax*, an *alazōn* ('pseud') and a *sykophantēs*. Many other such cases could be added. Cf. also Sommerstein 1996, 330 with n. 14 on such charges, in relation to a suggestion about Euripides and Kephisophon.

⁸⁴As is clearly the case with Archedemos and Krito: cf. Connor 1974 and Davies' review, 1975, 376–7; Davidson 1997, 275. Kleon's own *kolakeia* of the powerful, or tyrannical, *dēmos* through flattering rhetoric and bribes is a different though interestingly parallel case, like Pericles' earlier 'bribery' of the *demos* with their own money to provide state-pay (Plut. *Per.* 9.1–3 with Stadter 1989, 110–8).

⁸⁵See Carey in this volume (pp. 423–5) on this play. Cf. some of the many brief references in Old Comedy suggesting this picture of their aims, which became the stereotype: e.g. Kratinos frs. 46 and 47, from his Dzonysalexandros: leech-throated, untrumpeted (i.e. uninvited, as the Suda explains) men associated to dinner'; Pherekrates fr. 150 on *bōmolochoi*; cf. Ar. fr. 171 K-A = 166 Kock (*Gērytades*).

⁸⁶Whether Socrates, an intellectual about whom plausible charges of sponging off his richer friends and associates could be made, appeared in this play is not quite certain. Bergk dubiously attributed to the *Kolakes* frs. 386 and 395, in which Socrates is criticized for giving no thought to where his food would come from, and for stealing an *oinochoē* while sharing in the rounds of Stesichoros-singing (see Carey in this volume, p. 428). In the *Clouds* he is engaged in stealing clothes (line 179 with Dover 1968, 118–9 ad loc.; cf. also fr. 295 K-A = 291 Kock (from his *Dramata* or *Niobos*), and Dover 1968, xlvii–li).

⁸⁷On the people so named in Athens see most recently Dunbar 1995, 451–4 on *Birds* 712.

⁸⁸See also Lambert 1996, 79–81, who suggests that the reference to Lykon as being *lōn genos* in the scholia on Plato *Apol.* 23a (citing Arethas) derives from a remark in Old Comedy which may have referred to Lykon's alleged membership of a phratry – and possibly also a *genos* – called Ionidai; Lambert is reinterpreting a *horos* (Lalonde 1991 (= *Agora* XIX) H 118) as a boundary stone of a 'house' belonging to the phratry Ionidai. If correct, this need not imply very much in the way of nobility or wealth in the family; indeed, as Lambert suggests, the comic reference may have been to an allegation of foreign origins. Equally, even the Xenophon remark might conceivably be a sly allusion to the 'fame' of both Kallias and Lykon on the comic stage.

⁸⁹Cf. also Ar. *Lys.* 270 with scholia, and scholia on *Wasps* 1169: Storey 1985, 322–3.

⁹⁰Autolykos apparently did take up a political career, to be ended by the Thirty (Plut. *Lys.* 15.5). It is disputed whether Lykon then became one of Socrates' accusers,

or whether that 'defender of orators' (Plat. *Apol.* 23e) was a different man. I am less sure than is Storey (1985, 323) that Xenophon was incapable of the ironic anticipation that would follow from the closing praise by Lykon of Socrates (Xen. *Symp.* 9.1) if he had indeed turned out to be his prosecutor. On the relationship cf. also Fisher 1998, 99.

⁹¹Cf. MacDowell 1971, 302–5 ad loc. and the full discussion by Storey 1985.

⁹²Cf. Storey 1985, 318–9. Phrynichos is very likely to be the later oligarch, but this cannot be securely established.

⁹³This picture of Antiphon may be related to the accusation of monetary greed (*philargyria*) made against him in Plato's comedy *Peisander* (fr. 110), and both somehow to the tradition that he was the first to write defence speeches for others – no doubt wealthy clients – for money (ps.-Plut. *Mor.* 833c–d, Edwards 1998, 90–1). On the multiple problems of the multiple Antiphons, see Gagarin 1997, 3–9 and Edwards 1998, 82 n. 4 (and the works listed there); I too tend to accept the identity of the speechwriter, the sophist and the author of the *Tetralogies*.

⁹⁴The idea (MacDowell 1971, 297 on line 1270) that Antiphon simply had a large appetite seems to lack comic bite.

⁹⁵Cf. MacDowell 1971, 305 on line 1318 and Storey 1985, 327–8. Interestingly, Euripides in two plays of the 420s also appears to introduce remarks critical of such comic *kolakes*: *Melanippe Bound* fr. 492 N², where χαρίτας κερ τόμους means more than 'taunting gratifications' (Cropp 1995, 271) – rather, 'abusive jokes that give pleasure to set up returns in food'. The next line, on how these jokers actually lose their claim to manhood, classes them among the shameful *kolakes*. Second, at *Erechtheus* fr. 362 N², Erechtheus gives Polonius-like advice to an adoptive(?) son, that he should 'make friends with those who do not give way in discussion, but show the door to those who (?) speak for your pleasure for a return (*charis*)'; and again that he should 'cherish the company of elder men, and hate *akolasta êthê* (unbridled behaviour) that is bright, but good only for laughs, since the enjoyment of shameful pleasures is brief' (see Cropp 1995, 181–4 ad loc.).

⁹⁶Ach. 854–9, *Kn.* 1267–73, *Wasps* 787–95 as well as this passage: see MacDowell 1971, 238–9 and Sommerstein 1980, 199; 1981, 210; 1983, 206 ad locc. I find this more plausible than Storey's treatment of him as a Lakonizer.

⁹⁷Pollux 4.120; described as carrying the 'patron's toilet accessories', Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 225 n. 4; but he may go to look for hosts for dinners, or for boys.

⁹⁸Cf. also Anaxandrides *Odysseus* fr. 35.9, in what is possibly a similar passage: 'if someone looks hard at the *kaloî*, he's a *kapnos*' – but the text is disputed: see K-A II ad loc. (p. 255).

⁹⁹The distinction can be seen at Alexis fr. 121, though textual corruption makes precise identification of the types difficult.

¹⁰⁰Athenaeus 14.614de. Kyle 1987, 91–2 sees the location just as a less grand and less fashionable *gymnasion*; but Ogden 1996, 200 more plausibly suggests that it still retained an appropriateness for those accepting self-definition as 'marginals'.

¹⁰¹On this story, and another concerning the placing of Philip's statue in Kynosarges, see Versnel 1973 and Bremmer 1977. Entertainers at the Macedonian court: Davidson in this volume pp. 52, 56.

¹⁰²See above all Nesselrath 1985, and for parasites in Roman literature, Damon 1997.

Bibliography.

Arnaoutoglou I.

1994

'Assoc

1998	‘Betw associ <i>Kosmo</i>
Arnott W.G.	
1968	‘Alexi
Arnott W.G. (ed.)	
1996	<i>Alexis</i>
Avezzu E.	
1989	‘Il ver Veron
Baslez M.-F.	
1996	‘Place Carlie
Bookidis N.	
1990	‘Ritua Murra
1993	‘Ritua <i>Sanctu</i>
Bowie A.M.	
1993	<i>Aristo</i>
1997	‘Thinl <i>JHS</i> 1
Bowie E.L.	
1988	‘Who
1995	‘Wine <i>Verita</i>
Bremmer J.	
1983	<i>The E</i>
1994	<i>Greek</i>
1997	Es Ky
Brown P.G.McC.	
1992	‘Mena
Bruit Zeitman L.	
1995	‘Ritua Harve
Burkert W.	
1983	<i>Homo</i>
Burns A.	
1976	‘Hipp
Burton J.	
1998	‘Wom
Camp J.	
1996	‘Exca 52.

Carlier P.(ed.)

1996

Carter J.B.

1997

Cartledge P.A., Millett P. & Todd S.C. (eds.)

1990

Cartledge P.A., Millett P. and von Reden S. (eds.)

1998

Cassio A.C. (ed.)

1977

Connor W.R.

1974

Cooper F. & Morris S.

1990

Cropp M.C.

1995

Damon C.

1997

Davidson J.

1993

1997

Davies J.K.

1971

1975

1996

Dobrov G.W. (ed.)

1997

Dover K.J. (ed.)

1968

Dow S.

1969

1976

Dunbar N. (ed.)

1995

Edwards M. J.

1998

Ellis Jones J.

1975

Le IVe

'Thias

Lango

Nomo

Kosmo

Camb

Aristo

The N

'Dinir

Contr

Select

The M

'Fish,

Courto

Athen

Revie

'Strut

S. Set

The C

Aristo

'Some

'Comp

Bonfa

69-84

Aristo

'Noter

'Town

Ferguson W.K.
1944
1949

Fisher N.R.E.
1992

1993

1998

Foxhall L.
1998

Frontisi-Ducroux F.
1992

Gagarin M. (ed.)
1997

Gallant T.W.
1993

Gernet L.
1981

Goldhill S.
1991

Gorman V.B.
1995

Gould J.
1985

Grandjean Y.
1996

Green J.R.
1994

Habash M.
1995

Habicht C.
1997

Hägg R.

et al.
Ghent

‘The A
‘Orge
Prince

Hybrid
Warm
‘Multi
Aristo
‘Gymn
Reden

‘Cargo
Archae

‘Un so
245–5

Antiph

Risk a

Anthro
la Grè

The P

‘Aristo

‘On m
Greek

‘La m
Carlie

Theatr

‘Two
559–7

Athen
& Ma

1993	<i>Greek</i>
Halperin D.	
1990	<i>One F</i>
Hamilton R.	
1992	<i>Choes</i>
Hansen M.H.	
1983	<i>‘Rhet</i>
Harris E.M.	
1992	<i>‘Wom</i> <i>Phoen</i>
Harvey D.	
1990	<i>‘The s</i> <i>Millet</i>
Hoepfner W. & Schwandner E.L.	
1994	<i>Haus</i>
Hoffmann H.	
1994	<i>‘The n</i> <i>symbo</i> <i>moder</i> <i>Sotad</i>
1997	
Humphreys S.C.	
1993	<i>The F</i>
Jameson M.H.	
1990a	<i>‘Priva</i> <i>City, 1</i>
1990b	<i>‘Dome</i> <i>Archit</i>
Konstan D.	
1995	<i>Greek</i>
Kyle D.G.	
1987	<i>Athlet</i>
Lada-Richards I.	
1999	<i>Initiat</i>
Lalonde G.V. et al.	
1991	<i>The A</i>
Lambert S.D.	
1993	<i>The P</i>
1996	<i>‘Notes</i>
1999	<i>‘IG II2</i> <i>93–13</i>
Lewis D.M.	
1959	<i>‘Law o</i>
1963	<i>‘Cleis</i>
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1991	<i>The A</i> Prince

TOPIKOS OINOS: **THE NAMED WINES OF OLD COMEDY**

Andrew Dalby

In the fragments of Athenian comedy several named wines are praised or rejected. We hear of Pramnian, Bibline and Psithian, names that are not convincingly connected with place names. We also hear of wines named after various places – city-states, islands and larger areas: Mendaean, Thasian, Acanthian, Lesbian, Chian, Magnesian, Peparethan, Sciathian, Euboean, Corinthian, Leucadian and Phoenician. Coan, Cnidian, Cretan and Rhodian are among Aegean wines well known from slightly later sources but apparently not yet household words to the authors of Athenian comedy. Similarly, although Attic wine was of course drunk in Attica, it is not mentioned by name – at least, not in the surviving fragments.

Sometimes the praise or blame is explicit; sometimes the audience hears nothing but a name in a list. Can we taste what lies behind these names?

Names

A question: what was the connection between the wines named after cities and the cities they were named after? The possible answers: the wines were made in the named territory; they were exported by or from the named city; they were made in a style identified with the named city; they were made from a grape variety identified with the named city.

We can be sure from the outset that it was not a question of grape varieties. As we shall see, Chian and Thasian grapes were later grown outside Greece, but wine made from them was not called Chian or Thasian. Indeed, although Chian grapes were grown in Italy, Chian wine was exotic and expensive there (Pliny *HN* 14.96). Are we talking of wine styles? Later texts do make it clear that some wine styles were identified with city names: sources give us recipes for Thasian and for Coan wine to be made by farmers elsewhere;¹ and the manufacture of amphoras (n. 5 below) of the distinctively Coan shape became a widespread industry, which suggests wholesale imitation of this popular wine. Nearer the period in question, by contrast, we have the assertion – in a speech of Demosthenes (35 (*Against Lacritus*) 35) –

that named wines (specifically including Mendaean, Thasian, Peparethan and Coan) were exported from the cities whose names they bore, and that wines with these names could not conceivably be dispatched towards the Aegean from the Pontus.

Since named wines were exported from the named cities, it would be easy to assume that these wines had all been made in the immediate neighbourhood of the cities – but that goes rather against the evidence. A later source (Pollux 6.2) says explicitly that it was not so with ‘Theran’ wine, which was made on Crete. The origin of Thasian wine may well have been more complicated than its name, for the Thasians had bases on the neighbouring Thracian coast (well known as a source of wine) and they legislated concerning the landing of wine on that coast, as we shall see. Of our small sample of comic wines named after cities, two more could well have ‘labelled’ Thracian produce under their own names. Mende had established Eion, at the mouth of the Strymon, as a base (Thuc. 4.7); Peparethos had a base at an unknown site in Thrace (schol. Dionysius Periegetes 522.1). This is no coincidence. The considerable demand for respected wine names, particularly those of the small territories of Mende and Peparethos, was, we must suspect, not wholly satisfied from local produce.²

Cities

A question: what interest did cities take in the wines that bore their name? The possible answers: no interest; a passive financial interest; an active commercial interest, protecting the market and promoting sales; an interest in guaranteeing the quality of the product.

Quality was promoted by a Thasian law against passing off watered wine.³ The Thasian wine legislation of the late fifth century included a clause against speculation in wine futures and one forbidding the landing of foreign wine on the Thasian coast of Thrace.⁴ We happen to know of no other such laws at this early period. But the production of specialised amphora shapes associated with known wine-producing cities, and the marking or labelling of amphoras,⁵ are factors that seem to suggest some collective or municipal interest in the wine – at the very least, a desire that the name be associated with the product. The use of grapes, amphoras and wine-related subjects as coin types by wine-producing cities implies a wish to promote the city’s name as a wine exporter. Among the seven cities whose names are mentioned in Old Comedy, the fifth-century coins of Mende allude to Dionysus, Silenus and the vine. Fifth-century Peparethan coins bear a bunch of grapes on the obverse. Two Magnesian towns, Meliboea and Rhinus, struck coins in the fourth century: both depicted vines. And it is a most important detail that, by contrast with amphoras in vase paintings, ‘the tiny relief impressions

of pointed jars in amphora stamps, coins, and gem impressions can often be attributed to a specific [archaeological] series'⁶: these could function as advertisements, while the vase paintings had no such aim.

Style, flavour, bouquet

A question: what was the relation between wine names and the style and flavour of the wine? The possible answers: the relation was random; several kinds of wine were traditionally made under each single name; only one kind was traditionally associated with each name.

It is difficult to believe that the relationship was random. After packing in amphoras wine could not be seen or tasted until it was about to be consumed, because once exposed to air it quickly spoils. The name, and any marks on the amphora, were the only available indication of its origin. Its type would have to be predictable from this – if buyers cared at all what kind of wine they were buying, which, precisely from the recurrence of wine names, we know they did.

Within the meagre contemporary evidence, there are no direct contradictions in the matching of wine styles to names, yet we may pick up the implication that more than one kind of wine might come from each city. In regimens for urinary ailments a Hippocratic treatise prescribes 'honey-coloured white Mendaean wine', 'white, dry Mendaean wine' (Hippocrates, *De affectionibus interioribus* 16, 17, cf. 18, 24). This neatly matches a joke from Cratinus: 'Now if he sees a young Mendaean wine, just reaching puberty, he tags along after it and says "Oh my, how fresh and white! Will it take three?"' (Cratinus fr. 195, from the *Pytinē* = Athen. *Epit.* 29d; cf. Rosen in this volume, pp. 28–9), yet to the Hippocratic author, not one to waste words, there were surely other Mendaean wines as well.

Thasian and Peparethan were best after some years of ageing.⁷ Thasian wine was 'black' (Ar. fr. 364 K-A (Kock 350) = Athen. 478d); it had a 'scent of apples' (Hermippus fr. 77 = Athen. *Epit.* 29ef). Lesbian, it was later claimed, 'tastes naturally of the sea' (Pliny *HN* 14.74). Phoenician had a fine aroma but a less distinguished flavour.⁸ Chians made 'black' wine (Theopompus 115F276 = Athen. *Epit.* 26bc)⁹ but, again, there may have been at least two kinds of Chian, for the 'rotten Chian' thought desirable by one comedy speaker (Philyllius fr. 23 = Athen. *Epit.* 31a) seems to go with a passage of Old Comedy in which a 'rotten' wine follows the naming of Chian:

.. .fine and unhurtful Chian. Now there is a certain wine that they call *Saprias*, from the mouths of whose jars when they are opened there is a smell of violets, a smell of roses, a smell of larkspur, a sacred smell through all the high-roofed hall, at once ambrosia and nectar. This is

the nectar; of this I shall give to my friends to drink at the happy feast. (Hermippus fr. 77 = Athen. *Epit.* 29e).

The noun *Saprias* suggests a distinct variety of some kind – the sweet wine of grapes attacked by noble rot?

Later, Galen and Athenaeus wrote explicitly of Greek cities that produced more than one kind of wine;¹⁰ in the fifth and fourth centuries BC it was probably already so, as it is, for good economic reasons, in most wine-producing regions today.

Let us add that wine classification is highly culture-specific. All agree that wines differ in colour and in sweetness, but the divisions made by one culture are not those made by another. We think it obvious to divide wine into white and red. We learn easily enough that in talking of wine the opposite of ‘sweet’ is ‘dry’. It was different in Latin: ‘sweet wine is always less aromatic: the thinner the more aromatic. There are four colours of wine: white, tawny, sanguine, black’ (Pliny *HN* 14.80); and in Greek: ‘there are white, tawny and black wines. The white is naturally thinnest, diuretic, hot, aids digestion and makes the head feverish: it is unwholesome. The black, when not sweet, is very nutritious and astringent; of the white and tawny wines it is the sweet type that is most nutritious’ (Athen. *Epit.* 32c, attribution lost).

Fig. 11. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.



(a) Amphora stamp of Thasos c. 400 bc (Corinth C 31—468: A.M. Bon A. Bon, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos* (Paris 1957) no. 353). Modelled on the city's coins, it shows Herakles (kneeling) as an archer, with the abbreviated names of the magistrates ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕ(νης), ΔΕΜΑ(λκης), Aristomenēs / Dēmalkēs and ΘΑΣΙΩΝ, of the Thasians.

The stamp and the word ΘΑΣΙΩΝ guaranteed that the amphora contained genuine Thasian wine (but see p. 398 and n. 2), and the magistrates named were responsible for its quality. Herakles was one of the principal deities of Thasos: J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* I (Paris 1954) 352–79, with 481 (index).



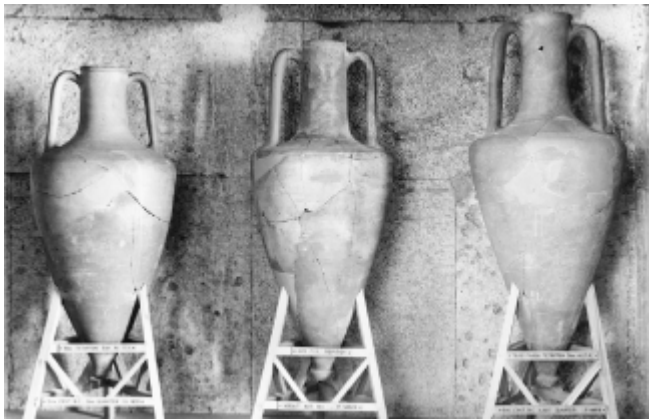
(b) Amphora stamp of Chios. Third quarter of 5th cent., showing sphinx and old-style amphora; the stamp corresponds with the contemporary coin-type of the island (SS 1838).



(c) Mendeian and Chian amphoras. Mendeian in front; Chian behind (old style, with swelling in the neck; and new style, without swelling), third quarter of 5th cent. (from Agora deposit R 13:4).



(d) Amphorae attributed to Lesbos. Early and late 5th cent., of dark grey clay (P 24875, P 11018).



(e) Chian amphorae. Third quarter of 5th cent., c. 425 and last quarter of 5th cent. (P 1539, P 16524, P 18816). Chian amphorae are mentioned in the lists of property confiscated from the men who mutilated the Herms in 415 (IG i³ 422.18–20).

Varieties

A question: what was the relation between grape varieties and the wines that were named after cities? The possible answers: there was no predictable link; certain varieties were traditionally localised and thus associated with city names; certain varieties were required by local regulations; certain varieties were widely distributed and associated with a wine style that crossed geographical boundaries.

We can begin by saying that certain varieties were later named after Greek wine-producing cities. *Chios* grapes were grown in Italy (Pliny *HN* 14.24), *Thasios* grapes in Egypt,¹¹ and a third variety was

also transplanted: ‘Thus stand the highest honours among indigenous vines, peculiar to Italy. The following are newcomers: *Graecula*, from Thasos or Chios...with a very fragile berry, and a bunch so small that it is not worth growing except on the most fertile soil’ (Pliny *HN* 14.25).

The total number of varieties was observed to be very large indeed, certainly larger than the number of wine-producing cities: ‘Democritus, who alone believed that the varieties of vines were countable, claimed to know all those of Greece. Others have pronounced them uncountable and infinite.’ (ib. 14.20)

The evidence for variety names not linked with cities is complex and contradictory; but there was at least one named variety that was grown in several parts of Greece in classical times. This was *psithian*. It is possible that *pramnian* and *bibline* were also variety names (so e.g. scholia on Nicander *Alexipharmaca* 163), though both have been claimed (by ancient and modern scholars) as geographical appellations. For *pramnian* this seems to be contradicted by the ‘I like Pramnian Lesbian wine’ of Ehippus fr. 28 (= Athen. *Epit.* 28f). *Pramnian* was interpreted by other ancient authors as a wine style associated with the *psithian* or *melampsithian* grape variety. All three terms, *psithian*, *pramnian* and *bibline*, occur in ancient comedy,¹² but none is prominent.

Sophistications

A question: was anything added to wine in the course of vinification that altered its flavour?

The first written evidence that resin was intentionally added to Greek wine comes from Dioscorides, several centuries later than the Athenian comedies. However, the flavour of resin and pitch was present in at least some of the wines of the fourth century BC. It is clear from numerous archaeological finds of pitched and resinated amphoras, as well as from supporting literary sources, that these substances were used in the preparation of amphoras. Mastic, not now added to wine but still known in the Aegean as a flavouring for spirits, must once have been noticeable in some wines: ‘a mastic gum lining has been found in jars of the fourth century BC in the Athenian Agora.’¹³

Gypsum was (and is) used in clarifying wines – and was said to be over-used in Leucadian wine, which made it bad for the head (Athen. *Epit.* 33b, attribution lost).

In classical and Roman Greece a hint of brine in wine was much liked.¹⁴ This was a feature of Coan wine and its imitations,¹⁵ and apparently of Thasian – but the source is a late one, a recipe for imitating Thasian wine in the *Geoponica*, attributed to the Roman

Imperial author Florentinus: 'We dry ripe grapes in bunches in the sun for five days; on the sixth at midday we put them, still warm, into must, with sea-water which has been boiled down to half, then remove them and put them in the *dolium* and press them; then, after a night and a day, we put [the must] in jars. When it has fermented and cleared, we add a twenty-fifth part of grape syrup. After the spring equinox we transfer into smaller jars.' (8.23) It is said that one or two Spanish wines still have brine added in the course of vinification: I have not yet had the opportunity to taste one.

The evidence on this subject, as also for the adding of spices and herbs in the course of vinification,¹⁶ is practically all later than the fifth and fourth centuries.

Reputations

Finally, then, a consistency of taste and quality was achieved such that some names were able to keep a reputation. Opinions varied; levels of knowledge varied; not everyone was interested. Some sources are supercilious on the whole subject: 'I'm drinking this Thasian wine because it's here, not because I'm thirsty', said Socrates (Xen. *Symp.* 4.41) – yet, even in such sources, the famous names recur. Some give us vague praise or criticism: 'Mendaeian is what the gods piss in their soft beds' (Hermippus fr. 77 = Athen. *Epit.* 29e), if that is praise; 'sweet generous Magnesians' (ib.); 'Lesbian.. will seem to you to have a nobility equal not to wine but to ambrosia' (Archestratus fr. 59 = Athen. *Epit.* 29bc); 'to my enemies, Peparethan' (Hermippus, loc. cit.).

The sources of good reputation were varied. We have already seen that Mendaeian was recommended as medicinal. Why did a doctor choose Mendaeian? 'The doctor Apollodorus, in his book of advice to King Ptolemy on what wines to drink, recommended Oretic, Oeneate, Leucadian, Ambraciot and, above all the rest, Peparethan, which, he said, was less well known because it was not good to drink till six years old' (Pliny *HN* 14.76). Pliny attributes the fame of Lesbian to 'the favourable opinion of the famous doctor Erasistratus', though indeed Lesbian was highly popular in Athens before Erasistratus's time, and a fragment from Alexis (fr. 278 = Athen. *Epit.* 28e) seems to tell us why: 'How kind of Bromius [Dionysus] to give tax free status to Lesbian wine when people bring it here. If anyone is caught taking as much as a cupful to any other city, his property is forfeit!' And why did Galen, after all his taste-titillating survey of unknown, unexported wines from his native Asia Minor, plump for Chian as his dietary recommendation? Because, in Rome where Galen practised, Chian was not only good but available, historic, expensive and exotic. Pliny (*HN* 14.96, cf. 34.104) reminds us of an old-fashioned Roman who admitted no transmarine wine to his house except, for the sake of his

heart, Chian.

During the period of Athenian comedy, then, named wines were exported from the cities whose names they bore. At least one city was keen on the profitability of its wine, and, for this reason if for no other, legislated to control the trade and the quality of the product; the indirect evidence of amphoras and coin types supports a view that cities were interested in the sale and reputation of their wine. The city names were associated, in people's minds, with a consistent style of wine – and perhaps, among the most knowledgeable, with two or more consistent styles. We know at least something of how these wines looked and tasted. Some wines certainly had a flavour of resin or pitch, or of mastic, or a slight residual saltiness from the soaking of the semi-dried grapes in brine. As for whether there was a consistent link between local wines and known grape varieties, the evidence scarcely exists for the period in question: there is no evidence at all for laws or regulations on the subject.

Then as now, some varieties were widespread, some very localised, and each district had surely its favoured varieties and its traditional blends. Then as now, wine reputation fed on itself and on the wine market.

Notes

¹Coan: Cato, *On Agriculture* 112. Thasian: *Geoponica* 8.23, quoted below.

²There is no imputation of dishonesty. It is normal for trade goods to be named after a centre of trade rather than a centre of production: the historical origin of the appellation 'Bordeaux' is that Bordeaux was the centre of the trade. Byzantium, it has been argued, was famous for fish most of which was not caught by Byzantines but passed through Byzantium (Braund 1995).

³Hinted at in *IG XII Suppl.* 347.

⁴ib. For this law and other sources on Thasian wine, see Empereur & Garlan 1986.

⁵On types of amphoras, the vessels normally used for the transport of wine, see briefly Johnston & Grace 1996 (with bibliography).

⁶Koehler 1986, 50. Wine amphoras in vase paintings 'even when clearly drawn are often hard to equate with known classes of contemporary amphoras. Jars in scenes at the symposium in particular have a generic character, as do representations of amphoras in terracottas'.

⁷Archestratus fr. 60 = Athen. *Epit.* 29b; Ar. fr. 364 (see text); Apollodorus cited by Pliny *HN* 14.76, quoted on p. 403.

⁸Archestratus fr. 59 = Athen. *Epit.* 29b; also mentioned by Ephippus frs. 24 and 8. In these the text is usually standardised to φοινικίνου, 'date wine', but there is no good evidence that date wine was imported to Greece. The 'Phoenician wine' of Archestratus and Ephippus is probably to be linked to the 'wine of Helbon' exported from Tyre (Ezekiel 27.13), the Chalybonian wine liked by Persian emperors (Poseidonius 87F115 = Athen. *Epit.* 28d; Strabo 15.3.22). See Dalby 1996, 96–7, 242 n. 12.

⁹On Chian wine, see Sarikakis 1986, 122–4. Theopompus himself came from Chios.

¹⁰Galen *On the Therapeutic Method* 12.4 (Lesbian); Athen. *Epit.* 30b (Mitylenaeon),

32f (Ariusian). On wine in Athenaeus see Brock forthcoming; on wine in Galen, Jouanna 1996.

¹¹Sebennytic.. .made in Egypt from the three grape varieties that are locally “noble”, *Thasios*, *aithalos*, *peuke*: Pliny *HN* 14.74.

¹²Pramnian: e.g. Ar. fr. 334 K-A (317 Kock) = Athen. *Epit.* 29a; see Meyer 1974. Bibline: e.g. Philyllius fr. 23 = Athen. *Epit.* 31a; see West 1978, 306; Gow 1952, II. 250–1. Psithian: Eubulus fr. 121 = Athen. *Epit.* 28f; André 1953. According to Pliny *HN* 14.81, what the Greeks called *psithian* the Romans knew as the *apiana* variety.

¹³Koehler 1986, 50–2 with references. For more on ancient uses of mastic see Dalby 1996, esp. 82, 207.

¹⁴First mentioned, I think, by Phaenias of Eresus fr. 41 Wehrli in his recipe for *anthosmias* = Athen. *Epit.* 31f.

¹⁵Cato, *On Agriculture* 112 for a recipe; Pliny *HN* 14.78 for the story of how the idea originated.

¹⁶On which see especially Dioscorides *Materia Medica* 5.18–73; Pliny *HN* 14.100–25; Oribasius 5.33.

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Terracotta E. Mon. AT 37 (p. 74). Angry old man, wearing sandals.
Mid-4th cent.; from Athens?; height 17 cm.

Chapter 24

FEMALE FIGURES AND METAPOETRY IN OLD COMEDY

Edith Hall

In the heyday of the court masque in England, actors impersonated poetic abstractions with some regularity. In his Jacobean *The Lord's Masque* (1613), Thomas Campion distributed poetry's features and functions amongst three anthropomorphic figures. The Spirit of Music was represented by the musician Orpheus, and Poetry's Usefulness to Mankind was embodied in mankind's patron, Prometheus. But the abstract notion of the 'Phoebian Brain' of poetic inspiration was represented by a personification, Entheus (Kogan 1986, 75–6). The audiences under Charles I became increasingly sophisticated in their appreciation of such self-referential commentary on poetry, music, and the arts, offered to them by the poets of the masque. Ben Jonson dramatized in his *Masque of Beauty* the welcome given to the poets and poetry of ancient Greece on their arrival in England; in his *Chloridia* Fame was supported by figures including Poesy and Sculpture (Kogan 1986, 112, 118). Ben Jonson, of course, knew his Aristophanes well: perhaps he had noticed the personified abstractions in Old Comedy. Be that as it may, the early seventeenth-century interest in the theatrical impersonation of specifically *poetic* abstractions serves well to introduce another period when such complex metapoetic theatre and metapoetic personifications were enjoyed – the late fifth century BCE.

The questions considered in this chapter were originally inspired by the configurations of gender in the parabasis of Aristophanes' *Clouds*. The chorus consists of Athenian citizens costumed and masked as female Clouds, who temporarily assume the voice of the male poet of their own comedy (528–37):

Years ago I won your applause in this very theatre with
The Bugger and the Prude – and I may say it's always a
pleasure to present a play to you, successful or not –
well, since I was still a virgin girl, and so could not bring
it up myself, I gave it to another girl to adopt; and then
you very generously looked after it and fostered it with
your applause. Now here comes this present comedy, to

look for an audience equally discerning. She's just like Electra in that play; she'll recognise the lock of her brother's hair if she sees it. And you can see what a modest girl she is.

(Translation adapted from Easterling & Easterling 1962)

In this striking passage, whatever it signifies about Aristophanes' earliest career as a playwright,¹ the poet uses gender and metaphor in a series of related images. He imagines himself as a young unmarried mother, and his play as her baby. He also conceptualises the present comedy, *Clouds*, as a young woman, a sister, and a tragic heroine. It is clear from this passage that Old Comedy's tendency to offer metapoetic comment on itself and its creators, and their capacity for talking about their own history and their rivals, found in the discourse of gender, the female body, and sexuality a rich seam of metaphor, allegory, and personification.²

Aristophanes' images in the parabasis of *Clouds* belong to the same broad category as the configurations of literary *mimēsis* in *Thesmophoriazusae*, which have been shown by Froma Zeitlin (1981) to be inseparable from their context in the discussion of the representation of gender. More particularly, the images in *Clouds* prefigure *Frogs*, where Aristophanes again uses a female figure and her body, this time to represent the personified art (*techne*) of the tragic poets through medical metaphors. Euripides says that he took the *techne* over from Aeschylus in an overweight state, and had to put her on a diet and slim her down by applying quasi-medical treatments including walking, learning, and monodies (*Frogs* 939–44: cf. Newiger 1957, 130–3; Sommerstein 1996, 239 ad loc.). This personification of the tragic art as a woman in some non-mimetic sense still functions visually, by making the abstraction appear concretely before the mind's eye (Warner 1987, 82). Personifications in literature are always particularly rich in societies where gods are conceived anthropomorphically, and which enjoy highly developed symbolic codes of visual representation in painting, sculpture, coins, and especially in the theatre.³ Personification has fascinated modern literary theorists: it is defined as a form of literary anthropomorphism, which is more extreme than most forms of figurative language, since it posits as given 'an identification at the level of substance' (see de Man 1984, 241). But however extreme as instantiations of figurative language, neither Aristophanes' personification of the *Clouds* nor of the tragic art is physically represented, like Campion's Entheus or Jonson's Poesie, by a dramatic actor. They are better understood as comic equivalents of Sir Philip Sidney's Lady Poesie, or Pope's notion of the genre of opera, conceptualised 'in Harlot form' (Chapin 1955,

The apparent dearth of female figures *physically* representing literary abstractions in extant Old Comedy is intriguing, given that a female representative of a type of speech or argument may have appeared in the theatre as early as Epicharmus' *Logos kai Logina* (frs. 87–98 Kaibel). It is even more surprising when we consider Aristophanes' celebrated taste for introducing social, political, or quasi-religious abstractions into his plays. Female characters of this kind include OpSra and TheSria in *Peace* (see Cassio 1985, 122–6, 140), Diallage in *Lysistrata*, and Penia in *Wealth*; these figures belong to the spheres of cult, agriculture, or political theory. Yet literary concepts are, with one exception, not physically represented in Aristophanes' extant comedies. That exception is the Muse of Euripides in *Frogs*. She appears and apparently remains in view, perhaps dancing continuously, throughout Aeschylus' parody of Euripidean choral lyric and monody (1304–64). 'Someone bring out a lyre', says Aeschylus, but he then cancels this request, asking for 'that female who rattles potsherds (*ostraka*)'. By the rattling of the potsherds (1305) he probably means to remind his audience of the castanets or rattle (*krotala*) with which Hypsipyle had entertained the baby Opheltes as she sang to him in the play of that name by Euripides (25–31 Diggle (OCT) = fr. I ii 9–16 in Cockle 1987, 59). This is especially likely since *Hypsipyle* is quoted elsewhere in *Frogs*, and was performed only a very few years before it.⁴ 'Come here, Muse of Euripides', Aeschylus instructs this mute character, adding that she is a suitable accompanist for the forthcoming songs (see further Rau 1967, 127–36; Hall 1999).

Little else can be inferred from the text about this startling comic creation, except whatever is to be understood by Dionysus' comment that she was not the sort of female to *lesbiazein* (1308): αὐτῇ ποθ' ἡ Μοῦσ' οὐκ ἐλεσβίαζεν, οὐ, 'That Muse never played the Lesbian, oh no!'. This line is open to different interpretations. B.B. Rogers (1902, 199) innocently saw Dionysus as protesting that so dignified and noble a figure as a Muse could not possibly be a 'harlot'; more plausibly, it might mean that she was not like the great poets from the past who hailed from Lesbos (Arion, Terpander, Alcaeus, Sappho), or that 'she never sang in Lesbian modes like those of Terpander imitated by Aeschylus' (Henderson 1991, 183), or that she never performed fellatio.

Even this last possibility is not a secure indication of the appearance and demeanour of the Muse: the comment could be sarcastic and mean the opposite of its apparent significance, implying that she is *exactly* the sort of woman who performs fellatio (Jocelyn 1980, 32–3; Borthwick 1994, 26–8). It could therefore be a remark on

her obvious profession as prostitute or, conversely, on her obvious *lack* of sexual talent or appeal. Her costume and mask might therefore represent her as an ugly old woman, a scruffy young one, or as a vulgar prostitute, but we can at least be sure ‘that she is neither dignified nor attractive’ (Dover 1993, 351–2). Her social status, at least currently, is clearly not high, which thus makes the Muse of Euripides consonant with the *Frogs*’ overall picture of this tragedian as a purveyor of unheroic individuals, domestic plots, colloquial speech and a ‘democratized’ type of tragedy in which women and servants speak as much as the male householder (e.g. 949–52, 959, 978–80; see further Hall 1997).

Thus an extraordinary feature of the Muse of Euripides is that she is, to borrow a term from narratology, ‘focalised’ from Aeschylus’ perspective. She is not just a personification of something upon whose nature there was universal agreement. Rather, she is Euripides’ Muse as conceived from the perspective of Aristophanes’ Aeschylus. She is therefore a personification of a *qualitative aesthetic evaluation*, which is indeed a refined concept for a mute actor in a comedy to signify. She is a physical manifestation of the newly sophisticated theory *and practice* of informed poetic judgement, which had been nurtured by the comic poets in their complex responses to poetry in Athens in the fifth century BCE.

Muses also appeared in the comedy by Phrynichus which competed against *Frogs* in 405 BCE. Phrynichus’ play was named for its chorus: *Mousai*. We know virtually nothing about this comedy (see Harvey in this volume, pp. 100–8), although speculation has resulted from the title, which suggests that Phrynichus’ offering shared with *Frogs* a pronounced metapoetic focus. The exiguous fragments confirm this hypothesis: one is a famous encomium of Sophocles, who is said to have lived a happy life and to have written many beautiful tragedies (fr. 32); a trial or competition between poets similar to that in *Frogs* is further suggested by another fragment showing that some kind of judicial decision was taken in the course of the play (fr. 33). But of the Muses themselves nothing is known – not their number, role, appearance, or even whether they were a transvestite disguise for male poets themselves.

If we revert to *Clouds*, or at least to the competition in which its original version was produced in 423BCE(hypothesis II Dover to *Clouds* = *Pytine* T 1 K-A), we encounter perhaps the most stunning personified metapoetic abstraction of them all. The play which was victorious in that year was actually Cratinus’ *Pytinē*. This comedy was significant for many reasons (see Luppe’s and especially Rosen’s chapter in this volume), not least that when Aristophanes called *his* comedy a virgin girl (p. 408 above), he may have been

asking his audience to contrast her with Cratinus' (presumably much older) matronly Comedy-wife. But from the point of view of the current discussion, the most remarkable feature of *Pytinē* was simply its adoption of Comedy herself as one of the leading members of the cast. It is difficult to imagine a more complex metapoetic phenomenon than the personification of the genre currently being performed appearing in it herself, except perhaps the personifications of comic *productions* which seem to have appeared in another Cratinan comedy, the *Didaskaliai*.

The testimonia to *Pytinē* include the information that in it Cratinus attacked himself for his own drinking, and that Comedy was married to Cratinus. She was portrayed as wanting to divorce him and therefore filing a suit against him for cruelty (scholiast on Ar. *Knights* 400a = *Pytinē*T ii):

τὴν Κωμῳδίαν ὁ Κρατῖνος ἐπλάσατο αὐτοῦ εἶναι γυναῖκα καὶ ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ
συνοικεσίου τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ θελεῖν, καὶ κακῶσως αὐτῷ δίκην λαγχάνειν.

Comedy explains to friends that Cratinus had of late been writing no comedies, devoting himself instead to drinking; she pleaded her case to them in a fragment quoted by the scholiast responsible for this description. It is a heavily corrupt piece of four and a half lines, but it is just about clear that Comedy in the past had not been concerned if Cratinus turned to 'another woman', but that other factors including his old age (γῆρας, line 4) meant that the current situation had now become intolerable for her (fr. 193). One fragment seems to be a characterization of his excessive drinking habits (fr. 195); another is a female voice saying 'I used to be his wife, but am not now' (fr. 194). In another Cratinus apparently says that he is dying for a drink (fr. 196).

It would be good to know what visual means Cratinus used to characterize Comedy. There are fewer than a dozen images of Comedy listed in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*: they include Aëtion's lost painting of Dionysus, Tragedy and Comedy from the middle of the fourth century (Pliny *NH* 35.78), and solemn relief-sculptures, a mosaic and a terracotta from later Hellenistic and Roman times. In the fifth century BOE, Comedy appears on three vases, always as a maenad in a *thiasos*, and sometimes in company with another maenad representing Tragedy (Kossatz-Deissmann 1992, 92–4). One of them depicts Hephaestus accompanied by Dionysus, Marsyas and Comedy, holding a kantharos and thyrsos (ead. 92: *ARV*²1037,1). But there is no evidence in the fragments of *Pytinē* that Cratinus' abandoned wife was represented as a maenad.

This play raises two important questions about comedy's distinctive capacity for self-reference. First, despite the Muse who

appears in the *Rhesus* attributed to Euripides,⁵ it is unthinkable that an ancient tragedy could feature personifications of literary genres, let alone Tragedy herself. It is just possible that Sophocles included the female figure Iambē in a satyr play named for this female personification of scurrilous lampoon: in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* Iambē cheered Demeter with racy jokes when she was mourning the loss of Persephone (202–5). There is evidence that Iambē was an aetiological figure representing the obscene jesting of women celebrating the Thesmophoria (Apollodorus, *Bibliothēkē* 1.5.1). But this play is only mentioned by a single ancient grammarian,⁶ and anyway the elusive genre of satyr drama seems to have admitted all kinds of features which were apparently alien to tragedy (Seaford 1984, 33–44).

Secondly, in staging *Kōmōidia* Cratinus incarnates his genre, and, in a suggestive metaphorical construction of his own relationship with poetic production, presents it as a marriage. But still he is the maker – the *kōmōidopoios* – while she is the abstraction, the creation, the genre itself – *hē kōmōidia*. Such gendered antinomic pairings of active with passive, creator with created, form-provider with content-provider, concrete with abstract, or agent with activity, are found everywhere in ancient thought (cf. Lloyd 1966). This gendered active-passive antinomy informs ancient thinking in general. Hephaestus creates Pandora (Hesiod *Works and Days* 70–82, *Theogony* 570–89); Aristotle conceives mammalian reproduction in terms of creative semen giving form to the shapeless matter provided by the female (de *Generatione Animalium* 2.4. 738b20–8; cf. Maclean 1980, 30, 35–7); musicologists saw rhythm as a masculine force which shaped formless feminine sound into music (Aristides Quintilianus 1.19). The specific agent-action duality has been connected with the prevalent tendency of the Greek and Latin languages to use masculine nouns for the agents of their verbs, and feminine nouns for the actions or spheres of activity which those verbs describe, e.g. *po(i)ein*, *poiētēs* and *poiēsis*, or ago, *actor* and *actio* (Warner 1987, 67–8; Paxson 1994, 173–4). This gendered duality informs numerous images of artistic production, from the Hesiodic pictures of the male singer (*aoidos*) being inspired with song (*aoide*) by the Muses (*Theogony* 22–34) and Hipponax's meeting with Iambe (n. 5 above), to Ovid's encounters with female personifications of Elegy and Tragedy (*Amores* 3.1.7–68) and Plutarch's portrayal of Tragedy as a rich woman, attended by a train of actors (de *gloria Atheniensium* 6.348e). The extant and fragmentary remains of Old Comedy show that, likewise, its metapoetics not only tended to construct poets and performers (especially those set in the 'contemporary' world, rather than those treating dead poets of the past) as male agents, but also to represent the abstractions denoting

their spheres of activity as feminine characters.

The plays and fragments attest to the relative frequency with which poets, whether we know their names or not, appeared physically on-stage in the genre. Euripides, Agathon and Aeschylus appeared in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, *Thesmophoriazusae* and *Frogs*; Aeschylus appeared in at least one other Aristophanic comedy, in which he commented on the dance movements in his *Phrygians* (fr. 696); the ghost of Aeschylus also appeared in Pherecrates' *Krapataloi* (fr. 100). There were also poets in Aristophanes' *Birds* and *Gērytades*, in Plato's *Poiētēs* and *Laconians* or *Poiētai*, and probably Phrynichus' *Tragōidoi*. Yet the nearest thing to a masculine poetic abstraction in Old Comedy is probably the brilliant poetic performer Trygaeus in *Peace*, whose identification with *tragedy*, comedy with the same social utility and didactic force as tragedy (see e.g. Ach. 599–600), is, as I hope to argue elsewhere, closer than has usually been allowed. Trygaeus could be seen as virtually a personification of socially useful Comedy (Taplin 1983; Hall forthcoming). There is also the figure of Aigisthos on the 'Chorēgoi' vase, dated to about 380 BCE, who Taplin suspects is not simply a character playing a tragic part, but somehow 'representative of tragedy' (1993, 62–3 with plate 9.1).⁷ Finally, on the New York Goose Play Vase from about 400 BCE, the unmasked youth labelled ΤΡΑΓΟΙΔΟΣ just might be an abstract representation of tragedy, or of the tragedy he is in, rather than the tragic actor his label might more obviously imply (Taplin 62 with plate 10.2 = [Fig. 7a](#), p. 294, in this volume). But none of these comes close to the abstraction constituted by Cratinus' dramatic character *Kōmōidia*.

Indeed, the gendered agent/action duality does fundamentally inform the metapoetics of Old Comedy, especially when the plays are set in the world of contemporary Athens. The female poet Sappho, of course, was an exceptional figure in every way, and does seem to have been a popular character in comedies of both the fifth and fourth centuries (Dover 1978, 178), including Plato's *Phaon* (K-A frs. 188–98: 391 BC). Ameipsias, Aristophanes' rival, composed a *Sappho* of which sadly little is known (fr. 15); in Diphilus' *Sappho* (frs. 70–1) the Ionian poets Archilochus and Hipponax were her *erastai*. Other fourth-century Sappho comedies are credited to Amphis (fr. 32), Ehippus (fr. 20 = Athenaeus 13, 527c), Timocles (fr. 32) and Antiphanes, whose Sappho propounded riddles on stage (fr. 194 = Athenaeus 10. 450e–1b). There is just one other lost comedy, Cratinus' *Kleoboulina*, which may have featured a female poet other than Sappho: Kleoboulina, interestingly, was also associated with riddles. Diogenes Laertius reports that Kleoboulina had been a poetess (ποιήτρια) of riddles in hexameters and that she was named in Cratinus' play (1.89 = Cratinus T I). Unfortunately the

fragments (91–101) are uninformative. Otherwise, in the world of fifth-century comedy, poets are male (as they were, of course, in the ‘real’ world of classical Athens) and poetry is female.

Moreover, there is much more negotiation with this relationship, taking the form of the physical representation of metapoetic concepts as female characters, than the surviving plays of Aristophanes suggest. If Cratinus’ wife Comedy is the most self-referential character in all Old Comedy, she was not the only speaking – indeed litigating – poetic personification of which we know. There seems to have been an exciting species of Old Comedies in which the primary focus was literature, and this group had a genus in which female figures representing Poetry or Music, usually wronged by male poets, were with some regularity involved as characters.

One possible candidate is provided by Aristophanes’ *Gērytades*, a play whose metapoetic importance was perhaps first recognised by Michael Silk. He describes it as the sole ‘Aristophanic comedy which had a permanent interest in art or literature, but was not centred on tragedy’ (Silk 1993). In *Gērytades* a delegation of poets of tragedy, tragedy and cyclic hymns – Sannyrion, Meletos and Kinesias – had been to the underworld, a trip which was described in the course of the play (fr. 156). The purpose of the expedition, unfortunately, is not made explicit: there is a strong possibility, however, that the poets’ task was to visit, or retrieve from the underworld, a female divinity such as Poiēsis.

This inference is drawn from an anonymous commentary on a play by Aristophanes which *may* be his *Gērytades*,⁸ the commentary includes a lemma whose contents are explicitly compared with an expression in Aristophanes’ *Peace* (Aristophanes fr. 591.84–6: cf. *Peace* 923, 925):

...φέρε νυν ἐ-
γὼ τὴν δαίμον’ ἦν ἀνήγαγον, ἐς τὴν
ἀλγὸρὰν ἄγων ἰδρύσσομαι βοῶ

If this female *daimōn* who has been ‘led up’ is Poetry, and if the play is a commentary on *Gerytades*, then there was indeed a wonderful Aristophanic plot featuring poets of various genres bringing back Poetry herself from chthonic exile, self-imposed or not, on the lines of Trygaeus’ rescue of Peace from her subterranean cave. But Peace was represented on stage by an inanimate statue, a feature of the comedy for which Aristophanes was criticised by two of his rivals (Eupolis fr. 54; Plato fr. 81: cf. Cassio 1985, 47–50); there is no reason to think that if Poetry appeared in *Gērytades* she was not a speaking character.

Fortunately there is a surer case of a ‘retrieval’ plot featuring a poetic personification, in Aristophanes’ *Poiēsis*. This is known from a Yale papyrus fragment (Ar. fr. 466 = *P. Turner* 4), which is proved to

be from this metapoetic comedy because of the coincidence of two of its lines with a book fragment attributed to *Poiēsis* by Priscian (lines 4–5). As the first editor of the papyrus (Stephens 1981) saw, the text contains a dialogue between one person and a plural group, *perhaps* a chorus of poets, in which it is stated that a female figure is being sought ‘throughout all Greece’ (ἀπάσης Ἑλλάδος, line 3): this, too, is reminiscent of the pan-Hellenic recovery of Peace, under Trygaeus’ direction, in *Peace*. Lloyd-Jones (1981) argues that there is no certain evidence in this papyrus fragment for a chorus of poets in the manner of *Gērytades*, and that the scene from which it derives feels similar to the typical opening dialogue in Aristophanes, some way into which ‘one of the speakers turns to the audience and explains the situation’. At the beginning a single individual is addressed (πᾶρὰ σέ, line 5), but the plural ‘to you’ (ὕμιν) at line 12 suggests that the individual a little later responds to the group, strongly implying dialogue. This individual gives specific details about the female figure, who has apparently been ill-treated in some way (ἀδικουμι[, ἀδικουμένη, lines 14, 16). Since we know securely that this play was the *Poiēsis*, it would be perverse to identify the mistreated object of the quest as anyone but an Aristophanic personification of Poetry herself. It is probably significant that the other fragment from the play (467) refers to singing songs to the seven-stringed lyre.

In the fourth century Antiphanes followed Aristophanes by producing another comedy called *Poetry* (*Poiēsis*). In the single surviving fragment, quoted by Athenaeus (6.222a–3a = fr. 189), the speaker claims that tragedians are more fortunate than comic poets, because the basic facts about tragedians’ characters are already familiar to their audiences. Moreover, they also enjoy the expedient of the machine to help them resolve their plots. Conversely, argues the speaker, ‘to us (ἡμῖν) these advantages do not apply, but everything has to be invented’ (lines 17–18). The identity of the speaker depends entirely on how ‘to us’ is understood. Although it would be pleasant to be able to believe that the speaker was indeed Comic Poetry, it seems more obvious to infer that it is a comic poet, perhaps in a scene where he confronts the claims of a tragedian.⁹

Another close parallel with the quest for missing Poetry in Aristophanes’ *Poiesis* is provided by Pherecrates’ *Cheiron*, which contains perhaps the most elaborate of all the metapoetic fragments of Old Comedy (fr. 155). Here the wronged female is neither Kōmōidia nor Poiēsis, but Mousikē herself, the divine personification of music. She has been outraged by a series of poets, and is explaining the injustices she has suffered to the female divinity Dikaiosunē. Dikaiosunē is herself a fascinating figure to have appeared on the comic stage, reminiscent of the appearance of Justice (who names

herself) in the papyrus fragment of Aeschylus' so-called 'Dikē-play' (Aesch. fr. inc. 281a. 15 Radt, pp. 29–31 Diggle (OCT)).

We owe the passage from Pherecrates' *Cheiron* to the pseudo-Plutarchan treatise *On Music* (30.1141c), which explains that Mousikē was introduced 'in the guise of a woman whose whole person has been brutally mauled' (ἐν γυναικείῳ σχήματι, ὅλην κατηκισμένην τὸ σῶμα). When Justice asks her how she came to suffer such an outrage (λῶβη), Mousikē¹⁰ replies that she will give an answer with pleasure. Melanippides, she says, was the first to injure her, by introducing twelve strings. He was followed by Kinesias, who introduced innovations into the dithyramb, and by Phrynis with his twelve modes on five strings. Music had acclimatised herself to the various injuries each of them had done her. But, she explains to Justice, when it came to that red-haired Timotheos of Miletus, with his wriggling music like ant-runs, she has been so abominably mistreated that recovery is impossible (lines 19–20). Music concludes her speech by saying that if Timotheos happens upon her when she is out walking alone, he strips and undoes her with his twelve strings (24–5).

It is certain that many of the phrases used to describe the different innovations introduced by these lover-poets are open to sexual interpretation. The Phrynis section probably contains *double entendres* relating to sexual positions, while the characterisation of Timotheos as rapist could scarcely be more explicit. Musical innovation is thus overtly formulated in terms of male-female sexual assault: as Lloyd-Jones (1981, 25) interprets it, Mousikē speaks 'as a hetaira might describe her maltreatment by a succession of lovers'. She is thus yet another mistreated female poetic abstraction. Cratinus was a poor husband to Comedy, Dionysus derides Euripides' Muse in sexual terms, and Timotheos is but one of a whole series of men who have sexually abused Music herself (see the lengthy discussion in Dobrov & Urios-Parisi 1995).

In conclusion, studies both of gender in Old Comedy¹¹ and of literary criticism in the fifth century should perhaps take more serious note of these feminine literary abstractions, who demonstrate more clearly than any other feature of the genre its ability to meditate upon its own poetics. The female body – virginal or pregnant, overweight or slimmed down, performing fellatio or too ugly to have sex with, married, serially sexually abused or raped by Timotheos – was something which the poets of Old Comedy discovered was good to think with when it came to understanding poetry and its relationship with poets.¹² More than just good to think with, poetry was good to *stage*. Cratinus, Aristophanes, Antiphanes and Pherecrates all offered the Athenian public memorable feminine metapoetic figures, in the form of actors dressed as Muses, Comedy, Poetry and Music: was this

an area in which Aristophanes and his rivals, like the poets of the court masque under James I and Charles I, consciously competed?

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Notes

¹Much discussed, most recently by MacDowell 1995, 36–41, who cites the recent bibliography.

²Much has been published on the blurred distinction between allegory and personification. Following e.g. Maresca 1993, this paper seeks to avoid confusion by henceforwards using only the term ‘personification’ and avoiding ‘allegorical figure’.

³See Petersen 1939, 63–72 on Hellenistic personifications, Chapin 1955, 57–9 on 18th-century literature, and Paxson 1994, 13 on drama’s relationship with rhetorical *prosopopeia*.

⁴*Hypsipyle* (fr. 752) is quoted at *Frogs* 1211–13. *Hypsipyle* was performed between 412 and 407, for a scholion to *Frogs* 53 says it was performed with *Phoenissae* and *Antiope*.

⁵She does so because she is Rhesus’ mother, not because she personifies a genre.

⁶The lone fragment of *Iambē* (Sophocles fr. inc. 731 Radt) has also been attributed to *Triptolemus*: see Pearson (1917) On *Iambē* see Foley 1994, 45–6; cf. also Hipponax T 21 Degani (= Choeroboscus *ad Hephaist.* 3.1 p. 214. 8–20 Consbruch), with Rosen 1988.

⁷Further discussions of this vase are listed in Storey’s Bibliography at the end of this volume.

⁸K-A cautiously print it among the *incertaefabulae*.

⁹Alternatively, the fragment might come from the prologue. Bibliography in K-A II p. 419 ad loc.

¹⁰The Greek text of Plutarch actually says τὴν Ποίησιν here, but most editors have assumed that this is a slip for τὴν Μουσικὴν (see K-A VII p.179). The unreliability of the text must also cast some doubt on its statement at the end of the Pherecratean fragment, to the effect that Aristophanes also portrayed Mousikē in one of his plays, making her say something about Philoxenus’ musical innovations in cyclic choruses (Ar. fr. 953).

¹¹For recent scholarship on this subject see the index in the General Bibliography under *Women and Gender*.

¹²Eupolis in his *Poleis* and Aristophanes in his *Nēsoi* presented their audiences with female personifications of the Athenians’ subject states, thus making similar use of the metaphorical resonances of the male-female relationship: see Rosen 1998.

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OLD COMEDY AND THE SOPHISTS

Christopher Carey

In 423 Aristophanes came third (to Kratinos with *Pytine* and Ameipsias with *Konnos*) at the City Dionysia with his *Clouds* (Hypothesis II (Dover) to *Clouds*). Though Aristophanes in the parabasis of his revised *Clouds* (547–8) insists on the originality of his play, in one respect at least he misleads. The idea of satirizing the sophists was part of the comic *Zeitgeist*. We have evidence for a cluster of comedies during the last few decades of the fifth century which in whole or in part drew on the sophistic movement for inspiration. We know that the *Konnos* of his rival Ameipsias overlapped in theme with Aristophanes' play. We also know that two years later (Hypothesis III to Ar. *Peace*; Athenaios 5.218c) Eupolis featured Protagoras in his *Kolakes*. And we also have reason to suppose that, a decade or so earlier, contemporary physical speculation had featured in Kratinos' *Panoptai*.¹

This convergence of interest should not surprise us. Old Comedy has a pronounced tendency towards the topical, and competition in speculative thought was a distinctive feature of the period; moreover, it is hardly surprising that in a context of competition between comic playwrights the exponents should draw on each others' themes (cf. Heath 1990, 152). Aristophanes presents us with a similar picture with reference to plays centring on the figure of the προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, the 'champion of the people' (*Clouds* 549–59). Although he again exaggerates to some extent in presenting himself as a trail-blazer, since Kratinos had made Perikles the subject of a whole play, *Dionysalexandros*, his attack in *Knights* on the new politician *par excellence* was repeated by other playwrights with reference to Kleon's successors.² The contemporary intellectual movement was still worth exploiting the best part of two decades later by Plato in his *Sophistai*.³ We also know that Sokrates, lampooned in the *Clouds*, was considered fair game by other comic poets (see pp. 420–3, 427–8 below), a fact which is emphasized by Sokrates himself in the defence speech written after his death by his pupil Plato. The aim of this chapter is to examine the degree of convergence between Aristophanes' use both of Sokrates and of other representatives of the sophistic movement and that of other fifth-century playwrights in order to assess the extent, if any, of

Aristophanes' originality.

It is as well to emphasize at the outset the fragile base on which any such endeavour rests. The problems attending the reconstruction of a lost fifth-century comedy are those associated with any engagement with fragmentary texts. The fragments are few in number and selected by later writers to illustrate specific points (a name, a word, often – given the role played by Athenaios in transmitting fragments to us – an item of foodstuff) rather than to give an overview of the play as a whole. It is rarely possible to reconstitute the sequence of events with any degree of confidence. The argument from silence, always a suspect foundation, becomes especially problematic. The reader will therefore need little encouragement to treat what follows with caution.

The 'intellectual' plays

Ameipsias' Konnos

Since *Ameipsias*' *Konnos* was presented to the same audience, literally, as Aristophanes' *Clouds*, it is as well to begin with this play. Although the plot is lost beyond recall, we can establish the ethos of the play, to a limited extent at least. We know for instance that the chorus consisted of *phrontistai* ('intellectuals'), and that *Ameipsias* did not include one of the most famous sophists, Protagoras, among this group.⁴ Athenaios' statement to this effect has sparked some discussion of the extent to which *Ameipsias*' chorus was individualized.⁵ The evidence of Aristophanes' *Birds* suggests that this would have been possible,⁶ and if (as will be suggested below) the term *phrontistes* had a wide semantic range for *Ameipsias*, it would certainly have been possible for him to equip individual *choreutai* with dress and props to assist identification. But in fact Athenaios' statement need mean no more than that names purporting to belong to members of the chorus were uttered by the chorus as a whole, by the chorus-leader, or by one of the characters, a practice found in Aristophanes.⁷ More important is the implication of Athenaios' explicit statement that Protagoras was excluded; the fact that his absence deserved comment suggests that other names identifiable with individuals whom we would label sophists were probably attached to the chorus. This is consistent with fr. 9, which indicates that Sokrates figured in the play:

Σώκρατες, ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστ' ὀλίγων, πολλῶν δὲ ματαιόταθ', ἦ κεις
καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς; καρτερικός γ' εἶ. πόθεν ἂν σοι χλαῖνα γένοιτο;

τοῦτ' ὁ κακὸν τῶν σκυτοτόμων κατ' ἐπήρειαν γεγένηται

οὗτος μέντοι πεινῶν οὕτως οὐπόποτ' ἔτλη κολακεῦσαι

Sokrates, best of a few men, but silliest of many, have

you too come to us? You're a brave one! Where could you get a cloak from? ... That wretched thing has turned into an insult to the shoe-makers... Still, although he's hungry, he's never had the nerve to flatter.

Though the direct address, combined with the statement that Sokrates has 'come' to the chorus, suggests that he appeared as a character,⁸ presumably with a speaking part (though we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that he was a mute extra), rather than as a member of the chorus, the fragment confirms that the play focused at least in part on representatives of the speculative spirit of the age. Thus Ameipsias' *phrontistai* were to some degree identifiable with the sophists. However, as was hinted above, the evidence we have suggests that the *phrontistai* may have been a broad school. Thus Konnos was a citharode and music teacher (he is presented in our sources as Sokrates' teacher: Plato *Euthyd.* 272c, 295d, *Menex.* 235e). Fr. 7, which deals with sacrifice, may indicate that one category of expert included was the priest:

έντευθενι δίδοται μάλισθ' ιερώσυνα,
κωλή, τὸ πλεῦρον, ἡμίκραϊρ' ἀριστερά.

This is where the sacrificial
pieces for the priest come
from:
thigh-bone, the rib, left half of
the head.

The didactic tone suggests a disquisition by an individual with a claim to knowledge (one thinks of the officious priest at Ar. *Peace* 1060, ἡ γλῶττα χωρίς τέμνεται, 'the tongue is cut separately'). Fr. 10 deals with Diopeithes and an unnamed group:

ὥστε ποιῶντες χρησμούς αὐτοὶ
διδόασ' ᾄδειν
Διοπείθει τῷ παραμεινομένῳ.

So they make up oracles themselves, and give them to
that crazy, crazy man
Diopeithes to chant.

We cannot conclude from this that Diopeithes appeared in the play, but the fragment suggests that another area of expertise which featured, if only as the butt of a passing jibe, was religion, an area in which Diopeithes had a pronounced and very visible impact.⁹ The unidentified group are described as creating oracles. This is so close to a barb which Aristophanes hurls at the *chrēsmologoi* who were influential during the Peloponnesian War (Carey 1982, 466; cf. Powell 1979) that one is inclined to suspect that these are Ameipsias' target

here. It is possible, though unprovable, that priests, musicians and oraclemongers figured among the chorus visually or verbally. Even if these types were not presented as part of the chorus, they may have formed part of Ameipsias' dramatic conception of the *phrontistēs*. But the evidence at least suggests that such people were included in his targets. We can therefore tentatively conclude that Ameipsias turned a shotgun on a wide range of experts in the play rather than concentrating his fire on the sophists. And two at least of the targets, religious experts and oraclemongers, would appear to be generic, since they also feature among Aristophanes' victims. If this is correct, in this respect *Konnos* differed from *Clouds*, which focused single-mindedly on the representatives of contemporary advanced education. It is of course true that at *Clouds* 331–4 Aristophanes classes prophets, healers, dithyrambic poets and various others as *sophistai* and (as protégés of the Clouds) as full of hot air as Sokrates. One cannot therefore rule out the possibility that the other targets for Ameipsias were mentioned only in passing. But it is important to remember that the play was called not *Sokrates* but *Konnos*. It is conceivable that Konnos was a comic stick with which to beat Sokrates; certainly his presence in the same play as Sokrates suggests that the connection between the two is not Plato's invention. But we must be careful not to read the *Konnos* through the distorting mirror of the surviving *Clouds*. Although for us, approaching him through the medium of Plato, Konnos derives his significance from his association with Sokrates, we must beware of superimposing our perspective on Konnos on to that of his contemporaries. We know from Aristophanes that contemporary musicians and poets fell within the range of accepted objects of satire, and Konnos was a viable comic target in his own right;¹⁰ there is therefore no obvious reason to doubt that he was himself a figure of satire, and, if the title is anything to go by, one would naturally suppose that he was the main figure in the play, rather than a means to an end. It is moreover surprising, if Sokrates played a comparable role in *Konnos* to the one assigned to him in *Clouds*, that the play made so little impact on subsequent discussions of the treatment of Sokrates in comedy.¹¹

On balance therefore it seems likely that the broad definition of the 'intellectual' found at *Clouds* 331–4 figured more prominently in Ameipsias' play. If this is correct, the play shared a generic feature of Old Comedy, the selection of influential 'experts' as the butt of humour. Equally important, if the above view of the range of targets attacked by Ameipsias is correct, the sophists were not presented as a unique and uniquely threatening phenomenon but as something familiar, the non-productive intellectuals who aspire to influence in society. Ameipsias has simply poured the sophists into a

predetermined mould. If Ameipsias satirized a wide range of experts in his play, we may conjecture on grounds of space that he did not explore the ideas of contemporary rationalists in any detail, though it is perfectly possible, and indeed probable, that he included some salient aspects of the contemporary intellectual trend. But the absence of any surviving reference to any of the major sophists may suggest that as individuals they were not given any especial prominence within the play, even if the names of specific sophists were mentioned. Fr. 9, which pointedly draws attention to Sokrates' refusal to flatter, suggests that one aspect of the criticism of the *phrontistai* is that they sponge on members of society, individually or collectively. As Dover (1968, liii) has observed, it is in the nature of such people that they do no 'real' work; for a genre which (sometimes literally) deifies the average man and champions both his place in the world and his attitudes this makes them parasites.

It is worth looking more closely at Ameipsias' presentation of Sokrates in fr. 9. The chorus (if, as seems likely, the plural voice represents them) characterize him as a man who excels among a minority, presumably adherents of the contemporary fashion for speculation, but is foolish when set among a larger group, that is (presumably) the mass of ordinary people who live in the real world and are interested in more mundane and practical matters. He is hungry, barefoot and ill-dressed. The statement that he never fawns is more difficult to evaluate. It may be that he is contrasted favourably with those sophists who batten on the rich, or it may be that he lacks the sense even to exploit his one asset, his intellectual appeal. One cannot therefore determine whether he had any positive features within the play. Since this is comedy, Ameipsias is free to have his cake and eat it, by presenting Sokrates' failure to fawn as indicative of foolish unworldliness and his interlocutors as unscrupulous parasites. But the overall drift of the fragment is negative, and is of a piece with one strand of the schizophrenic presentation of Sokrates in the surviving *Clouds*, where he appears both as a representative of an approach to moral issues which allows the adherent to despise traditional values and devote himself to pleasure (presented with force by the Lesser Argument in the first Agon)¹² and as a starveling (Dover 1968, xxxiii–iv). Most important, he appears as a man who cannot fend for himself in a practical way, an idea exploited by Aristophanes when he presents Sokrates as interested in trivial and abstruse questions, from entomology to grammar.¹³ Though we cannot now hope to determine how many other facets of Sokrates were presented in the play, it is noteworthy that Sokrates is evaluated in this passage solely in terms of social intercourse, not with reference to the content, real or fictitious, of his intellectual activity.

Eupolis' Kolakes

We are slightly better informed about Eupolis' *Kolakes*. Although we can no more fashion a firm plot outline from the tattered fragments than we can for Ameipsias' *Konnos*, there is abundant evidence that the victim of the flatterers of the title was Kallias son of Hipponikos. Whether he appeared as the householder, surrounded by fawning hangers-on as Demos in Aristophanes' *Knights* is fawned on by his slave Paphlagon and the rival demagogue Agorakritos, or remained offstage, cannot be determined from the surviving fragments. But we do know that he was presented unsympathetically, as a spendthrift, a hedonist and a fool, and that he was contrasted unfavourably with his father (fr. 156). His vast expenditure on self-indulgence was itemized (frs. 163, 164, 165). The chorus, which gave its name to the play, consisted of hangers-on, who in the largest surviving fragment (fr. 172) describe their way of life. They are depicted as predatory. They lie in wait in the Agora for men with more money than sense, attach themselves to them and live by flattering their way from meal to meal. In fr. 175 their devotion to the noble principle of the free meal is presented in quasi-military terms:

οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ σίδηρος
οὐδὲ χαλκὸς ἀπείργει
μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον

not fire, nor iron, nor bronze keeps them from coming
to dinner

That is to say, there is no military obstacle that can keep them from their singleminded devotion to securing a free meal. If, as seems likely, fr. 162 also relates to their activities, they are presented as stripping their host of his possessions. The resemblance to the suitors in the *Odyssey*, who are a constant presence in Odysseus' house, wasting his wealth, is presumably no accident, though the *Odyssey* plot is distorted in that the suitors in this case are vying for the attention of the man of the house rather than for the hand of his wife. One would like to know how far the *Odyssey* parallel was exploited. It is likely that the denouement resembled the *Odyssey* in one respect at least. The play's unsympathetic portrayal of the flatterers leads one to suppose that, given the tendency of Old Comedy to deflate pretension, its espousal of the perspective of the man in the street and its predilection for comforting endings, the play climaxed or closed with the discomfiture of the flatterers. One might imagine that Kallias learned the error of his ways, rather like Demos in the *Knights*. It must be admitted however that it is equally possible that he was reduced to beggary and that in this respect the play reversed the *Odyssey* model, in which the hero is raised from beggar to king and restored to his

possessions. We are however on slightly firmer ground with reference to similarities between Eupolis' *Kolakes* and Ameipsias' play two years earlier. If the above interpretation of the characterization of the chorus in Ameipsias fr. 9 is broadly correct, the idea of the intellectual as parasite is one shared by the two poets.

Prominent among the hangers-on was the sophist Protagoras. He is presented as having great influence over his host. Fr. 158 has him bidding Kallias drink for medical reasons:

πίνειν γὰρ αὐτὸν Πρωταγόρας ἐκέλευ' ἵνα
πρὸ τοῦ κυνὸς τὸν πλεύμον' ἔκλυτον φορῇ.

For Protagoras told him to have a drink, so that he'd
have his lungs awash before the [rising of the] Dog-star.

There appear to be several barbs here. There is the obvious hit at his hold over his patron. Eupolis also targets Protagoras' claim to technical expertise, since he is presented as offering medical advice. There may also be a jibe at his self-serving cunning, since he uses his influence and his claim to knowledge to secure wine for himself by encouraging his host to drink for health reasons. More obviously damning is fr. 157:

ἔνδον μὲν ἐστὶν Πρωταγόρας ὁ Τήιος,
ὃς ἀλαζονεύεται μὲν ἀλιτήριος
περὶ τῶν μετεώρων, τὰ δὲ χαμάθεν ἐσθίει

Inside there's Protagoras of Teos, that impious impostor
who makes pretentious statements about the heavens
above, but eats the fruits of the earth.

Here are features which we find associated with Sokrates in *Clouds*. Like Sokrates (*Clouds* 102–4, 1492; cf. 449) Protagoras is an *alazōn*, a man of grandiose claims but no substance. Like Sokrates, he is presented as concentrating on τὰ μετέωρα (things in the heavens, i.e. astronomy), on speculations which have no bearing on the practical world.¹⁴ There is however a further jibe in the fragment. Protagoras claims to have his mind (literally) on higher things, but in reality his concerns are more lowly: he uses his intellectual pretensions to fill his belly.

One further feature is worth signalling with reference to the presentation of the sophist in the play. The fragments make clear that Kallias is perceived as an easy and lucrative target. But the chorus consisted not of *phrontistai* (intellectuals) but of *kolakes* (flatterers). Although fr. 180 indicates that Sokrates' associate Chairephon was named as a *kolax* (which may mean that individual names were somehow attached to the chorus as in Ameipsias, or that Chairephon

was a character or merely that he was lampooned in passing), there is no reason to suppose that Kallias' hangers-on consisted entirely of (what we would call) sophists. Indeed, fr. 178 indicates that the tragedian Melanthios was characterized by Eupolis as a *kolax* in this play. Nor should we suppose that the flatterers in question were all manipulative intellectuals, whether artists or thinkers. In fragment 172 the flatterers describe themselves as praising anything the host says and making pleasing conversation to earn their meal. This is the parasite as we meet him in later literature. And the fragment closes with a reference to a character ejected for a tasteless joke (again one is reminded of the *Odyssey*, 18.100–9).¹⁵ As with Ameipsias' play, the sophist is included among a wider group and assimilated to a type rather than isolated and presented as a distinctive phenomenon. Moreover, the fragments that survive appear to be concerned more with the financial exploitation of the victim by the flatterer than with the distinguishing ideas of the sophist. The contemporary thinker is presented as a social rather than an intellectual phenomenon. Protagoras' expertise appears to be a means of exploitation rather than a subject of interest in itself or a disturbing trend.

Plato's Sophistai

The speculative nature of the enquiry so far is if anything even greater when one turns to the *Sophistai* of Plato, where we lack not only the basis for even the most tentative reconstruction of the plot but also any substantial fragments. One would naturally suppose from the title that the chorus consisted of *sophistai*, as Ameipsias' chorus consisted of *phrontistai*. There is some reason to believe that the more since the play dealt in part with individuals or types to which we would apply the label 'sophists'. Fragment 145 (προμηθία γάρ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις ὁ νοῦς, 'Mind serves as foresight for mankind') appears to show the confidence in the human intellect which typified the sophists; it shares the positive and evolutionary view of human society which we find in fifth-century thinkers, in contrast to the pessimistic and nostalgic view of change which marks traditional Greek thought from Homer onward. It also shows a marked affinity with the *Prometheus Bound*, where Prometheus, 'Forethought', claims responsibility for the various inventions which have raised human beings to a civilized state ([Aisch.] PV 441–505; cf. Plato *Prot.* 320c–22a; Dodds 1973, 5–13). But again, as with Ameipsias, the intellectuals targeted were a very broad school. Fragment 149 indicates that the Opountian lyreplayer Bakchylides was numbered among the *sophistai*, and fr. 143, unless it is a passing jibe of a sort common in Aristophanes, numbers Xenokles the son of Karkinos among them. Since we lack even the level of information we have for Ameipsias' *Konnos*, we cannot say whether

these characters were meant to be thought of as part of the chorus. But we can conclude that for Plato, as for Kratinos (fr. 2), the term *sophistēs* still has a broad meaning, ‘expert’, rather than a narrow one.¹⁶ To judge from fr. 161, Plato was as ready to include the religious expert, specifically the oraclemonger, among his intellectuals as Ameipsias had been. The expression used to describe this type, χρησμαιδόληρος (nonsensical-oracle-singer) shows that they were presented as masking an absence of real content with a veneer of authority, like the oraclemongers in Aristophanes, Protagoras in Eupolis and Sokrates in the *Clouds*. Apart from the (in itself interesting) convergence with Aristophanes in the evaluation of the oraclemongers, the fragments testify to a predisposition (already seen in Ameipsias and Eupolis) to absorb the sophists into a ready-made category of comic victims, or perhaps more accurately to treat them as a sub-category; but at any rate it does not appear that they were presented as a distinct and menacing phenomenon. Plato appears to have engaged in this comedy with the ideas of the sophists, at least to the extent of reproducing their intellectualist bias. But given the fact that they formed merely one of the types lampooned by him, it is on the whole unlikely that the play devoted much space to a detailed exposition, however distorted, of the educational, moral, and social ideas of the figures of the fifth-century enlightenment.

Kratinos’ Panoptai

I have left to the end of this section the most opaque of the plays known or believed to have dealt with contemporary intellectual trends, the *Panoptai* of Kratinos. We know from the scholia to Aristophanes¹⁷ that the comparison of the heavens to an oven cover (found at *Clouds* 96 and *Birds* 1000–1: see Dunbar 1995 ad loc.) was attributed to Hippon and derided by Kratinos. Another fragment of the *Panoptai* (fr. 162: ἀλλοτριогνώμοις ἐπιλήμοσι μνημονικοῖσιν ‘absent-minded, forgetful and with an excellent memory’ (plural adjectives)) looks very like an attack on followers of fashionable new ideas for the derivative nature of their thoughts. But it is difficult to determine whether the play was devoted to the theme of contemporary intellectual developments and, if so, how the sophists were treated in relation to other possible targets. It has been suggested (Pieters 1946, 164) that the chorus consisted of multiple versions of the mythical watcher Argos and that they represented polymaths; but we have no means of testing the conjecture. We do not know the role, if any,¹⁸ played by Hippon. So although I find the generally held view (Pieters 1946, 164; Kock I 60; K-A IV 200) that the play was an attack on the sophists entirely possible, I do not see that evidence presently available enables us to get a clear view of its emphases.

Scattered references

Perhaps one of the most surprising aspects of the fragments of Old Comedy is the paucity of references to some of the most illustrious thinkers of the late fifth century. Gorgias, Prodikos, Hippias, and Thrasymachos are ignored in the fragments of Aristophanes' rivals. Of these the biggest surprise is Gorgias. We are told (Dion. Hal. *Lysias* 3) that he impressed the Athenian assembly when he visited the city as part of an embassy. And his influence on Athenian oratory was profound. Yet if we had only the fragments of contemporary comedy to go on we should not imagine that he had made any impact at all. This is the more striking for the fact that of all the sophists his oratorical style made him the one most suited to the image of the *adoleskhēs*, the man in love with the sound of his own voice and with the power of words. Here above all it is important to bear in mind the distorting effect of the accident of survival. We must suppose, for instance, that some sophists were named in Ameipsias' *Konnos*, and yet no reference survives. And we know that Protagoras figured prominently in *Kolakes*. But in contrast to the presence of Sokrates in the fragments of old comedy the silence is so striking that one is inclined to suppose that relatively little attention was paid to the major sophists as individuals. Against this background it is interesting to note that Aristophanes' interest in the sophists extends beyond *Clouds*. Gorgias merits a mention in *Birds*, where he is linked with Sokrates;¹⁹ he is also mentioned at *Wasps* 421.²⁰ Prodikos is named in *Birds* (692) as well as in *Clouds* (361). He also features briefly in Aristophanes fr. 506 (from the *Tagenistai*), where, like Protagoras with his *alazoneia* in Eupolis and Sokrates in *Clouds*, he represents verbosity without substance:

τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ βιβλίον διέφθορεν
ἢ Προδίκος ἢ τῶν ἀδολεσχῶν εἰς γέ τις.

This man has been corrupted either by a book, or by Prodikos, or at any rate by one of the chatterers

It may be (though the nature of the evidence makes confidence impossible) that this interest in the sophists was a feature which distinguished Aristophanes from his fellow comic playwrights.²¹

I turn now to what we learn of Sokrates elsewhere in Old Comedy. Sokrates is represented in the fictional *Apology* of his pupil Plato as taking the treatment of him by the comic poets seriously as contributing to the generally hostile view of him by the Athenians. Whether Sokrates actually mentioned the comic poets at his trial is less important here than the fact that Plato presents Sokrates as a popular target for comic playwrights. This picture is confirmed by Sokrates' presence in the fragments of several of Aristophanes'

contemporaries. We should not, however, suppose that Sokrates played a significant role, or even appeared, in a number of lost plays. In fact, the one poet who is actually singled out by Plato is Aristophanes himself and, although the broad characterization of Sokrates there, as Plato notes at *Apology* 23d, clearly reflects the stereotype of the thinker who explores the physical world (found in Eupolis' Protagoras and Aristophanes' Sokrates), the only specific details of the comic caricature singled out for mention come from Aristophanes.²² For Plato this was the significant comic attack on Sokrates. It is reasonable to suppose that there were still more jokes at his expense than have survived. But though Sokrates is a central figure in *Clouds*, and we know that he appeared in Ameipsias' *Konnos*, elsewhere in comedy it seems likely that he figured merely as the target of passing jokes, in the way that individual politicians tended to attract a play or two devoted to them but otherwise merited only brief and derisive mention.²³

The image of Sokrates which emerges from Eupolis is consistent with the presentation by Ameipsias and with one dimension of the portrayal by Aristophanes. In Eupolis fr. 395 (from which play, we do not know) he is mentioned briefly in the third person:

δεξάμενος δὲ Σωκράτης τὴν ἐπιδέξι' ᾄδων
 Στησιχόρου πρὸς τὴν λύραν οἰνοχόην ἐκλεψεν.

And Sokrates picked up the song of Stesichoros as it
 went round from left to right,
 and as he sang it to the accompaniment of the lyre he –
 stole a wine-jug!

The *para prosdokian* (surprise word) at the end of the passage suggests the poverty-stricken Sokrates we meet elsewhere in comedy and also (perhaps) the unscrupulousness we find in the *Clouds* (and certainly the propensity to theft, in *Clouds* used with reference to clothing, 179, 497, 856–7, 1103–4). Fragment 386, whose context is similarly unknown, is more hostile again:

μισῶ δὲ καὶ †Σωκράτην
 τὸν πτωχὸν ἀδολέσχην,
 ὃς τᾶλλα μὲν πεφρόντικεν,
 ὁπόθεν δὲ καταφαγεῖν ἔχει
 τούτου κατημέληκεν.

I hate Sokrates, the chattering beggar, who has thought
 hard about everything else, but has neglected to consider
 where he's going to get his meals from.

Once more Sokrates is presented as a babbler, and as in Ameipsias he is a man full of abstruse learning but apparently incapable of meeting

his basic needs (cf. n. 13 above). Eupolis is interested in Sokrates the thinker in the context of social and economic activity in these passages, not in the content of his thought. Given the limited scope for detailed exposition in jokes made in passing, this is hardly surprising (Aristophanes' passing references to Prodikos and Gorgias, and to Sokrates in *Birds* show a similar lack of interest in intellectual content), and we can reasonably suppose that these fragments are typical of the brief references to Sokrates in Old Comedy. Moreover, there appears to be a marked contrast between Eupolis' Sokrates and his Protagoras, just as there appears to be a contrast in Ameipsias between Sokrates and the thinkers who formed the chorus in *Konnos*. Unlike Aristophanes, who was happy to blend the austere local sophist with the visiting teachers who plied such a lucrative trade, his rivals appear to have presented the audience with two distinct products of the contemporary intellectual trend. Sokrates is also mentioned by Telekleides, who in frs. 41–42 associates him closely with Euripides, for whom he supplies the material for his plays, a presentation which recalls not only a passing joke in the first version of *Clouds* (fr. 392) but also Aristophanes' treatment of Euripides as the archetypal sophist in *Frogs*.

Some conclusions

From this cursory survey we can see that, unsurprisingly, the comic tradition saw the contemporary intellectual movement in a broadly similar light, at least to the extent of presenting its representatives as verbose *poseurs*. In the case of Sokrates in particular there is a pronounced convergence within the genre. This consensus includes Aristophanes to some extent, though his rivals are more interested in taking note of the differences between Sokrates and other sophists. They never associate Sokrates, even indirectly, with wealth and self-indulgence. The differences between Sokrates and other sophists were as visible to Aristophanes as to his contemporary comedians; this is clear from the fact that in the surviving *Clouds* Aristophanes presents Sokrates himself as an ascetic while associating him indirectly with hedonism and self-assertion (through his possession of the rhetorical skill which makes the weaker case the stronger and through the arguments of his associate Lesser Argument). To acknowledge the differences more pointedly would have undermined the strategy of using Sokrates in part as a type.²⁴

Aristophanes also diverges from his rivals in another important respect. Neither Eupolis nor Ameipsias appears to have committed a whole play either to the sophistic movement or to a single intellectual, unlike Aristophanes. Plato's *Sophistai* appears to have followed the pattern of Eupolis and Ameipsias, not that of Aristophanes, in that as

far as we can judge he used the sophists as one component of his play. We cannot rule out the possibility that Kratinos' *Panoptai* was closer to Aristophanes in this respect, though here we are particularly hampered by the limitations on our evidence. The effect of placing contemporary intellectuals within a category which includes other kinds of expert (artistic, religious) is to locate the sophists within both a traditional comic approach to people with influence and to people whose output is non-physical and to evaluate them within a traditional ethic which emphasized financial independence, an ideal from which they blatantly departed. They are presented more as an example of a familiar social nuisance²⁵ (or in the case of Sokrates as an example of unworldly folly) than as a new and sinister corrupting force.

It would also seem that, unless our surviving fragments are unrepresentative of Old Comedy as a whole, the genre did not pay much attention to some of the outstanding (for us) intellectual figures of the day. Indeed, of all the late fifth-century comic dramatists Aristophanes appears to have been the one most interested in the sophists as individuals. Even allowing for the preponderance of Aristophanic material among the remains of lost plays, it is difficult to believe that if the comic playwrights had devoted much space to lampooning Prodikos, for instance, he would have disappeared so completely from the comic residue. Furthermore, the comic poets for the most part have only limited interest in the explosion of subversive ideas which marked the late fifth century. Kratinos certainly, Plato almost certainly, Ameipsias and Eupolis probably, gave some space to sophistic ideas; but in the case of Ameipsias, Eupolis and Plato it is unlikely that these ideas dominated their 'intellectual' plays. In contrast, Aristophanes shows a marked interest in the content of contemporary thinking. *Clouds* reflects, if in a distorted form, the interest of Greek thinkers in and rationalizing approach towards, the physical world (biology, astronomy, geography, geometry and meteorology), including the tendency to substitute quasi-empirical for theological interpretative structures. The sophistic interest in rhetoric is obvious, since it is the motor that drives the play. Equally visible is the interest of contemporary sophists in linguistics (658–92, 847–53). And despite a tendency to present Sokrates as all the sophists rolled into one and to mix together the views of different thinkers, it is possible to discern in some cases the thinking and practice of individual sophists. The ability to teach students to argue the same case from diametrically opposite points of view suggests Protagoras. The teaching method adopted by Sokrates and Lesser Argument in the play bears more than a passing resemblance to the Socratic dialectic.²⁶ The surviving play appears to reproduce physical theories

specifically associated with Diogenes of Apollonia (*Clouds* 227–34: see Gelzer 1956, 68–9, 83–4, 87; Dover 1968, xxxvi, 127–8). And as Bowie has recently stressed (1993, 109), the agon of our *Clouds* appears to have been influenced by Prodikos' celebrated image of Herakles at the crossroads. If so, Aristophanes has rather wickedly turned the parable on its head by presenting the sophistic choice as vice rather than virtue and associating Herakles (through Lesser Argument) with luxury. Some at least of these ideas are unlikely in their present form to have been part of the original play; but there is no reason to suppose that the revised version showed more interest in contemporary thinking than the first.²⁷ Probably therefore members of the audience of *Clouds* I who were familiar with contemporary ideas could play 'spot the sophist'. On the basis of evidence currently available, Aristophanes was unusual in his detailed presentation of sophistic thought. Evidently his rivals felt that the audience had little interest in the ideas of contemporary rationalists and little desire to see those ideas explored in the theatre.

Aristophanes' independence in this respect may go some way to explain, if only in part, the failure of the first version of *Clouds*. It is always dangerous to offer explanations of the reasons for a specific failure either by Aristophanes or by one of the tragic triad.²⁸ The nature of the judging process (which involved a majority of individual decisions, like the judicial panels in the courts, rather than a collaborative decision by the judges) means that different judges may have had quite different reasons for voting as they did. And there is no reason to doubt that there would be similar divergence in the responses of the members of the audience. We are further hampered by the accident of survival. We are so used to viewing fifth-century literature through the partial lens of the work of surviving dramatists that we are constantly tempted to account for lack of success by convicting the audience of lack of discernment. In the case of a play which has been revised, our ignorance about the precise content of the first version increases the danger. The risk is compounded by our ignorance of the plot structure, degree, range and density of humour, quality of stage action and visual presentation of Ameipsias' play. We are slightly better informed about Kratinos' *Pytinē* which was performed at the same festival; but even so one cannot reassemble the plot in its entirety with any degree of confidence. Ameipsias and Kratinos may have offered the audience better constructed plays, more vivid characters, more stimulating stage action, more variety of tone, than *Clouds*. We do not know. And our one explicit testimony to the reasons for the failure, Aristophanes, is not without bias. But the seeming avoidance of sustained engagement with the intellectual content of contemporary thought by the comic poets suggests that

Aristophanes was taking a calculated risk in offering his audience a play with so much intellectual meat. And unless we suppose that *Clouds* has been rewritten in its entirety, we must assume that the first version shared the broad characteristics of the second. *Clouds* may have failed in part because it was too much concerned with ideas in which the audience had little interest (cf. MacDowell 1995, 146). It is interesting to note that when Aristophanes returned to the theme of sophistic thinking, in the agon of *Frogs*, he presented it as merely one strand in the endlessly inventive contest between Aischylos and Euripides.

If the picture I have drawn of the relationship between *Clouds* and contemporary comedies with a similar theme is correct, Aristophanes is accurate in presenting *Clouds* I as an innovative play. His comments on his failure turn out to be more than a piece of Aristophanic braggadoccio. The play deviated significantly from the pattern of his contemporaries, and from the expectations of its audience. Presumably the same could be said of any number of lost plays if we had more evidence. It is natural that in a competitive and rapidly evolving art form its exponents will experiment, and that some experiments will succeed and contribute to the evolution of the generic expectations shared by artist and audience,²⁹ while some will fail and find no immediate successors. In the case of *Clouds* the failure was only temporary, though this might have offered little consolation to Aristophanes. Though it was not well geared to its actual audience and Aristophanes paid the price for departing so markedly from audience tastes, it pointed forward to developments in fourth-century comedy. But that is another story.³⁰

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Notes

¹Pieters 1946, 164 accepts a date between 425 and 431, following Geissler 1925, 23 ('frühestens etwa 435').

²For the plot of the *Dionysalexandros* see K-A IV 140 (editio princeps: POxy. 663). Eupolis' *Marikas* was devoted to Hyperbolos, while Plato wrote a *Hyperbolos* and a *Kleophon*.

³The play is dated to the last decade of the century by frs. 148, 150.

⁴So Athenaios 5.218c. Dover 1968, li doubts that this name was actually applied to the chorus in Ameipsias' play; but the term is used of intellectuals by Aristophanes and by fourth century prose writers (Ar. *Clouds* 266, 414; Plato *Apol. 18b*; Xen. *Mem.* 4.7.6; *Symp.* 6.6, 7.2) and there is no obvious reason to doubt that Athenaios is using Ameipsias' term rather than creating a label of his own.

⁵Rogers 1916, xxxv–vi is sceptical; see however Wilson 1977 on the evidence for individualization in comic choruses.

⁶Another certain example is Eupolis' *Poleis*. See Wilson 1977 and Dunbar 1995, 227–8.

⁷*Akharn.* 609–14, *Wasps* 230–4, *Lys.* 254, 259, 266, 321 (in contrast, the names in 322–3 refer to individuals imagined as being on the Acropolis, not members of the chorus).

⁸The statement in Diog. Laert. 2.28 that Ameipsias brought Sokrates on stage (παράγων) may be no more than a reasonable deduction from the fragment he cites. Wilson 1977, 282 wrongly regards Sokrates as a member of the chorus: it is one thing to attach names and distinctive features to members of a corporate chorus or to have a chorus divide into hostile halves as in *Akharnians*, quite another for a member of the chorus to detach himself completely from the collective. More accurately Starkie (1911, xxix) regards Sokrates as a character in the play.

⁹For Diopieithes see Plutarch *Per.* 32 with Stadter 1989, 297–304 (esp. 298); MacDowell 1978, 200–1, 272; and Parker 1996, 208.

¹⁰Phrynichos wrote a *Konnos* and it is possible that Konnos is also the target of Kratinos fr. 349. He is mocked at Adespota 371. For Konnos see further Sommerstein 1983, 488–9. For poets and musicians as comic victims see the list in Sommerstein 1996, 348–50.

¹¹Plato the philosopher mentions only Aristophanes by name (see p. 428); the scholia to *Clouds* mention Eupolis (see n. 19 below); Lucian (*Pisc.* 25) mentions Eupolis and Aristophanes. Since we know for certain that Ameipsias included Sokrates and that Telekleides also poked fun at him (p. 429), these references are not comprehensive, but the fact that we do not have more references to Ameipsias' presentation of Sokrates should make us pause before assuming that he was the focus of *Konnos* as he was of *Clouds*. The statement by Hubbard 1991, 105 n. 52 that 'Ameipsias' *Connus*... centred on Socrates and his music teacher' rests entirely on fr. 9.

¹²Lesser Argument *Clouds* 1036–1104; associated with Sokrates 98–9, 112–15, 244–5, 882–8. For the contradictory presentation of Sokrates' school see Dover 1972, 45.

¹³The jibe reappears in the mouth of Kallikles in Plato's *Gorgias* 484de. Cf. Burchfield 1996, 493 s.v. intelligent, intellectual: 'Intellectuals normally speak like archangels, or philosophers, or political scientists... and have original views about the arts and the diverse ways of mankind, but usually cannot cut a slice of bread straight.'

¹⁴So too Meton in the *Birds* (992–1020), who also speaks of astronomical matters and is dismissed as an ἀλάζην (1016): cf. Sommerstein 1987 ad loc., Dunbar 1995 ad loc. and 495.

¹⁵One is also reminded of Philokleon's behaviour at the symposium (*Wasps* 1299–1324), though he is not ejected for it.

¹⁶There is a large literature on the development of the concept of the sophist: see e.g. Guthrie 1969, 27–54; Kerferd 1981, 24–41.

¹⁷Schol. Ar. *Clouds* 96d (Koster): ταῦτα πρότερος Κρατίνος ἐν Πανόπταις δράματι περὶ "Ἰππωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου κωμῳδῶν αὐτόν λέγει (= Kratinos fr. 167).

¹⁸Pieters 1946, 164 would make Hippon the main character in the play. The fact

that Hippon is mocked in fr. 167, while the scholiast to Clement of Alexandria *Protreptikos* 24.2 notes that Kratinos mentions Hippon as ὁσεβής, supports the assumption that Hippon was the butt of more than a passing jibe; but we cannot rule out the possibility that both passages come from the same context. A possible (partial) answer lurks in the scholion to *Clouds* 96 (cited in n. 17 above). Since the drift of the comment seems to be that Kratinos had previously made the same joke against Hippon that Aristophanes makes against Sokrates, common sense suggests that περὶ “Ἰππωνος should go with λέγει (‘This is said earlier in the play *Panoptai* about Hippon by Kratinos, as a joke against him’). For the apposition in Πανόπταις δραμάτι cf. ἐν’Ανταίῳ δράματι in schol. *Frogs* 688 (Dubner). It is, however, possible to take περὶ “Ἰπώνος with δράματι (‘This is said earlier by Kratinos in *Panoptai*, a play about Hippon, in mockery of him’). The commentator would then be describing the *Panoptai* as ‘a play about Hippon’. This would confirm that Hippon figured prominently (presumably as a character) in the play.

¹⁹*Birds* 1701; he is linked to Sokrates by the responson between the stanza which mocks Gorgias and the preceding mockery of Sokrates at 1553–5.

²⁰For allusions to specific sophists in the surviving *Clouds* see p. 430.

²¹One relevant consideration, of course, is that unlike the other sophists, Sokrates was an Athenian, and thus a familiar figure to the audience; that may well be why Aristophanes himself in *Clouds* bundles together the predilections and doctrines of various sophists and pins them all on Sokrates (cf. Dover 1968, xxxii–lvii). Similarly, the politicians insulted in comedy are overwhelmingly Athenian citizens: see Sommerstein’s list (1996, 342–8). We might say that the best way to ‘avoid being a *komodoumenos*’ was not to be an Athenian.

²²*Apol.* 19c: ταῦτα γὰρ ἑώρατε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδίᾳ, Σωκράτη τινὰ ἐκεῖ περιφερόμενον, φάσκοντά τε ἀεροβατεῖν καὶ ἄλλην Πολλὴν φλυαρίαν φλυαροῦντα (‘You have seen these things yourselves in Aristophanes’ comedy, where a character called Sokrates appears swinging around, saying he is walking on air and talking a lot more nonsense’). Here περιφερόμενον (lit. ‘being swung around’ clearly refers to Sokrates’ entrance at *Clouds* 223 ff., as ἀεροβατεῖν refers to his explanation at 225. For *Apol.* 18b, 19b τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν (making the lesser argument the stronger) see n. 12 above. Since Plato refers unambiguously to a play which was actually performed, the convergence between the play which survives and Plato confirms that these elements were shared by the two versions. See further n. 24 below.

²³The scholiast on *Clouds* 96 confirms this picture, at least with reference to Eupolis: he notes that Eupolis mentioned him infrequently.

²⁴At this point the vexed question of the extent of the revision of *Clouds* inevitably raises itself. Any meaningful comparison between Aristophanes and his rivals must address the play which was actually performed. For my present purposes a detailed reconstruction of *Clouds* I is not necessary. It is enough to establish a convergence between the two versions in certain important respects. From Plato’s *Apology* (see n. 22 above) we may deduce that the presentation of Sokrates as a researcher into the physical world was shared by the two versions. The *Apology* also confirms the assumption (natural in itself, unless we suppose not revision but complete rewriting) that in *Clouds* I Sokrates taught the art of making the weaker case the stronger. If Plato *Symposion* 221b (based on *Clouds* 362) is a reference to the performed play, elements of the real Sokrates were equally present; probably therefore in *Clouds* I as in *Clouds* II he was both an individual and a typical sophist. The insistence on the sophistication of the original *Clouds* in the parabases of (the surviving) *Clouds* and *Wasps* suggests that the engagement with contemporary ideas was not less sustained or less detailed in the first version.

²⁵The same is true of the mathematician Meton at *Birds* 992–1020.

²⁶On the relationship between Sokrates' methods in *Clouds* and in other sources see Nussbaum 1980, 73–4, though see also Dover 1968, xlv for the possibility that our sources overstate the difference between Sokrates and other sophists in this respect.

²⁷For the broad similarity between the two versions in this respect see n. 24 above. We know from *Hypothesis I* (Dover) that the *Logon agon* is one of the features in which the two versions diverged. If Russo 1994, 104 is correct to see the characters in the (surviving) *agon* as exclusive to the second version (cf. further p. 187), we have no way of knowing how many of the ideas and expressions in the surviving *agon* were retained from the first version. If the reference in the scholion to 889 that the Logoi appeared as fighting cocks reflects the first version, it may be that much of the original *agōn* has survived. The engagement with sophistic ideas will have been yet more extensive if, as suggested by Gelzer (1956, 75–6; 1960, 148), Sokrates was still more prominent in the first version.

²⁸Dover 1972, 119 is rightly cautious; likewise O'Regan 1992, 205 n. 40. Among other factors which might have led to the defeat of *Clouds I* is the antinomian thrust of the play. This will have been more pronounced if, as Dover 1968, xciii–iv suggests, the original ended with the triumph of the sophistically trained son over his father. But even in the revised version, there is a pronounced tension between the satirical treatment of the sophists and their association with the self-assertion which usually characterizes Aristophanes' positive figures.

²⁹The innovations of Krates in the area of plot construction (Aristotle *Poetics* 1449b) appear to be an example, though it is difficult to be certain what exactly Aristotle is attributing to Krates. See Bonanno 1972, 41–4; Halliwell 1986, 269–70, and 1987, 85;

Heath 1989, 348–9, and 1990, 143–4.

³⁰[For recent scholarship on this subject see the index to the General Bibliography under *Thought and Thinkers*. This chapter was completed before the publication of Olimpia Imperio's discussion of the subject in A.M. Belardinelli et al. (eds.) *Tessere: Frammenti della commedia greca*, Bari 1998, 43–130, summarized by H.-G. Nesselrath in *CR* 50 (2000) 13. – FDH]

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Kerferd G.B.	
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PLATON, EUPOLIS AND THE 'DEMAGOGUE-COMEDY'

Alan H. Sommerstein

Aristophanes and the 'demagogue-comedy'

Aristophanes prided himself immensely (*Clouds* 546–50, *Wasps* 1029–37, *Peace* 748–61) on the new departure in comedy (as he claimed) represented by *Knights*: a play in which a contemporary politician, in his own person or transparently disguised, was a central character and in which the plot of the play represented his defeat and disgrace.¹ In one sense it was not, in fact, all that new. In Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros*, produced probably in 430, it must have been made fairly clear that the figure of Dionysos was designed to represent Perikles: not only was that evident to the author of the surviving papyrus hypothesis (*POxy.* 663.44–8 = K-A IV 140), it was also evident enough to contemporaries for it to be possible for a character in another comedy, not long afterwards, to apostrophize Perikles as 'king of the Satyrs' (Hermippos fr. 47).² On the other hand, even if Dionysos represented Perikles, he could not help but represent himself as well, particularly when accompanied by a satyr chorus; and although the play ended with Dionysos being sent off by the real Paris to be handed over to the invading Achaians, the god was notoriously hard to keep prisoner, and we know that in this play, as in most satyr-plays, he retained the loyalty of the satyrs through thick and thin (*POxy.* 663.42–4). What Aristophanes did in *Knights* was to create a central character who was not a politician-god (like Perikles-Dionysos or the Perikles-Zeus whom Kratinos may have created the year before in *Nemesis*³) but a politician-slave, fit representative for an age when 'the leadership of the people (*demagogia*) is no longer a job for an educated man or one of good qualities, but for one who's ignorant and foul' (*Knights* 191–3).⁴ In the treatment of such a character there was no need for half-measures: he could be shown suffering the *permanent* degradation that was by definition impossible for a god. Thus at the end of *Knights* (1397–1403) Paphlagon-Kleon is carried out as if dead; not, however, to a grave but to join the rabble of hucksters and prostitutes at the city gates.

Knights was a triumph, but Aristophanes never tried to replicate it. In *Wasps* (62–3) and the revised *Clouds* (546–50) he claims that this

was because he was reluctant to repeat himself as inferior artists did; the fact that this assertion was made in a play which is itself a virtual repeat is sufficient comment on its sincerity. *Knights*, we know, led to trouble and possibly danger for Aristophanes,⁵ but it is unlikely that this would deter him from trying something similar again; after all, as we shall see, it did not deter several of his rivals from doing so, at least once Kleon was dead. One would like to think that Aristophanes felt, as many modern critics have, that the relentless invective against a single individual, of which *Knights* almost wholly consists, offers little scope for artistry and that, having established his reputation with *Knights*, he wished thereafter to attempt themes of greater subtlety and variety; on the other hand (as I hope we shall also see), the ‘demagogue-comedy’ itself offered considerable opportunities for development and innovation, and Aristophanes could have done a lot with it had he wished. If there is anything in Hermann Lind’s reconstruction (1990) of a strong personal and local background to the hostilities between Kleon and Aristophanes, we may find ourselves wondering if Aristophanes would ever have written a play like *Knights* at all but for these special factors. He thought, after all, that *Clouds* was a better play, and went on saying so years after its failure (*Wasps* 1044–50, *Clouds* 520–6).⁶

The fact remained that *Knights* had been a great success, and (as Aristophanes was very ready to complain) it found imitators. The history of the demagogue-comedy⁷ can be traced from 424 to 402 or 401. The only surviving passage that explicitly discusses the sub-genre is *Clouds* 549–59, and (needless to say) it is seriously misleading. In this passage, which I believe can be quite closely dated to 419/8,⁸ the chorus-leader speaks thus in the name of the poet:

When Kleon was almighty, I hit him in the stomach; I did not have the hardihood to jump on him again when he was down. But these fellows, from the moment Hyperbolos let them get a hold on him, have been incessantly trampling on the poorchap and his mother as well. First of all Eupolis hauled his *Marikas* on to the stage, serving a vile rehash of my *Knights* like the vile fellow he is, and adding on a drunken old woman for the sake of the *kordax* dance, the woman presented years ago by Phrynichos, the one the sea-monster tried to devour. Then Hermippos again wrote about Hyperbolos, and now all the others are piling into Hyperbolos, copying my similes about eels.

From this, in the absence of other information, we would naturally infer (i) that Eupolis’ *Marikas* had been the first demagogue-comedy

produced since *Knights* and (ii) that it had been followed by three or four others likewise directed against Hyperbolos (one by Hermippos – identified by the scholia as *Artopolides* – and then at least two more, even if we were to take ‘all the others’ as comic exaggeration). There is reason to believe that both these inferences would be false. There had been another demagogue-comedy before, or at least at the same time as, *Marikas*; and after *Marikas* and *Artopolides*, there had been only one further Hyperbolos play (for I see no reason to believe that Aristophanes’ reference to Phrynichos is to a play, or even a scene, about Hyperbolos or his mother⁹). And both these plays – the earlier one that Aristophanes elides altogether, and the later one whose importance he downgrades by treating it as one of a multitude – were the work of the same author.

Platon’s *Peisandros*

This dramatist was Platon.¹⁰ It is almost as if Aristophanes were going out of his way to avoid mentioning Platon; as a matter of fact, though Platon was Aristophanes’ rival for a longer period than almost anyone else (some 35 years¹¹), no reference to him survives in any Aristophanic play or fragment.¹² Possibly Aristophanes particularly resented Platon’s rise because Platon was the first comic dramatist of the top rank to be significantly *younger* than Aristophanes himself;¹³ possibly, on the other hand, he did not regard Platon (or Phrynichos, whom he mentions here without hostility) as a particularly dangerous rival and was anxious to concentrate his fire on Eupolis. At any rate, Platon’s contribution to the history of the demagogue-comedy deserves more attention than it has tended to receive.¹⁴ In particular, it was Platon who took the crucial step of presenting the target figure neither as a god (like Kratinos) nor as a slave (like Aristophanes and Eupolis) but without disguise as *himself*, and even of advertising the fact publicly in advance (if, that is, we are justified in assuming that the titles of comedies competing at a festival were announced before the day of performance).¹⁵

It is likely, then, that one of the first attempts to compose a demagogue-comedy after 424 was made by Platon, and that the victim he selected was Peisandros. Peisandros’ big period in political terms was, of course, between 415 and 411, but he was a target of comic satire from as early as 426.¹⁶ The fact that Platon singled him out to be the central figure of a whole play proves that the play was written at a time when Peisandros had acquired some notoriety, but it certainly does not exclude a relatively early date for the play, and other evidence does suggest that we should look to the 420s rather than any later time.

Indeed several small indications, some of which were noted in an

important short article by Ludwig Radermacher (1926), suggest that the play may belong in 422 or 421. Peisandros himself is mentioned in two plays of 421, Aristophanes' *Peace* and Eupolis' *Marikas*, and in the latter, as in Platon's play, he was explicitly distinguished from another man of the same name (Platon fr. 108, Eupolis fr. 195). Moreover, the description of Peisandros (if he it is) as a 'nestling of Ares' (Platon fr. 112) suggests that he was a military officer at the time of production, as he is in *Peace* 395 (indeed the reference, by a scholiast on the *Peace* passage, to his 'triple crest' makes it highly likely that he is the cowardly triple-crested taxiarch of *Peace* 1172–8¹⁷), and points strongly to a date in the calendar year 422/1. The mention of Euathlos (fr. 109) links the play to *Wasps* (592); of five known references to Euathlos in comedy, none is certainly later than 422.¹⁸ And while one can never, without further information, be confident of the precise identity of any *kōmōdoumenos* named Antiphon (cf. fr. 110; see Storey 1985, 319–22), it is striking that the only datable references in Old Comedy to *anyone* of that name are one in 423, in Kratinos' *Pytine* (fr. 212), and two in *Wasps* (1270, 1301).

If *Peisandros* was produced within the time bracket I have indicated, it must have been either at the Dionysia of 422 or the Lenaia of 421, since we possess the competition records for the other festivals of this period in the hypotheses of *Wasps* and *Peace*; in other words, it was either competing with, or (less likely, if the inference I drew above from fr. 112 is justified) ten months earlier than, Eupolis' *Marikas*.¹⁹ In that case we know two other things about it. For one thing, it comes very early in Platon's dramatic career; indeed nothing in the remains of his work is provably earlier than 422.²⁰ For another, it was not produced under his own name (cf. fr. 106, 107 and *POxy.* 2737.44–51):²¹ Platon, having taken the unprecedented decision to centre a play on an active politician portrayed as himself, was in other ways much more cautious than Aristophanes had been in 424, on the one hand avoiding personal responsibility for the production, on the other choosing a victim of very considerably inferior political stature.

The dating I have suggested for *Peisandros* has another implication yet. Up to and including 422, *Knights* was the one and only demagogue-comedy there had been. Then suddenly we get two of them at the same festival (cf. Harvey in this volume, p. 102). It is very difficult not to connect this with the death of Kleon a few months earlier. Until then Kleon had been the only demagogue worth satirizing, just as Perikles had been before him; and after the experience Aristophanes had had, no one wanted to try. Now Kleon was gone, it was open season on other targets.

We can say, however, very little either about the portrayal of Peisandros or about the plot of the play. A dialogue between two

gluttons (fr. 102) suggests one line of satire that is likely to have been followed (cf. Eupolis fr. 99, *com. adesp.* 119). A fragment (fr. 105) in iambic tetrameters (possibly, then, from an ag5n) may indicate one of the political issues that featured in the play:

A woman, if you punish her regularly, is the best of all possessions, but if you let her do as she pleases she is a hybriistic and undisciplined object.

I have, I regret to say, a strong suspicion that this was not stated as a controversial thesis, but used, as an indisputable truth, to illustrate an argument about something else.²² One possibility is that the husband ('you') represents Athens and the wife the Athenian alliance/empire (*symmachia*); in which case the debate may have been about the treatment of revolted allies such as Skione, still under siege in early 421, whose inhabitants were doomed to death under a decree passed on the proposal of Kleon more than a year earlier; the sentence I have quoted would fit well into an argument similar to that which Thucydides puts into Kleon's mouth, on a parallel issue, in the Mytilene debate of 427.²³

Eupolis' *Marikas*

Eupolis in *Marikas*, produced perhaps (as we have seen) at the same festival, followed much more closely the model of *Knights*. This play has been discussed in the last few years by Heath 1990, who emphasizes its innovations as compared with *Knights* (such as the double chorus, and the targeting of the demagogue's mother), and by Storey 1993, who emphasizes the features that the two plays have in common; both approaches, of course, are justified by the evidence as far as they go, but it must be said that the similarities with *Knights* would have been particularly apparent to an audience that was also presented with Platon's play, which so far as we can judge owed very much less to the *Knights* model.

I have little to add to Heath's and Storey's analyses of the themes and construction of this play as they appear from the fragments, or to the earlier discussion by Cassio 1985 and Morgan 1986 of the Persian connection implicit in the name that Eupolis gives to his Hyperbolos figure. In this last connection, though, I would want to emphasize that to make Hyperbolos a Persian (especially if, as in fr. 207, you quote Aeschylus' *Persians* in the process²⁴) is to make him an *enemy of Athens*, especially in comedy where old men were still pictured refighting Marathon and Salamis as late as 411 (Ar. *Lys.* 285, 675).²⁵ Two other considerations follow. One relates to Hyperbolos' mother: if we are to be invited to think of Hyperbolos in terms of Aeschylus' *Persians*, then it is worth while exploring the possibility that his mother (who was presumably the 'drunken old woman' of *Clouds* 555)

was to some extent equated with the Persian queen-mother who appears in that play. Another relates to the meaning of the name Marikas itself. The Old Persian word *marlka-*, from which the name probably derives, appears at one time, to judge by its cognates within and beyond the Indo-Iranian language group, to have meant ‘young man, boy’, though its only attested sense is ‘servant’.²⁶ Hesychios (μ 283) glosses the Greek word as κίναϊδος (*kinaidos*), ‘passive homosexual’ or the like (see now Davidson 1997, 167–80, 341–3). Cassio accepted this; Morgan emended to κίναδος (*kinados*), ‘cunning rogue’, mainly because this is closer to the meaning of the cognate word in Modern Persian. But what has Modern Persian got to do with it? To adapt one of Morgan’s own illustrations, Old English *cnafa* also meant ‘boy’; if this word had happened to be borrowed into Welsh in the eighth or ninth century,²⁷ and if some medieval Welsh lexicographer had glossed it as ‘catamite’, the fact that in Middle and Modern English *knave* meant ‘rogue’ would be of no use at all in deciding whether the lexicographer was right. Semantically, the transition from ‘boy’ to ‘catamite’ (cf. παιδικά, ‘homoerotic beloved’ from παῖς, ‘boy’) is just as easy as that from ‘servant’ to ‘rogue’; and as a designation of a loathsome figure like the Hyperbolos of this play, a word meaning κίναϊδος is far better than a word meaning κίναδος. Cunning is not a leading characteristic of the comic stereotype of the wicked demagogue, and indeed can actually be seen as a desirable quality (see Dunbar 1995 on *Birds* 429–30); to be called a κίναϊδος (not that I think Eupolis is likely to have used that actual word²⁸) can never be anything other than an insult; and this insult is one that is highly appropriate both to demagogues and to Persians.²⁹

Despite the relative richness of the fragments, and the availability of a papyrus commentary, the plot of *Marikas* remains hard to perceive. Two points, however, may be significant:

(1) There are moments of discomfiture and danger for Marikas well before the end of the play; thus at fr. 192.120 his head is bowed (in shame or despair?). He has, however, or so *prima facie* it seems, a powerful defender who warns someone (Marikas’ master?) not to punish him (fr. 203). Kaibel (ap. K-A V p. 419) and Whittaker 1935, 185 thought the defender might be his mother; but it is hard to see how she could have been made to speak in such authoritative tones, and we should not exclude the possibility that the speaker is Marikas himself, speaking of himself in the third person like Euripides (Ar. *Thesm.* 77), Prometheus (Aesch.) *Prom.* 506), or Demosthenes (18.303).

(2) Towards the end of a scene (fr. 192.149) Marikas instructs his master to arrange a *synedrion* (σύ τὸ συνέδριον σκευάζε). The parallel of Plato *Protagoras* 317d shows that what is meant is the arrangement

of seating for a debate or discussion, which must therefore have taken place in the following scene (after the choral performance evidenced by lines 156–7³⁰).

This suggests that, as in *Knights*, there was a long contest over the fate of Marikas, divided into several rounds. In fr. 192.120–55, Marikas, defeated in one forum, seeks a new verdict in another, as Paphlagon more than once does in *Knights*.³¹ Nothing indicates who the antagonist was, though presumably he was supported by the semichorus of rich men (so he *may* have been a rich man himself³²) while the other semichorus backed Marikas. It is possible that in the end Marikas suffered a fate even worse than Paphlagon's and was taken off for execution, for fr. 209 speaks of his bones having been put (perfect tense) in a bread-seller's tray. We certainly cannot exclude this possibility *a priori*, given that the same fate *may* have befallen a sykophant in Eupolis' *Demes* (though the supposition that it does actually depends on an uncertain restoration of fr. 99.112³³) and that in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* a (slow) execution is commenced on stage (though eventually interrupted);³⁴ since, however, the scholiast (on Ar. *Wealth* 1037) to whom we owe fr. 209 also says that Hyperbolos' *mother* was likened to a bread-seller's tray,³⁵ I suspect that the reference is not to his final but to his *pre-natal* resting-place; not that we can exclude death from comedy in principle, given that this fate *may* befall.

After Marikas: Platon's *Hyperbolos*, *Kleophon* and others

After Eupolis, according to *Clouds*, came Hermippos; but Hermippos' *Artopolides* does not seem to have been composed on anything like the same pattern. Indeed the scholia to *Clouds* (557a + b Holwerda) say that it was not 'composed against Hyperbolos' at all, but only contained some 'things said against him'. The gender of the chorus, together with frs. 8 and 9, suggest that the play was centred not on Hyperbolos but on his mother. It was probably produced in 420, since the City Dionysia of 421 is occupied already and a production in 419 would not leave enough time before the date of the *Clouds* revision.

For Eupolis himself *Marikas*, like *Knights*, remained a one-off. Aristophanes, to be sure, accused him (in effect) of plagiarizing *Knights* not once but thrice (Ar. fr. 58), but whatever the other two plays were, they were not demagogue-comedies. The only comic dramatist who used the formula repeatedly was Platon, who followed *Peisandros* with *Hyperbolos* and *Kleophon*.

What we know of *Hyperbolos* does not suggest radical innovation. A fragment, probably from an early scene (fr. 182), shows a slave congratulating his master on being all but chosen as a councillor: 'you haven't been chosen, but in fact you have, if you understand

me...because you've been chosen as substitute (ἐπέλαρχε: see Rhodes 1972, 4, 7–8) for a man who's a villain and an alien', whom the master, it seems, without needing to be told, identifies as Hyperbolos. The slave has assumed that Hyperbolos is certain to fail his *dokimasia* (the preliminary scrutiny) or else to be convicted on some charge and lose his seat, whereupon his own master will automatically take it over. The slave may well be only a 'protatic' character, that is, one who appears only in the early scenes, and indeed he is dismissed in fr. 182.6, but the master probably had an important role later in the play and may indeed have been its 'hero' – a figure of a very different kind, then, from Aristophanes's Sausage-seller, but perhaps comparable to Marikas' antagonist in Eupolis' play. Possibly an *agon* between them ended with Hyperbolos' expulsion from the Council (in which case one might wonder if the chorus, before whom the *agon* will have taken place, was maybe composed of councillors). There was much emphasis throughout the play on Hyperbolos' alleged foreign origins, in the tradition of Kleon the 'Paphlagonian' and Hyperbolos-Marikas the 'Persian': in fr. 183 we hear of his bad Greek, in fr. 185 he is called 'a Lydian descended from Midas'. As in *Peisandros*, there is no attempt at disguise: Hyperbolos is named in fr. 182.6. It appears that the dramatist is confident there will be no retaliation from him; presumably, unlike Kleon with Aristophanes, Hyperbolos had made no attempt to avenge himself judicially on Eupolis or Hermippos. *Hyperbolos* probably belongs to 419, later than Hermippos' *Artopolides* but earlier than the revised parabasis of *Clouds*.

After 419 there is no datable demagogue-comedy till we come to Platon's *Kleophon* in 405. This play seems to have combined features of several of its predecessors; though it was rather harsh of Kaibel (ap. K-A V p. 456) to say that Platon *imitabatur*.. *Hermippi Eupolidis Phrynichi in Hyperbolum invectivas* ('imitated the invectives of Hermippus, Eupolis and Phrynichus against Hyperbolus') as if he had never made any contribution to the sub-genre himself. *Kleophon*'s allegedly Thracian mother figured in the play (fr. 61) but – in what seems to have been a new twist to the 'demagogue's mother' theme – she was not entirely a figure of derision, for her son was said to have ill-treated her in her old age (fr. 57:³⁶ because he was ashamed of her origins?) as well as being a thief (frs. 58, 59) and a male prostitute (fr. 60).³⁷ Ill-treatment of one's parents, like male prostitution, was of course a legal disqualification for addressing the Assembly (Aischines 1.28).

We know of two other demagogue-comedies from this decade. Theopompos' *Teisamenos* was presumably about the man of that name whose best-known role was as the proposer of the decree passed shortly after the fall of the Thirty providing for a review of the laws

(Andok. 1.83–4) and subsequently as one of the *anagrapheis* who carried out, or rather continued, this review (Lysias 30.28). A badly mutilated decree which cannot be later than 405/4 (*IG* i³ 179) seems to refer to an earlier decree moved by [T]eisamenos, who may be the same person; and it is reasonable to suppose that a man who could carry so important a constitutional decree at so crucial a moment in 403 would be one who already enjoyed the confidence of supporters of democracy. He may well have been one of the ‘petty clerks’ whose political influence is deprecated in *Frogs* 1084, for the same label is applied to him by Lysias in 399. Thus a play about Teisamenos could have been written either before or after 404, and the mention of Akestor (fr. 61) makes the earlier period more likely than the later. Nothing in the fragments of the play tells us anything about how the political theme was treated.³⁸ The only comedy of this type that certainly postdates the end of the war is *Rhinon*, by Archippos. *Rhinon* (PA 12532) was one of the Ten who succeeded the Thirty in 403, played an important role in the reconciliation of the factions, and served as general in 403/2 and as treasurer of sacred moneys in 402/1; after which he disappears completely from our sources, so he probably died in 401/0. Archippos’ play will thus have been produced in 402 or possibly 401; its fragments are again uninformative.

After this the demagogue-comedy disappears for ever; and one can perhaps divine why. I have argued elsewhere (Sommerstein 1993) that the decree of 405/4 providing for the restaging of Aristophanes’ *Frogs* (which defeated Platon’s *Kleophon*, and which also contained some fierce invective against the same man) may have been engineered by anti-democrats partly in order to bring about Kleophon’s overthrow and death, which happened at just about the same time as the second production of the play. Hyperbolos too had been done to death by anti-democratic conspirators (Thuc. 8.73.3) after being savaged in a succession of comedies (there was a considerable time-gap, to be sure, but I believe there was a causal link all the same; see Sommerstein 1996). After the restoration of democracy, Kleophon became in retrospect, in some minds (though, as Dover 1968, 54 and Todd 1996, 118–9 have observed, not at all times and not for everyone) a democratic hero and martyr (cf. Lys. 13.12); if the character-assassination of comedy had played a role in his (shall we say) judicial assassination, prelude and preparation as it was for the seizure of power by the Thirty, it is perhaps not surprising if this kind of comedy went out of fashion thereafter. It is worth noting that *Rhinon* was probably a relative failure; Archippos won only one first prize, and that was almost certainly with *Fishes*, which, even after discounting for the special interest of Athenaios in its subject-matter, has substantially more ancient citations than any of his other five plays.³⁹

Indeed, I strongly suspect that the perceived contribution of political comedy to the overthrow of democracy in 404 was the underlying cause behind the more far-reaching changes which altered the whole nature of comedy in the generation after the archonship of Eukleides; the transformation of Old into Middle Comedy, that is, was due not, as many ancient scholars thought (see Sidwell in this volume), to legislators who thought comedy too free-spoken and too democratic, but to an Athenian public who thought it was too free-spoken – and, like Socrates, not democratic enough. But that is, or at least may be, matter for another day.

Acknowledgement

I am very grateful for the improvements to this paper that have resulted from contributions made in discussion on it, and in other papers on related themes, when it was presented at the London conference in September 1996 and also at the Salamanca colloquium on Greek comedy (*Sociedad, política y literatura*) in November 1996. The proceedings of the latter, edited by A. Lopez Eire, have now been published under the same title (Salamanca 1998); the Spanish translation by J.M. Labiano Ilundain of the present chapter appears at pp. 183–95.

Notes

¹ For recent scholarship on this and similar themes see the index to the General Bibliography under *Politics and Politicians*.

² Just as Aristophanes in *Clouds* 581 was able to refer to Kleon as ‘Paphlagon’, the name of the character who had represented him in *Knights*. That Hermippos is alluding to Kratinos’ play is doubted by Gilula in this volume, and it is true that both plays are commonly dated to the same year, 430; but even if it were certain (as it is not) that Hermippos’ play, *Moirai*, belonged to 430 and not 429, it would remain possible that *Dionysalexandros* was produced at the Lenaia of 430 and *Moirai* at the City Dionysia. And if Hermippos’ designation ‘king of the Satyrs’ for Perikles is not to be explained as an allusion to *Dionysalexandros*, how is it to be explained? It can hardly have been an already established nickname for Perikles, whom we know to have been regularly compared in comedy, not to Dionysos, but to Zeus (cf. next note). On the identification of Dionysos with Perikles see now Revermann 1997.

³ Kratinos fr. 118 with Eratosthenes *Katasterismoi* 25 (p. 142 Robert); for the dating of *Nemesis* see K-A IV 179. Kratinos had compared Perikles to Zeus before (frs. 73, 258, 259) and was to do so again by implication (if the ‘tyranny’ of fr. 171.22, spoken of by a chorus of Titans recently released from prison, alludes to Perikles’ domination over Athens; cf. also Ar. *Ach.* 530–1).

⁴ All translations of comedy are my own, unless otherwise stated. In the case of Aristophanes’ surviving comedies they are taken, whenever possible, from Sommerstein 1980–.

⁵ Cf. *Wasps* 1284–91, and see MacDowell 1995, 176 and Storey 1995.

⁶ From a passage (518–62, the main parabasis speech in eupolideans) which discusses the failure of the original production of *Clouds* and must have been written

when the play was revised.

⁷ For this term see Lind 1990, 239; his survey of the sub-genre (239–52) is synchronic rather than developmental, dominated by *Knights*, and excludes several plays rather arbitrarily – in fact all those not directed against Kleon, Hyperbolos or Kleophon.

⁸ That is, between *spring* 419 and *spring* 418: see Sommerstein 1997, 276 n. 22.

⁹ In fact Aristophanes' words virtually guarantee that it is not, since he says (*Clouds* 556) that Phrynichos created this 'drunken old woman' (cf. Phryn. fr. 77) a considerable time before the production of Eupolis' *Marikas*, which was the first comedy directed against Hyperbolos (553) as soon as he 'let [the comic dramatists] get a hold of him' (551). The words 'the one the sea-monster tried to devour' strongly suggest that Phrynichos' play was a parodic deformation of the Andromeda myth (very likely of the *Andromeda* of Sophocles – that of Euripides was of course not yet written) with an old woman in the role of Andromeda; possibly the play in question was *Kronos* (cf. Soph. fr. 126). For the career of Hyperbolus, and comic abuse of him, see Andrewes 1981, 257–64, esp. 257–8.

¹⁰ It has been this poet's fate to be nearly always known as Plato Comicus. In this paper I shall distinguish the dramatist from his younger contemporary and namesake, the son of Ariston, by calling the former Platon and the latter Plato.

¹¹ On Platon's later career see Rosen 1995. His last datable play is *Phaon* (391, cf. schol. Ar. *Wealth* 179), but *Hai aphHierōn* and *Laios* mention persons who figure in comedies of the 380s (Platon fr. 14, cf. Ar. *Wealth* 174; Platon fr. 65, cf. Nikochares fr. 4), and some plays showing strong affinities with Middle Comedy, such as *Lakones*, *Nyx Makra* and *Zeus Kakoumenos* (cf. Rosen 1995, 124–6), may well be later still.

¹² Rival comic dramatists to whom Aristophanes *does* certainly or probably refer are Ameipsias (*Frogs* 14), Eupolis, Hermippos, Kantharos (*Peace* 1; see Sommerstein 1980– ad loc.), Kratinos, Lykis (*Frogs* 14), Pherekrates (*Lys.* 158), Phrynichos, and Sannyrion (Ar. fr. 156.8).

¹³ Of Aristophanes' main rivals of the 420s, Kratinos was a generation older; Pherekrates and Hermippos had both been winning victories in the 430s (Mette 1977. I vii.2 with V B1.ii.6); Eupolis and Phrynichos had both made their debuts in 429 (*Prolegomena de Comoedia* III 33–4 Koster 1975 (p. 9); see Storey 1990, 2–4), two years before Aristophanes. Ameipsias, though his *Konnos* did better than *Clouds* in 423 and his career seems to have been quite a long one (to judge by the company he keeps in the Lenaian victor-list: Mette 1977 V C1.ii.7), may well not have won a first prize until 414 (when his *Komastai* defeated Aristophanes' *Birds*), whereas I shall be arguing below that Platon won one (though not in his own name) as early as 422.

¹⁴ It is briefly acknowledged by Nesselrath 1990, 35 and Rosen 1995, 136–7 n. 40.

¹⁵ I hope to explore more fully, in a future paper, whether this assumption is indeed justified. In the meantime we may note that Andrew Brown's generalization (1984, 268) that 'the title of a Greek play is never whimsical or paradoxical, or designed to tell us anything interesting; it is simply a label to identify the play being talked about', however valid for tragedy, has no application to comedy, as a glance through Lowe's list of plays (incorporated in the Biographical Appendix towards the end of this volume) will quickly verify. I suspect that dramatists often used advance publicity for play-titles to appetize, tantalize, mystify or sometimes (as maybe in such cases as *Wasps* or *Frogs*) to mislead their prospective audiences.

¹⁶ The first datable reference to him is in Aristophanes' *Babylonians* (fr. 84); for the others see the useful summary by Andrewes 1981, 116–17 and Storey 1990, 16 with n. 58.

¹⁷ Cowardice was a key feature of Peisandros' comic persona (Ar. *Birds* 1556–64; Eupolis fr. 35, Phrynichos fr. 21; cf. Xen. *Symp.* 2.14), so much so that the phrase 'more cowardly than Peisandros' attained proverbial status (Suda δ 319, π 1467, Apostolios 14.14).

¹⁸ The others are in Ar. *Ach.* 704–11 (425), Ar. fr. 424 (from *Holkades*, usually dated to Lenaia 423), and Kratinos fr. 82 (429 or earlier).

¹⁹ *Marikas* is known to have been produced in 422/1 ('in the third year [reckoning inclusively] after [the original production of] *Clouds* according to the scholia on Ar. *Clouds* 553), and at the City Dionysia of that year Eupolis won first prize with *Kolakes* (Hypothesis III (Holwerda, Olson) to Ar. *Peace*).

²⁰ The evidence of St Cyril of Alexandria (*Against Julian* 1.13), placing Platon alongside Eupolis and Aristophanes in the 88th Olympiad (428–424), must be regarded as virtually worthless. In this chronological passage Cyril uses the verb γενέσθαι promiscuously without caring, and sometimes without knowing, whether he is referring to a birth date or a *floruit*, which is presumably how he comes to place the philosopher Demokritos both in the 70th Olympiad (500–496) and in the 86th (436–32); there is therefore no way to tell whether he has put the *debut* of *Platon* one Olympiad too soon (as he has placed that of Eupolis one Olympiad too late), or whether he is actually giving a correct date for the *birth* of *Plato* (who is the subject of his next entry, for the 103rd Olympiad (368–364), when 'they say Aristotle was a pupil of Plato'). The claim by a speaker in fr. 115 (from *Perialgēs*), 'first of all I waged war against Kleon', even if it does refer to an earlier play by Platon, could relate to one produced at Dionysia 422.

²¹ Radermacher 1926, who of course knew nothing of *POxy.* 2737, reasonably enough deduced from what are now frs. 106 and 107 that *Peisandros* was the first play Platon had produced in his own name, and that, like Aristophanes in *Knights* (512–44), he was explaining why he had not done so before. We now know that he made his personal debut not with *Peisandros* but with *Rhabdouchoi*, and that this had been preceded by at least two plays produced for him by others (cf. *POxy.* 2737.46–7 ἔως μὲν [ἀλ.]λοις ἐξίδου τὰς κωμῳδίας εὐδοκίμει, 'so long as he gave his comedies to others [sc. to produce] he enjoyed success'). One of these plays was probably *Symmachia*, for which there is an alternative ascription to Kantharos (see K-A IV 59); this may thus have been the play with which that otherwise undistinguished dramatist won first prize at the City Dionysia of 422 (*UDAG* I viii.17 and V B1.ii.9; there are as many surviving fragments of *Symmachia* as of all Kantharos' other works put together). If so, *Peisandros* must have been Platon's very next play after *Symmachia*, and therefore (since we know it was not his personal debut play) he cannot have produced it himself. In this case it would further follow that in the passage (no doubt part of the parabasis) from which frs. 106 and 107 come, Platon openly presented himself as the author-but-not-producer of the play; a conclusion which would have important consequences for (to look no further) the reconstruction of the early career of Aristophanes (on which see most recently MacDowell 1995, 34–43, who gives references to earlier discussions).

²² I also regret to say that there can be little doubt that 'punish' (κολάζης) refers to some form of physical ill-treatment (cf. Ar. *Lys.* 162, 520).

²³ Cf. especially Thuc. 3.39.5–6: 'We ought all along to have treated the Mytileneans no differently from the other allies, and then they would not have behaved so *hybristically* as they have now done; for it is human nature to despise one who appeases, and to respect one who refuses to make concessions. But let them, even now, be *punished* as befits their crime.' Perhaps significantly, it had been Kleon who in 423 had been mainly responsible for the passage of the decree ordering that once the revolt of Skione had been suppressed its (adult male) population should be exterminated (Thuc. 4.122.6).

24 The fragment runs *πεπέρακεν μὲν ὁ περσέπτολις ἤδη Μαρικᾶς*, ‘the city-sacking Marikas has already crossed...’: its first five words are identical with those which open the lyric section of the choral *parodos* of *Persians* (65).

25 In *Peace*, produced two months after *Marikas*, it is taken for granted that ‘the Medes’ (or ‘the barbarians’) are still eager to gain control of Greece, and are likely to succeed if the Greeks continue to weaken themselves by fighting each other (*Peace* 108, 406–13).

26 See Cassio 1985, 39–40; for the Indo-European word-family to which *marika*-belongs, see Pokorny 1959, 738, Benveniste 1969/73, 199–200, Chantraine 1968–80 s.v. *μεῖραξ*.

27 It may have been for all we know, but the probability of this is not very great, since Modern Welsh *cnafr* ‘knave, rascal’ shows exactly the same semantic development as Middle and Modern English *knave* and is probably a medieval borrowing (it is first attested in the fourteenth century; see Thomas 1950–67 s.v.).

28 The word makes its earliest known appearance in Plato (*Gorg.* 494e); from comedy it appears to be entirely absent (a sweep of *comici* on the computerised *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* down to 200 BC yielded no instances). Henderson 1975, 22 cites Archilochos fr. 294 for it, but the phrase in question (*ἄψασθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν κιναίδων*, from an anti-pagan polemic by Oinomaos of Gadara reproduced by Eusebios *Praep. Ev.* 5.33.5) is a statement about Archilochos’ supposed lifestyle, with nothing in its form, substance or context to suggest that it is a quotation from, or even a paraphrase of, anything in his poetry.

29 On the stereotype of the effeminate Persian, see Hall 1989 and 1996; on the equation ‘politician = former male prostitute’, cf. Ar. *Knights* 428, 878–80, 1242, Platon *Kleophon* fr. 60, Ar. *Eccl.* 112–13, Plato *Symp.* 192a; Davidson 1997, 250–77, 349–51.

30 Where a scholion on *λύω λέσχας*, ‘I’m leaving off idle talk’, states that ‘the chorus [sc. is speaking] to the audience’.

31 Defeated by the Sausage-seller and the Knights in a scene of battle and insult (*Knights* 242–460), he denounces them to the Council (475–81); defeated again in the Council (624–82), he appeals to the People (= *Demos*) (710–24); when he loses the *agon* before *Demos* and is deprived of his ring of office (947–59), he appeals to the verdict of oracles (960–1); when the Sausage-seller’s oracles are preferred to his, he asks to be judged on his ability to supply *Demos* with food (1100–9).

32 The fragments contain several references to features of a luxurious lifestyle, such as horses and grand houses; cf. fr. 192.90: *τί ’ Αλκμέων[α νῦν τὰ] πρόθυρ’ ἐπωφελεῖ* ‘what use are Alkmeon’s porticoes to him now?’, fr. 192.199: *ἐκφατνίσματα* ‘stable muck’; fr. 201 + 214: *νῶ γὰρ...οὔ[θ’] ἱππεύομεν <οὐτ’> ἐντεθετταλίμεθ* ‘we two...neither ride horses nor dress in the Thessalian fashion’ (i.e. wear the *chlamys*, a garment associated at Athens with the cavalry, cf. Xen. *Anab.* 7.4.4, Pollux 10.124, and many vase-paintings including the name-vase of the Dokimasia Painter: see Bugh 1988, 16 and fig. 1). Storey 1995–6, 153–4, tentatively supports Austin’s suggestion that Eupolis fr. 384 might come from the *agon* of *Marikas*, in which case the speaker, evidently Marikas’ antagonist, would be an old man.

33 Where we read [...] *ἀγετ’ αὐτὸν καὶ παράδοτ’ ο.* [; Korte 1919 suggested *παράδοτ’ Οἶ[νεῖ] ταχύ*], ‘hand him over to Oineus right away’. The phrase ‘to hand someone over to Oineus’ also appears in Eupolis fr. 172.16. It has generally been understood by scholars to mean ‘to hand someone over for execution’, and while there is no direct evidence for this (and modern explanations of the phrase hitherto have been very far-fetched), one can at least see a possible reason why the phrase should have this meaning: it probably alludes to Periboia, daughter of Hipponoos of Olenos, who ‘having lost her virginity to Hippostratos son of Amarynkeus was sent

by her father Hipponoos to Oineus [at Kalydon] with instructions that she should be put to death' (Apollod. 1.8.4, citing Hesiod (cf. Hes. fr. 12 Merkelbach-West); Oineus disobeyed the instructions and kept Periboia as his own wife, eventually to bear him Tydeus; Sophocles' *Hipponoos* had dramatized a version of the story).

³⁴ Cf. Sommerstein 1980– viii 217–8 (on *Thesm.* 930³).

³⁵ Or rather, one annotation (Σ 1037c Chantry) speaks of Eupolis saying that Hyper-bolos' bones had been put in a bread-seller's tray, while another, parallel to it (1037b) says he likened Hyperbolos' mother to one – as if the two were different ways of saying the same thing. It is just possible that the joke was recycled by Hermippos, if Holwerda (on schol. *Clouds* 557a) was right to extract from some corrupt words in the *Clouds* scholia a Hermippos fragment *πλεκτοῖσιν ἄρτοπώλιδος τεχθέντα*, 'born in a bread-seller's basket'; but this conjecture was a decidedly long shot, and K-A (V p. 565) reasonably declined to give it further publicity.

³⁶ *σέ γάρ, γράυ, συγκατώκισεν σαπρὰν □ ὀρφῶσι σελαχίοις τε καὶ φάγροις βορὰν*: 'in your decayed state, old woman, he made you dwell with perch, dogfish and sea-bream as food for them'; the allegation implied against Kleophon may be that he failed to maintain his mother properly and left her to scrape a living by selling fish in the market (cf. Kaibel ap. K-A VII p. 456).

³⁷ Cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 805 with scholia, and n. 28 above; for the combination pathic + thief cf. *Knights* 423–8.

³⁸ Two other plays by Theopompos, *Kallaischros* and *Pantaleon*, bore titles which were also common Athenian names, but it is very unlikely that they were demagogue-comedies; Kallaischros was surely the same man who later (about 350) became the eponym of a comedy by Ophelion (K-A VII p. 718), and Pantaleon, if a politician, would need to have been a very obscure one indeed.

³⁹ A total of 21 fragments of *Fishes* are known; the next highest figure for any one play is 7, and *Rhinon* ranks fifth out of six with 3. If we exclude those fragments for which Athenaios is the sole source, *Fishes* still comes first with 9, the next highest figure being 5, and *Rhinon*, with 3, sharing fourth place. On *Fishes* see, extensively, Wilkins in this volume.

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LIFE AMONG THE SAVAGES AND ESCAPE FROM THE CITY

Paola Ceccarelli

The primitive condition of mankind is viewed in two very different, if complementary, ways in Greek thought. It may be perceived as a condition of happiness, inasmuch as the ‘noble savage’ functions as a contemporary example of what life was like in the time of Cronus, when men and animals understood each other, food was available in plenty, and there was no need of the institutions of the polis. But it may also be presented as an extremely harsh condition, in which the struggle for survival is of primary importance, and in this version, the (bad) savage appears as the negation of the laws that control man’s social life.¹ From the origins of Greek literature, there is an opposition between these two conceptions, the primitivist and the progressivist.²

In the genre of comedy, the theme of life among the savages and the closely related theme of escape from the all-too-civilized life of the polis appear to be used in a very specific way. There are nuances, however, for this theme must be read within the context of a more general, but also weaker, opposition between life in the countryside and life in the city. Another theme relevant to this general topic is life in the reign of Cronus, the happy life of natural abundance, which was the subject of numerous comedies.³ I shall however here limit myself strictly to life amongst animals or savages, and consider the fragments of Crates’ *Thēria* (*WildAnimals*), which was produced around 427/26 BO (Geissler 1925, xii), and of Pherecrates’ *Agrioi* (*Savages*), produced at the Lenaia of 420. The titles of these comedies show that the opposition between civilized and non-civilized life was central to their plots. The theme of escape from the πράγματα, the law-courts, politics and other troublesome activities typical of the polis,⁴ will be illustrated by what remains of the *Monotropos* (*The Loner*) of Phrynichus and by Aristophanes’ *Birds*, both produced at the Great Dionysia of 414.

Crates’ *Thēria*⁵

The four extant fragments of the *Thēria* (K-A 16–19) do not allow us to form much more than a vague idea of how the play was constructed, for they all seem to come from the epirrhematic *agōn*, or to be closely

related to it. To be more specific, fr. 16, in iambic tetrameters catalectic, might come from the epirrhema, fr. 18 from the pnygos, and fr. 19, in anapaestic tetrameters catalectic, might be part of the antepirrhema; fr. 17, in iambic trimeters, might indicate that the contest continued into the episodes.⁶ This means that we are in the first part of the comedy, which enables us to conjecture various ways in which the dramatic action might possibly have developed, though we cannot be sure which of them is right.

Frs. 16 and 17, transmitted by Athenaeus (6.267e–68a) in the same context, together with a group of texts concerning primitive life, περί τοῦ ἀρχαίου βίου διαλεγόμενοι, present a character A (possibly a god or someone with supernatural powers, or maybe a representative of the chorus) who explains to a character B how mankind will live at ease and without any need of slaves, once objects have started functioning by themselves. Athenaeus connects the two fragments by attributing the second one to the antagonist of the first speaker, but for various reasons this cannot be right: above all, the first fragment is in iambic tetrameters, and the second in iambic trimeters, so they cannot come from the same immediate context.⁷ Furthermore, the automatic functioning of objects in fr. 16 refers to furniture and the kitchen (cups washing themselves, fishes turning over, roasting and seasoning themselves), while fr. 17 is specifically concerned with the luxuries of the bathroom. A suitable conclusion to this life of happiness is offered by fr. 18, transmitted by Harpocration s.v. παρουσία:

ἔχοντες εὐπαθῇ βίον
παρουσίαν τε χρημάτων

living a life of ease, with all the goods you please.

It must however be stressed that both these descriptions of luxury are set in the future:

A. ἔπειτα δοῦλον οὐδέ τις κεκτήσεται οὐδέ δοῦλην.

B. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δὴτ' ἀνὴρ γέρον διακονήσεται;

A. οὐ δὴθ', ὁδοιποροῦντα γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐγὼ ποιήσω.

A: Moreover, no-one will possess any slave, male or female.

B: Will an old man do his chores by himself, then?

A: Not at all; for I shall make all the utensils able to walk (fr. 16. 1–3)

and:

ἀλλ' ἀντίθεος τοι· γὰρ γὰρ αὐτὸν τραπέμπαλιν
τὰ θερμὰ λουτρά πρώτον ἄξω τοῖς ἐμοῖς
ἐπὶ κιόνων, ὥσπερ διὰ τοῦ Παιωνίου,
ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὥστ' ἐκάστω βρέυσεται

5 εἰς τὴν πύελον·

A: Consider the other point of view, won't you? Unlike you,
I'll first of all bring warm baths to my friends
on columns, like the ones that go through the sanctuary
of the Healer,
from the sea, and then the water will flow into
everyone's tub. (fr. 17. 1–5).⁸

Moreover, on the basis of the few fragments that remain, we cannot tell whether this happy state was actually achieved in the course of the play. Fr. 19, indeed, seems to lay down some conditions: the speaker (probably representing the chorus of Animals) requires that men should become vegetarians, at least to some extent:⁹

A: καὶ τῶν ῥαφάνων ἔψειν χρῆ
ἰχθῦς τ' ὅπταν τούς τε ταρίχους, ἡμῶν δ' ἄπο χειράς ἔχεσθαι.
B: οὐκ ἄρ' ἔτ' οὐδὲν κρέας, ὥς ὑμεῖς λέγετ', οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν ἐδόμεσθα,
οὐδ' ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, οὐδὲ τάκωνας ποιησόμεθ' οὐδ' ἀλλάντας;

A: You'll have to boil some of the cabbages,
and roast yourself fish, both pickled and fresh, and keep
your hands off us.

B: You mean that we shan't eat any meat any more, not
even
from the market, and we shan't make any rissoles or
sausages? (fr. 19. 1–4).

This demand that the men should abstain from meat, with its allusion to the famous Empedoclean/Pythagorean prohibition concerning beans, has been interpreted as part of an alternative proposal, of a life that is simpler and nearer to nature than the luxurious *automatos bios* of frs. 16 and 18, and indeed opposed to it.¹⁰ However, even though the connection between vegetarian regime and *automatos bios* is not made explicit, it seems easier to suppose that we are in the same strand of the comic action, and to consider abstention from animal meat as the necessary condition required of mankind if they are to enjoy the happy life.¹¹ We cannot tell what kind of choice the men made, or how the whole thing ended. But it is interesting to observe that life among the savages does not seem to differ very much from life among men: these *thēria*, these wild animals, appear to be quite friendly; and the kind of life they offer is modelled on human lines, since we hear of bread, of legumes and fish being boiled or roasted – which implies cooking – and of warm baths.

Pherecrates' *Agrioi*¹²

Pherecrates' *Agrioi* (*Savages*) seems at first glance to offer quite a different picture. We are able to reconstruct the general drift of this

play, of which some sixteen fragments survive (frs. 5 to 20 K-A), because Plato refers to it, though only briefly, in the *Protagoras*. In this dialogue the sophist Protagoras, defending the possibility of education as well as its utility against the arguments of Socrates, says that life in a polis is at any rate preferable to life among savages such as those recently brought onto the stage by Pherecrates (327cd).¹³ The wild world was clearly depicted in a very negative light in this play, and this conclusion emerges from the fragments too.

Fr. 5 probably describes an assault by the savages on the heroes of the comedy. One character says to another:

ἢ μὴν σὺ σαυτὸν μακαριεῖς = - ὅταν
οὗτοί σε κατορύττωσιν. (B) οὐ δὴτέ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ
τούτους πρότερον, οὗτοι δὲ μακαριοῦσί με.
καίτοι πόθεν ληνοὺς τοσαύτας λήψομαι;

You really will think yourself lucky [...], if
those people put you underground. (B): Oh no! I'll
put them there first, and they will bless me for it.
But where shall I be able to find enough coffins for
them? (fr. 5. 1–4)

This may be interpreted as an allusion to the anthropophagy of the savages:¹⁴ an analogous scene in Aristophanes' *Birds* (343–65), where the birds attack the two heroes, offers a good parallel.¹⁵ But the speaker retains a civilized point of view, for burial of the dead is one of the characteristics that distinguish men from animals.¹⁶

In frs. 7, 8 and 9, someone asks a savage for an explanation of some customs that he obviously finds bizarre. The first two clearly refer to alimentary habits:

μη θαυμάσης·
τῶν γὰρ προτενθῶν ἐσμεν· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθα σύ

Don't be surprised: we are the foretasters, but you didn't
know (fr. 7)

πρίν ἀνακυκῆσαι τὰς ἀπίους ἀρπάζετε

You take the pears before you've stirred the water? (fr.
8)¹⁷

The third fragment is particularly difficult to understand:

οὐδ' ἀποπροσωπίζεσθε κύαμοις; (B) πώμαλλα

(A): Nor wash your face with beans? (B): No, I certainly
don't! (fr. 9)

In addition to the interpretations already proposed – of which the most likely is that it refers to some kind of cream for cleaning the skin, as explained by Pollux (2.48) and Photius (ἀ 2610) with

reference to this fragment¹⁸ – I would like to suggest that it might be connected to Pythagorean lore about beans. In particular, it might be related to the same Empedoclean/Orphic passage that Crates had already made fun of in his *Thēria* fr. 19 (above, p. 455). The fragment, as transmitted in the *Geoponica* 2.35.8 (where it is attributed, together with another fragment, to Orpheus, fr. 291 Kern: see West 1983, 14–15) runs:

δειλοί, «πάνδειλοι», κυάμων ἄπο χειῖρας ἔχεσθαι,
ἴσόν τοι κυάμους φαγέειν κεφαλὰς τε τοκῆων

Wretched, O most wretched people, keep your hands off
beans!

Eating beans is the same as eating the heads of your
parents.

The meaning of ἀποπροσωπίζεσθε is not certain: Hesychius ᾱ 6561 has a tantalizing entry ἀποπροσωπίζεσθαι· ἐκμάσσεσθαι τὸ πρόσωπον ἢ εἰσοπτρίζεσθαι, ‘to resemble facially or to mirror oneself’.¹⁹ But even if the fragment simply refers to washing one’s face with a peculiar kind of cream, the presence of beans, which are compared to human heads in Greek tradition (*Geoponica* 2.35.9, with Detienne 1972, 96–100 and 1977, 134–60), in a play in which cannibalism has already played a role, might be suggestive. The possibility that there is something connected with strange customs of a very specific kind in this fragment is strengthened by the consideration that disgust for beans recalls an attitude that Herodotus attributed to the Egyptians (2.37.5; Lloyd 1976, 168–9). Egypt is explicitly mentioned in the *Agrioi* (fr. 11).²⁰ It is thus possible, as Funaioli (1984–5, 48–9) suggested, that in depicting his savages Pherecrates may have made use of some of the ethnographic material on the Egyptians that we find in Herodotus’ *Histories*, which was also widely known from other sources at the time. In this connection, it is particularly interesting that Herodotus goes to some length to refute the ‘foolish story’ (εὐήθης μῦθος) told by the Greeks, and illustrated in Athenian vase-painting as well, about the attempt by the Egyptians to sacrifice Heracles to Zeus (2.45; Lloyd 1976, 212–14), for it shows that Egyptians were alleged to practise cannibalism. Thus Pherecrates may have parodied material connected with cannibalism in this passage, while at the same time echoing Crates’ earlier play, the *Thēria*.

Fr. 14, a choral song, describes in very clear terms the harsh life of the savages:

ἐνθρύσκοισι καὶ βρακάνοις
καὶ στραβήλοις ζῆν' ὁπότεν δ'
ἤδη πεινῶσιν σφόδρα,
ὥσπερ εἰ τοὺς πουλύποδας
« > νύκτωρ περιτρώ-
γειν αὐτῶν τοὺς δακτύλους

To live on chervil, weeds and wild olives; and when they are very hungry, then like the octopus, gnaw their own toes at night.

The echo of Hesiod's picture of the octopus gnawing at his foot in the cold of the winter (*Works and Days* 524–6 with West 1978, 289–91), while the young maiden stays at home, is easily recognizable, and fits very well into the context of an opposition between civilized life and the wild. To these texts we may add fr. 13:

καί τὰς βαλάνους καὶ τὰς ἀκύλους καὶ τὰς ἀχράδας
περιόντας

And going around [to collect?] the oak acorns, pine acorns and wild pears,

which again refers to quite peculiar kinds of food. All these fragments may allude to some contemporary situation (the verbs give no clear indication), in which case the displacement from Athens might be only geographical. But the mention of acorns, and especially of wild pears (ἀχράδες in fr. 13 and ἀπίους in fr. 8)²¹ opens up the possibility of a chronological shift: for according to Plutarch (*Quaest. Gr.* 303ab), the first men led down from the mountains to the plain by Inachos lived on wild pears (ἀχράδες); wild pears were said to have been discovered by the Greeks in the Peloponnese in the days when that area was still called *Apia*, and that was why they were also called *apioi*.²² The diet of Pherecrates' savages is thus similar to that of primitive man.

The chronological shift is made explicit in fr. 10, which clearly refers to a former time (τότε). Here the characteristics of life among the savages seem to be extended to the early life of all mankind, the πρὸ τοῦ βίος:

οὐ γὰρ ἦν τότε οὔτε Μάνης οὔτε Σηκίς οὐδενί
δοῦλος, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς ἔδει μοχθεῖν ἅπαντ' ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ.
εἶτα πρὸς τούτοισιν ἤλουν ὄρθρῳ τὰ σιτία,
ὥστε τὴν κόμην ὑπηχεῖν θιγγανουσῶν τὰς μύλας.

For in those days no-one had a slave, there was no Manes or Sekis, but the women had to do all the work in the house themselves.

And what's more, they'd grind the corn at break of day,
so that the village rang as they handled the grindstones.

The interest of this fragment is twofold. On the one hand, the non-existence of slaves in primitive times, which was also central to the plot of Crates' *Wild Animals*, has very different consequences here;²³ on the other, an Athenian audience may have recognized an allusion here to the ancient history of their own polis. The fragment is about a κῶμη, a village, and everybody knew that Attica, until the synoecism of Theseus, was inhabited κατὰ κῶμας (Thuc. 1.5.1, 10.2; 2.15.1–2 etc.), and it is difficult not to relate the comic poet's reference to the work of women at the time when there were no slaves to the Herodotean story about the origins of the enmity between Athenians and Pelasgians.²⁴

Pherecrates may thus have combined geographical and chronological extremes (*eschatiai*) in this play, in order to reject them all: in this way, he would have refuted at the same time both the myth of the 'noble savage' living outside the world of the polis, and the myth of the happy life of primitive man. Far from being a life of abundance in a land where everything grows spontaneously, life among the savages is portrayed as being full of hardships, and is anything but idealized.²⁵ In this case, too, we do not know how the comedy ended. The Athenian misanthropes, like Peisetairos and Euelpides in Aristophanes' *Birds*, may have been able to civilise the savages;²⁶ but in that case, we cannot help wondering what kind of political structure they would have created. Be that as it may, the *Savages* of Pherecrates certainly appears to be a play devoted to the defence of the polis as a social institution (Conti Bizzarro 1987; Long 1978). At the same time it is also, as far as we know, the first comedy to bring on to the stage an attempt to escape from the city, and to find an alternative to it. This points to a crisis in Athenian society (Turato 1979, 9–12, 96–104; Cassio 1985).

Aristophanes' *Birds*

Six years later, in 414, two of the three plays chosen for the competition at the Dionysia had escape from the polis as their theme: Aristophanes' *Birds* (which won second prize) and Phrynichus' *Monotropos* (which came third). (The winner was the *Kōmastai* (*Revellers*) of Ameipsias.)

In the *Birds*, Aristophanes brings on to the stage two Athenians who have left their city in search of a quiet place. At the very start, there is an opposition that in a sense gives the key to the whole drama: the Athenians, citizens who live with other citizens, are keen to leave Athenian society, while on the other hand the Scythian Sakas tries every means to force his way into it (30–46). This opposition

must however be qualified, for the two Athenians have no objection to city life as such, and they are not thinking of giving up civilization: they are simply looking for another, quieter (ἀπράγμονα) city, Hellenic if possible, where they can settle and live without any troubles (120–54). Since the kind of city that they are looking for does not seem to exist on earth (except on the shores of the Red Sea: geographical displacement again?), Euelpides asks what the kind of life led by the birds (ὁ μετ’ ὀρνίθων βίος) is like. But once Peisetairus has suggested transforming the sphere of the birds into a walled city (837–8 etc.), the play soon returns to the thought-world of the polis: imperial rule, over men and gods, will be the immediate consequence of this change.²⁷ The two Athenians, who had left in order to find a quiet (ἀπράγμων) place, will in fact reveal themselves as over-active and meddlesome (πολυπράγμονες) themselves. Peisetairus is characterized by the Hoopoe as an innovative old man, ready to undertake novel actions (255–7), and he will involve the birds in his plans, even though to begin with they were described as ignorant and inactive (οὐ πολυπράγμονες, 471). The play thus provides radical demolition of the notion that there could ever be such a thing as a place without any troubles (Bowie 1993, 151).

How is life among the birds characterized? In the parabasis the chorus leader invites the audience to join the birds if they would like to enjoy a life full of happiness:

ὅσα γὰρ ἐνθάδ’ ἐστὶν αἰσχρὰ τῷ νόμῳ κρατούμενα,
ταῦτα πάντ’ ἐστὶν παρ’ ἡμῖν τοῖσιν ὄρνισιν καλὰ.

for everything that is customarily regarded here (in Athens) as disgraceful, is regarded among us birds as excellent (755–6).²⁸

The examples that follow all tend to reveal the *anomia* of the birds: they have no laws to control them, everyone is free to act according to his nature, his φύσις, as the Unjust Logos and Pheidippides in the *Clouds* might have put it.²⁹ But once the city has actually been built, things change, as is shown by the two intruder-scenes (904–1057 and 1337–1469): as the birds live in a city, there is a powerful authority – so much so that birds who attempt to rebel against the democracy are to be roasted and eaten (1583–4).³⁰

There is in fact no way out: on the one hand, the absence of laws, which corresponds to the wild life led by the birds before the foundation of their city, gives a negative connotation to their previous existence; on the other hand, the laws that regulate the City of the Birds do not really differ from the laws that regulated contemporary Athens, and indeed, Nephelokokkygia itself looks just like a twin of imperialist Athens.³¹ That is what makes a direct and unequivocal

interpretation of the *Birds* impossible.³²

The general plot, however, is in line with the tradition that starts for us with Crates' *Theria*: the life of animals is always envisaged from the point of view of its relationship to mankind, and in particular from the point of view of the possible advantages that men may derive from it. There is some resemblance, if not in detail, at least in the extravagant level of the blessings promised to mankind, between frs. 16–18 of Crates' *Theria* and the song of the coryphaeus in *Birds*:

So, if you recognize us as gods, you will have musical prophets to consult at all seasons, in the winter, in the summer, in the moderate heat. And we won't flit away and sit snobbishly up there among the clouds, like Zeus; no, we will be with you and will give to you, to your children, and to your children's children, health- and-wealth, happiness, life, peace, youth, laughter, dances, festivities – and birds' milk. In fact you'll find it possible to tire yourselves out with good things, so wealthy will you all be. (723–36, trs. Sommerstein)

These promises by the birds follow a very amusing scene (588–626) in which Peisetairus answers a series of questions from the coryphaeus, each time describing yet another way in which the reign of the birds will benefit mankind, while Euelpides, playing the role of the buffoon (*bōmolochos*), makes a series of comments, all to the effect that the best thing now that the birds are in control is for him to leave them and go back to earth to take advantage of all the benefits they have promised.³³ The general impression we get is that the birds have been deceived yet again, and that what really matters is the advantages that mankind will enjoy. After this scene and before the song of the coryphaeus that we have just quoted, the chorus sing an ornithological cosmogony, in which they claim the civilizing role usually attributed to Prometheus (685–703).³⁴ If mankind will listen to the birds, they will be able to progress from a condition in which they live 'a feeble life, like to the race of leaves, weaklings modelled from clay, shadowy-strengthless tribes, flightless creatures of a day, suffering mortals' to a degree of knowledge that will enable them to 'tell Prodicus the sophist that from now on he can get lost!' (685–92, trs. Sommerstein). All this clearly shows that escape to the world of animals – or of savages – in fact still involves the idea of progress from a primitive to a civilized condition, brought about by a reversal of roles.³⁵ This civilized state can only be that of the polis, so that these escapist fantasies necessarily end with the integration of the savages – or in this case, the birds – into the structure of an imperialist polis.

Phrynichus' *Monotropos*³⁶

The last play that we shall consider is the *Monotropos* (*The Loner*) of Phrynichus. As we have already seen, this play was produced in the same year as Aristophanes' *Birds*, and was awarded third prize. Thirteen fragments have been preserved (nos. 19–31), of which nos. 19, in which the protagonist presents himself, and 20 are the most important for an understanding of the play:³⁷

ὄνομα δὲ μοῦστι Μονότροπος
ζῶ δὲ Τίμωνος βίον
ἄγαμον, ἄζυγον†, ὀξύθυμον, ἀπρόσοδον,
ἀγέλαστον, ἀδιάλεκτον, ἰδιογνώμονα (fr. 19)

My name is Monotropos, I live the life of Timon, no marriage, no slave,³⁸ hot-tempered, unapproachable, no smile, no conversation, idiosyncratic in my opinions.

τηλικουτοσὶ γέρων
ἄπαις ἀγύναικος

An old man like that, no son, no wife... (fr. 20)

This is clearly someone who avoids social life. The type of the angry old man who leads a rustic life was already well known in comedy,³⁹ but here this type is central to the development of the play.⁴⁰ As fr. 19 comes from the prologue, the situation is slightly different from the opening of the *Savages* and *Birds*, for the protagonist appears to be a kind of hermit already when the play begins; possibly some reversal is going to take place during the course of the action.⁴¹

The allusion to Timon of Athens is particularly significant. Interestingly, even though his own obviously fictional name Monotropos perfectly captures the speaker's way of life, the more plausible name of Timon, possibly a real contemporary Athenian, is used in order to describe it with greater precision. This constitutes a link with Aristophanes' *Birds*, for in that play, Prometheus' hatred of the other gods had been compared to that of Timon towards his fellow citizens (1547–9; see Dunbar 1995, 708–9). In Aristophanes, this is just a passing remark, and for all we know, it may have been so in Phrynichus as well. We learn more about Timon from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, produced a few years later, in 411: there, Timon's story is narrated by the semi-chorus of old women (808–20), to counter the story told by the semi-chorus of old men about young Melanion, who rejected marriage and went off to the mountains and never came back, so intense was his hatred of women.⁴² Timon, say the women, went off, cursing the *πονηροί*? (wicked men) again and again. The fact that his hatred was directed in particular against the *πονηροί*, the wicked,

is emphasized (815–16); his position thus appears not to have been so very different from that of Peisetairos and Euelpides.

Another interesting feature of the legend of Timon, as told by Neanthes of Cyzicus (*FGrHist* 84 F35), lies in the fact that ἀχράδες, wild pears, play an important role in his life: the hero fell from a wild pear tree, was wounded but did not let a physician visit him, and in the end died of the consequences of his fall. Menander in his *Dyskolos* portrays Cnemon, who is a Timon-like figure, as gathering wild pears (100–1); he uses them as projectiles, together with clods of earth and stones, a few lines later (121).⁴³ Perhaps a diet of wild pears was considered suitable for the character of Monotropos as well. Wild pears had been mentioned already among other wild fruits in Pherecrates' *Savages* (frs. 8, 13); and as we have seen (pp. 457–8), this particular kind of wild fruit is specifically associated with the origins of humanity and with primitive life.

This network of allusions points to a relationship between the *Savages*, the *Birds* and the *Monotropos*, by way of the character of a μισοπόνηρος, a Timon. The common elements between the *Thēria* and *Birds* have already been underlined.⁴⁴

It is thus possible to reconstruct, in a very schematic way, a type of comedy in which the action was based on a protagonist who leaves the city and tries to find a better life amongst savages or animals – a type that evolves, in Phrynichus' *Monotropos*, towards the character of the *dyskolos* who chooses to live by himself – but who realises in the end that the only real possibility is to live within a political system, within the polis, despite all its faults.⁴⁵ What might have been the purpose of such descriptions of life amongst the animals or the savages? Clearly it is possible that the political import as well as the immediate butt of the satire might change as the occasion changed, but there is one common theme that connects them: the parody of the myth of the 'noble savage' and the reaffirmation of the polis. The reflections of the Stranger in Plato's *Statesman* on the myth of the evolution of mankind provide a fitting conclusion.⁴⁶ In this myth, the Stranger describes the world in the time of the reign of Cronus: men and animals lived together, there were no wild animals, and mankind lived off the spontaneous production of the earth. But now, the Stranger continues, we live under the reign of Zeus: the question is which of the two kinds of existence is the happier (εὐδαιμονέστερον). The young Socrates refuses to answer; this is the answer then given by the Stranger:

Then, I say, if the nurslings of Cronus, with all their leisure and opportunity for converse with beasts as well as men, used all these advantages for philosophic ends, –

if they made use of their association with each other and with the beasts to learn from every creature that was seen to have any special ability which enabled it to excel others in any way, and with a view to gathering understanding – then in that case we may safely decide that the happiness of mankind in those days vastly surpassed our own. But if they gorged themselves with meat and drink and held the kind of conversations with each other and with the beasts that people nowadays say they did, then again, in my view, the question may be very easily decided. (272 b–d, trs. A.E. Taylor 1961, 279, revised)

The Stranger thus passes a negative judgment on the Golden Age, and his judgment will be confirmed by that of Socrates himself in the *Philebus* (67b 1–2).⁴⁷ In comedy, too, life in the days before the polis, whether it is envisaged as the Land of Cockaigne⁴⁸ or as the world of animals or savages, is not presented nostalgically, as a state of affairs to which it would be good to return. On the contrary, the comic poets seem to have *parodied* the theme of primitive life, joking, as Plato would say, about the stories that people tell about it these days. This accords with the affirmative and stabilizing function of comedy, and indeed of drama in general,⁴⁹ a genre that was acted out within the institutional space of the polis. At the same time, the fact that the theme crops up so frequently at this time betrays tensions within the polis:⁵⁰ behind comedy's refusal to treat the subject in a nostalgic manner, there looms a dangerous, because ambiguous, image of the savage.

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Notes

¹ We find for example in Herodotus' Scythian ethnography the Argippaeans, who

derive their livelihood from the trees under which they dwell, ζῶντες ἀπὸ δένδρεών; nobody injures them, since they are considered sacred; they do not possess weapons; their function is to administer justice to nearby populations (Hdt. 4.23). But we also find the Androphagoi, the most savage of all men, who ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ἥθεα (4.106). On the double perspective in which the savage may be viewed see Turato 1979.

² The former view takes the Hesiodic Myth of the Ages (*Works and Days* 109–201) as its model: this depicts a progressive decline from an original Golden Race to the present generation of mankind, which lives in the Age of Iron. As examples of the second conception we may cite Aesch. *Prometheus Bound* 447–68, 478–506, the famous stasimon from Soph. *Antigone* (332–71) and Critias *Sisyphus*, *TrGF* 43 F19. See Lovejoy & Boas 1935, Detienne 1977, 141–3, and Ruffell in this volume.

³ As for example in Ar. *Geōrgoi*. For the opposition between life in the countryside and in the city see Cassio 1985, 31–3, 139–7, Carter 1986, 76–98 and Gallo 1989; for the *Schlaraffenland* (the Land of Cockaigne) in comedy, Ceccarelli 1996.

⁴ On πράγματα as a general term in comedy, referring in particular to the political activities, law-suits and law-courts that are typical of the city as opposed to the peace of living in the countryside, see Cassio 1985, 32, 145 and Carter 1986, 87. The polis *par excellence* in Attic comedy is naturally Athens. The relationship between the plays discussed here is rapidly sketched in Dunbar 1995, 6.

⁵ On this play see also Ruffell in this volume, pp. 481–3, and Wilkins, pp. 347–8.

⁶ See Gelzer 1960, 185 and Whittaker 1935, 186–7. Meineke (1839, 237) envisaged an *agon* between two allegorical characters, one defending a life of luxury, the other a simpler life; Whittaker (1935, 187) proposed an *agon* in which two speakers, one of them representing the beasts, tried to convince a third party. But the *agon* might simply have served as an exposition, with the second speaker putting up no more than a nominal opposition, as suggested by Bonanno 1972, 88–9; in that case, abstention from meat would be a condition for the life of luxury, not an alternative to it.

⁷ See K-A ad loc. (IV p. 93), Bonanno 1972, 85–9 and Baldry 1953, 54.

⁸ For a detailed commentary on fr. 16 see Carriere 1979, 256–63. I have not followed K-A in attributing the first two lines of this fragment to a single speaker, but have adopted Dindorf's solution and divided them between two interlocutors, as Bonanno (1972, 89), Carriere (1979, 257) and now Tammaro (1984–5) also do. For the piped water referred to in fr. 17 see K-A ad loc.

⁹ The first part comes from Athen. 3.119c (a passage dealing with salt-fish); the second (character B) is transmitted by Pollux 6.53. It was Bergk who suggested that the two fragments should be joined, and this is commonly accepted (see K-A ad loc., p. 95). For the metre (anapaestic tetrameter catalectic, with spondaic close in v. 1 and 4, the so-called 'laconian', used in marching songs, *embateria*) see Bonanno 1972, 98–9.

¹⁰ For the alternative proposal see Meineke 1839, 237, reprinted in K-A IV p. 91. For the pun, see Emped. fr. 141 D-K = 126 Gallavotti: δειλοί, πάνδειλοι, κυάμων ἀπο χείρας ἔχεσθαι. This verse was also connected with Pythagoreanism: see Callim. fr. 553 Pfeiffer. Allusions to, or jokes about, Pythagorean dietary prescriptions are frequent in comedy, particularly in Middle Comedy: cf. e.g. Alexis frs. 201, 223; Aristophon fr. 12, 7–10; Antiphanes frs. 133, 158, 186, 225; but these have a rather different tone from those in Old Comedy; see Detienne 1977, 156–7. See further Garnsey 1992 and 1999, 85–9; Ruffell in this volume, p. 482; and pp. 456–8 below.

¹¹ Comparison with other comic fragments on the *automatos* life of luxury points in this direction: see Carriere 1979, 256–63 and Ceccarelli 1996. Hesiod does not mention friendship between men and animals; but the connection between

vegetarian diet and *automatos bios* is attested in Empedocles fr. 130 D-K = 118 Gall.: ἦσαν δὲ κτῖλα πάντα καὶ ἀνθρώποισι προσηνῇ, □ θῆρές τ' οἰωνοὶ τε, φιλοφροσύνη τε δεδῆει (Gallavotti prints θῆρές τ' ἀνθρώποι, in line 2, as in the manuscript tradition; οἰωνοί is a correction by Sturz, accepted by the majority of editors), and as we have seen (n. 10 above), there was at least one joke about Empedocles' doctrine in this play. It may be added, as Bonanno 1972, 89 points out, that bread, fish and vegetables are mentioned in fr. 16, but not meat.

¹² See also Ruffell in this volume, pp. 493–5.

¹³ 327cd: 'So too in the present case, you must regard any man who appears to you the most unjust (ἀδικώτατος) person ever reared under human laws and society as a just man and a craftsman of justice, if he had to stand comparison with people who lacked education and law courts and laws and any constant compulsion to the pursuit of virtue, but were a kind of wild folk (ἄγριοί τινες) such as Pherecrates the poet brought onto the stage at last year's Lenaia. If you found yourself among such people, as the misanthropes (οἱ μισάνθρωποι) in his chorus did, you would certainly be very glad indeed to meet with Eurybatus and Phrynonidas, and would weep with longing for the wickedness (πονηρία) of the people here.' What follows is also interesting: 'Instead of that, you give yourself fastidious airs (τροφᾶς), Socrates, because everyone is a teacher of virtue to the best of his ability' (327 e). The term τροφή connotes a luxurious life; Protagoras uses it of Socrates (whom nobody ever thought of reproaching for luxurious living) to underline the fact that real τροφή, the really luxurious life, is life in the polis, not in a mythical Golden Age.

¹⁴ Cf. Bothe and Kaibel, cited in K-A; more recently Kraus (1972, 729), who compares the savages to the anthropophagous Cyclopes, and Conti Bizzarro (1987). The context would be an attack of the savages on the Athenians, to which fr. 12, mentioning a contemporary naval weapon, might also refer. A very different interpretation was put forward by Bentley and accepted by Meineke, Kock and Edmonds (poor relatives besieging a rich old man): see K-A ad loc. (VII pp. 107–8).

¹⁵ See in particular lines 393–5: Euelp.: 'But tell me, if we get killed, where are we going to be buried?' Peis.: 'The Pottery Quarter will receive us.' (Eu.: ἐτεὸν ἦν δ' ἄρ' ἀποθάνωμεν, □ κατορυχθρομέθα ποῦ γῆς; Peis.: ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νῶ.) Being left to be eaten by birds and beasts is a traditional horror (*Iliad* 1.5, Soph. *Ajax* 1065 etc.), to which the birds had alluded earlier (348); the Kerameikos, the Pottery Quarter, puns on the double meaning of public burial and earthenware cooking pots (Dunbar 1995, 269, 288–9). These similarities strengthen the idea of seeing an assault of the savages on the heroes in fr. 5, and point to a more general similarity in plot between the *Savages* and the *Birds*. Possibly *Birds* 472–6 (the story of the Crested Lark burying her father in her head) belongs to this constellation; cf. also the discussion of beans below).

¹⁶ Cf. Moschion, *TrGF* 97 fr. 6. 30–3. There is a good example of the relativism of *nomoi* in Herodotus, in the debate held at the court of the Persian king Darius on the differing treatment of the dead by Greeks and Indians (3.38).

¹⁷ The mention of προτένθαι in fr. 7 may be an allusion to the Dorpia, the banquet celebrated on the first day of the Apatouria (cf. Ath. 4.171ce), which would be another reference to Athenian life; in any case, the term refers to a board of Athenian officials responsible for checking the quality of sacrificial meat (cf. also Suda s.v.; schol. Ar. *Ach.* 176, *Clouds* 1197). Because we do not know the context, however, it is difficult to see how this allusion was construed. Fr. 8 probably means 'before they are ripe': cf. Alexis fr. 34 = Ath. 14.650c.

¹⁸ See Funaioli 1984–85 for a thorough discussion. κύαμος might refer to a kind of water-lily with very large leaves, typical of the Nile (Theophr. *HP* 4.8.7), which according to Pliny *NH* 21.87 is very similar to the plant which Romans call *personata* (burdock?). The term προσωπεῖον (mask) might be consistent with these testimonia,

so another possible meaning for the fragment might be: ‘And don’t you hide your face under Egyptian water-lilies?’ Alternatively, creams for cleaning the skin are well attested in the ancient world (Funaioli 1984–5): a cream made from beans might be used as a cheap alternative for more expensive preparations (Funaioli 46: *lomentum* (Martial 3.42.1, Plin. *NH* 18.117) is first attested by Cicero *adFam.* 8.14.4, but many other such powders and creams, such as *νίτρον*, *κονία*, *ρύμμα* and *ομήγμα* were available in the fifth century, and the Athenian might be wondering whether the savages know of such civilized devices).

¹⁹ For the meaning of ἐκμάσσεσθαι (which is however a correction, accepted by editors, of ἐκμάλασσεσθαι, transmitted by the MSS) compare Hesych. ε 1518, 1519: ἐκμαγήαι· ἐκτυπωθήναι and 1520: ἐκμαχθεῖς· ἐξομοιωθεῖς.

²⁰ In connection with Lycurgus, as we see from line 2 and from our source, the scholia on Ar. *Birds* 1294 (K-A ad loc.). Unfortunately the fragment is badly transmitted: οἶμαι δ’ αὐτὸν κινδυνεύειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ~ – □ τοῖκους λέξεις, ἵνα μὴ συνέχῃ τοῖσι Αὐκούργου πατριώταις (‘I think he is in danger of..to Egypt; you will say houses [text corrupt], so that you won’t be distressed by the fellow-countrymen of Lycurgus’), but the overall meaning is made clearer by the gloss in Hesychius π 1133: πατριώτης παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὁ βάρβαρος καὶ οὐ πολίτης (the Athenians use the word πατριώτης to mean someone who is a barbarian and not a citizen’ (cf. also K-A ad loc.), i.e. Lycurgus is really a foreigner and not an Athenian. This Lycurgus is said by Aristophanes (*Birds* 1296) to be nicknamed Ibis, and is thus connected with Egypt (see Dunbar 1995, 641–2): this is of interest in view of the general thematic connections between the *Agrioi* and the *Birds*. Moreover, in Cratinus fr. 32 Lycurgus wears a *kalasiris*, which is an Egyptian kind of tunic (Hdt. 2.81.1; Lloyd 1976, 342): his connection with Egypt is clear.

²¹ On acorns as food see Mason 1995. In fr. 34 of Teleclides’ *Sterroi*, ‘The Tough Guys’ (that is, men who are prepared for anything), wild pears are contrasted with more interesting kinds of nourishment: φιλῶ πλακοῦντα θερμόν, ἀχράδας οὐ φιλῶ, □ χαίω λαγῶσις ἐπ’ ἀμύλῳ καθημένοις (‘I like a hot flat-cake, I don’t like wild pears, I enjoy roast hare sitting on a fine cake’). The play may have involved the metamorphosis of men into animals: see Kaibel’s reconstruction of the plot (K-A VII pp. 679–80).

²² Plutarch’s question concerns an Argive festival at which the children called themselves βαλλαχράδας. It is not clear how this name should be interpreted: either the children threw wild pears at each other in a mock battle, or they struck a wild pear tree: see Nilsson 1906, 465. Pausanias mentions a very ancient *xoanon* of Hera at Argos made of wild pear wood (2.17.5). In Plato’s *Laws* (8.845b) pears, like apples, pomegranates and other fruits which cannot be preserved, may be taken without permission, as opposed to raisins and figs (ἀτίων πέρι καὶ μήλων καὶ ῥοῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων, αἰσχροὺν μὲν μηδὲν ἔστω λάθρα λαμβάνειν).

²³ As Athenaeus clearly realised: he cites the fragments of Crates’ *Thēria* amongst other comedies (two of them, what is more, by Pherecrates: the *Metalleis* and the *Persae*) as evidence for the absence of slaves in the land of Cockaigne (6.267e–70a). All these texts have positive connotations, but he does not mention the *Savages* here. He refers to the absence of slaves in this comedy earlier, in a different context (6.263b). For a detailed commentary on this fragment see Conti Bizzarro 1990–3, who thinks that this is a mocking allusion to the *automatos bios* described by Crates fr. 16.

²⁴ Hdt. 6.137.3: ‘The daughters of the Athenians used to go to the Enneakrounos for water, for in those days neither they nor any of the other Greeks yet possessed household slaves; and whenever they went there, the Pelasgians used to rape them out of sheer arrogance and contempt.’ On this frequently discussed passage see e.g. Paradiso 1993.

25 There may also have been a reference to the hardships of life amongst the savages in fr. 6 where, in an amusing inversion, someone asks who is the worst citharode: according to Democritus (68 B144 D–K), music was one of the last arts to have developed. The Chairis who is said in this fragment to be the second-worst citharode after Meles is perhaps to be identified with an aulos-player called Chairis mentioned by Aristophanes in *Birds* 858 (Dunbar 1995, 507–8).

26 Thus Long 1978; this is a plausible suggestion, based on a passage of Themistius: καὶ ἐπαινεῖν μὲν τὸν Προμηθεά, ὄντινα δὴ ὑπολαμβάνειν χρή, ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μονήρεις καὶ μονοτρόπους ὥσπερ τοὺς λύκους ἢ τὰς παρδάλεις, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἱλιγγιᾶν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καθάπερ τοὺς ‘ Ἀγρίους οὓς ἐδίδαξε Φερεκράτης: ‘and praise Prometheus: we should not imagine that he made men solitary and reclusive like wolves and panthers, and that they would lose their heads when confronted with a group, like the *Savages* that Pherecrates brought on stage’ (Or. 26. 323c). See also n. 34 below.

27 Nephelokokkygia, the city of clouds and cuckoos, is built on word-play about the place (*topos*) where the birds live: a *polos*, a sphere (179, 184), which will become a polis, a city: ἦν δ’ οἰκίσητε τοῦτο καὶ φάρξηθ’ ἅπαξ, □ ἐκ τοῦ πόλου τούτου κεκληήσεται πόλις, □ ὥστ’ ἄρξετ’ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ὥσπερ παρνόπων, □ τοὺς δ’ αὖ θεοὺς ἀπολεῖτε λιμῷ Μηλίῳ (183–6: see Dunbar 1995, 192–4). ‘But once you found it and fortify it, it’ll be called a polis instead of a pole, and you’ll rule over men as if they were locusts, and you can destroy the gods by means of a Melian famine’. In this fantastic construction there is a very clear allusion to the Athenian empire, based on thalassocracy, which controlled all maritime trade (Thuc. 2.38, 62.2–3; ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.6, 11–12 etc.; for the relationship between this and the subject-matter of comedy see Ceccarelli 1996; on the blockade of exchanges in comedy in general see Auger 1979 (*Birds* at 81–8)).

28 See also 777–9 on the father-son relationship.

29 1075–82, esp. 1077–8: ἐμοὶ δ’ ὁμιλῶν □ χρῶ τῇ φύσει, σκίρτα, γέλα, νόμιζε μηδὲν αἰσχρόν.

30 There is another reference to these politically incorrect birds at 1688–9, just before the marriage between Peisetairos and Basileia, which gives an ambiguous connotation to the final *kōmos*. For the evolution from *anomia* to tyranny see Bertelli 1983. Dunbar 1995, 720 plays down the importance of these references, seeing them only as passing jokes against the Athenian readiness to see a threat against their democracy in any unusual activity.

31 This qualifies the assertion by Dunbar (1995, 1) that this is the only one of Aristophanes’ extant plays that concentrates not on life at Athens but on a non-human world. For precedents for comic animal choruses – which however do not imply a world outside the polis – see Sifakis 1971 and Dunbar 1995, 228.

32 On the *Zweischichtigkeit* (two-level structure) of the *Birds*, see Zimmermann 1983, 70–1. His remark that it is impossible to identify with the two Athenian heroes is particularly interesting.

33 At line 598, for example, when Euelpides hears that the birds will give advice on which trading-voyages are likely to be profitable, he exclaims: ‘I’ll buy a cargo-boat and become a shipowner – I’m not going to stay here with you!’ (κούκ ἂν μεῖναιμι παρ’ ὑμῖν). At 607–8 Peisetairos says that men will live longer, because the birds will give them three hundred extra years of life, by deducting them from their own years. Peisetairos’ conclusion is equally revealing: ‘and we shall immediately receive all those blessings, just by chucking a few grains of wheat at them (the birds)’ (624–6).

34 πάντα δὲ θνητοῖς ἐστὶν ἀφ’ ἡμῶν τῶν ὀρνίθων τὰ μέγιστα (‘and mortals derive all their greatest blessings from us birds’, 708) is clearly modelled on Aeschylus *PV* 505: πᾶσαι τέχναι βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθέως (‘mankind derive all

their crafts from Prometheus'). Indeed, the whole of *Birds* 685–92 and 708–22 is strongly reminiscent of Aesch. PV442–68 and 476–506. Prometheus himself will appear in the new city later on (1494), to help Peisetairos with his advice – advice for which Prometheus, interestingly, gives the reason: αἰ ποτ' ἀνθρώποις γὰρ εὖνους εἴμ' ἐγώ, 'I was always well disposed towards mankind' (1545). But now that Peisetairos has been given wings (801–4), he ought to be regarded as a bird! [There may perhaps have been an allusion to Prometheus in Pherecrates' *Savages*: see n. 26 above. – FDH]

³⁵ On the reversal and mixing of the categories of man and animal in comedy, see Said 1988: on *Birds* in particular see 82–6.

³⁶ On this play see also Ruffell in this volume, pp. 494–5.

³⁷ For the relationship between Phrynichus' *Monotropos*, the legend of Timon, and Menander's *Dyskolos* see Gorler 1963; the words addressed by Gorgias to Cnemon in the *Dyskolos* after he has rescued him from the well (694–7) might be an echo of Phrynichus fr. 20 (Gorler 274). I will not enter here into the question of whether such a person actually existed: Gorler's idea (273), that the ancient theme of an individual who is disgusted with his fellow men and wants to get away from their society, was attached by Phrynichus to a real person, and that the joke persisted, seems to me convincing: 'Phrynichos' *Monotropos* ist also nicht "die erste dramatische Bearbeitung der Timonlegende", sondern in diesem Stuck wurde zum erstenmal der Name Timons mit einem langst geschaffenen und dem Publikum wohlbekannten Typ, dem des ausgewanderten μισοπόνηρος, in Verbindung gebracht.' ('Phrynichus' *Monotropos* is thus not "the first dramatic treatment of the Timon legend", but the name of Timon was associated for the first time in this play with a type that had been created long ago and that was well known to the public: the μισοπόνηρος who had removed himself from the city.') So too Armstrong 1987; *contra* Pelling 1988, 291–3, who sees Timon as a legendary figure. The type of the misanthrope was to be frequently brought onto the stage in later times.

³⁸ The text is corrupt. K-A print †ἀζυγον†; Hermann proposed ἄδουλον in its place, which suggests that the play might be related to the theme of the absence of slaves among animals (Crates' *Thēria*) or at the time of Cronus (Athen. 6.267e–70a) discussed above (pp. 454, 458). The context of the fragment (Photius α 375, printed in K-A ad loc.) shows clearly that we need the word ἄδουλον at some point, but it is difficult to know precisely where.

³⁹ One example is the description of Demos at *Knights* 40–2: νῶν γάρ ἐστι δεσπότης □ ἄγροικος ὀργήν, κυαμοτρώξ, ἀκράχολος, □ Δῆμος, Πυκνίτης, δύσκολον γερόντιον □ ὑπόκωφον ('we two have a master who's rustic in his bad temper, a bean-chewer, quick to be irritated – Demos of the Pnyx, a peevish little hard-of-hearing old man': again, the reference to the eating of beans is particularly interesting).

⁴⁰ 'Für uns der erste Versuch einer Charakterkomödie' ('from our point of view, the first attempt at a comedy of character'), Körte 1941, 920.

⁴¹ As suggested by comparison with the series of plays from Middle and New Comedy that have as their subject precisely the reversal of a situation like this: Görler 1963, 280–5.

⁴² Both stories are obviously adapted to suit their context. Nevertheless, Timon is described in words very similar to those of Phrynichus (frs. 19, 20), with adjectives formed in just the same way, with the negative prefix α-: Τίμων ἦν τις αἰδρυτός ἀβάτοις τὸ πρόσωπον εὖ σκώλοις περιεργμένος, ('Once there was a man called Timon, a man of no fixed abode, whose face was hemmed around with impassable briars') (808–10).

⁴³ On this 'wild-pear motif' see Schmid 1959, 161–2; Gorler 1963, 269.

⁴⁴ On the tradition to which *Birds* belongs see Newiger 1975; the formal

peculiarities of the play (the treatment of the chorus, the duplication in the action (cf. Dunbar 1995, 9–10) etc.) are to be explained according to him (281–2) by the fact that this play represents the most accomplished example of a lost type of comedy.

⁴⁵ The *Seriphioi* (*Seriphians*) of Cratinus, produced around 428–25 (Geissler 1925, 31), should perhaps be added to the group of plays that we have examined. Fragment 224, οἰκοῦσι φεύγοντες, αἰδρυτον κακὸν ἄλλοις ('they live in flight, a plague on others, of no fixed abode') and fr. 223, εἴτα Σάκας ἀφικνῆ καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβούς, ('and then he reaches the Sakae, the Sidonians and the Erembi') might refer to withdrawal to faraway countries (cf. K-A ad loc.); but in fr. 223 line 1, comparison with Hdt. 7.64, where Sakai is said to be a collective Persian name for the Scythians, tells against Holstenius' commonly accepted emendation Σάβας for the MS reading Σάκας; αἰδρυτος, 'of no fixed abode', is used of Timon at Ar. *Lysistr.* 808 (n. 42 above).

⁴⁶ The myth: Plato *Statesman* (*Politicus*) 268d–274e; the reign of Cronus is described at 271d–72c. See Scodel 1987, 80–3; earlier discussions in Skemp 1952, 82–111, Taylor 1961, 206–15.

⁴⁷ Socrates here denies that pleasure is the greatest blessing for man, and would do so even if all animals were to declare themselves in favour of this opinion.

⁴⁸ See Baldry 1953, who shows that it is impossible to regard such descriptions as escapes from reality, and Ceccarelli 1996.

⁴⁹ See Zimmermann 1983, 65–6, 75; Turato 1979, 11–12, 111. Turato also attempts to identify the political groups that may lie behind this 'ideology of the savage'.

⁵⁰ It is important to underline the fact that the theme of escape from the city to a primitive life, as well as the related theme of an escape to the Land of Cockaigne (Athen. 6.267e–70a) appear in comedy from about 435 onwards; in other words, most of these plays date from the period of the Peloponnesian War, which marks the beginning of a crisis. Thucydides depicts the changes that occurred in the cities and the progression towards ὁμότης, cruelty like that of wild beasts, most explicitly and most vividly in the case of the *stasis* at Corcyra (3.82–84, esp. 82.1 and 84.2: τῶν νόμων κρατήσασα ἢ ἀνθρωπεΐα φύσις): see Turato 1979, 38–40.

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THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN: UTOPIA AND UTOPIANISM IN THE FRAGMENTS OF OLD COMEDY

Ian Ruffell

The study of utopia in Old Comedy has not been well served by either literary critics or historians. Because of their customary focus on Aristophanes, literary critics have taken *Birds*, and to a lesser extent *Ekklesiazousai*, as paradigms of utopian comedy, and thus neglected a range of other comic utopias. When they have discussed the comic fragments, their approach has been piecemeal and over-synchronic, with little sense of the dramatic development of different types of utopia.¹ As for historians, they have frequently overlooked or ignored Old Comedy: at best they might cite one of the more picturesque fragments, but without any real discussion of the social, historical or literary context.² In this chapter, I attempt to introduce a corrective to these trends by presenting the evidence for utopia and utopianism in the fragmentary fifth-century comedians. I concentrate on three important types of utopia which are often ignored by Aristophanic critics, but which are important for any assessment of the literary and cultural significance of the concept in Old Comedy.

The first part of the paper looks at the representation of Golden Ages and lands of supernatural abundance ('*automatist* utopias'). The evidence for these is relatively full, and, unusually for the comic fragments, it is possible to pursue the chronological development of this theme with some certainty. Beginning with Kratinos' *Ploutoi*, my twin focus will be the means by which these comic utopias are established and the interaction that we can see being played out between ideology and utopia. I pursue the development of this type of utopia in subsequent plays, arguing that it should be seen for the most part as an expression of radical popular idealism. In the second part, I consider more directly historical scenarios, and especially the *nostalgic* representation of Athenian history. I emphasize that audience interpretation varies substantially according to the different articulations of utopia in relation to plot. This section concentrates on Eupolis' *Dēmoi*, which should be seen as presenting a radically conservative form of utopia.

The automatist utopia and the historical, nostalgic utopia have very different implications, but they are presented for the most part in a positive and unproblematic fashion. However, the comic poets were not unaware of the double-edged possibilities of utopia, and the final part of the paper examines the various ways in which, in the course of the fifth century, the concept of utopia was problematized and questioned in comedy. The difficulties caused by the fragmentary state of the evidence are particularly acute here, but nevertheless, we can see that as the genre of Old Comedy developed, comic dramatists were elaborating the idea of utopia as a self-conscious contribution to the literary and political discourse of Athens.

Before moving on to consider the evidence in detail, it is necessary to make explicit the definition and scope of 'utopia', as I am using it here. My definition is intentionally loose and derives from the inventing of the concept by Thomas More, in his book *Utopia* (1516; Surtz 1964). This rested on a well-known pun on οὐ-τόπος and εὐ-τόπος (*ou-topos* and *eu-topos*) – it is a place which does not exist, that is not *here*, but which is also good. Admittedly, the term *eu-* (good) offers a range of meaning, but in practice the usual assumption today (and, it seems, in More's own work) is that utopia is an ideal or near-ideal place.

Although it might appear anachronistic to discuss productions of the late fifth century in terms of a concept that was invented over two thousand years later, and which also constitutes a specific literary form,³ this can be justified in terms of both the origins of More's work, and the critical heritage. More's *Utopia* represents a synthesis of, on the one hand, Christian ideas of Eden and, on the other hand, Greek (especially Platonic) constitutional models.⁴ It is clear not only that later critical and literary practice has accepted either branch of the tradition as utopian, but also that both the 'Edenic' and the 'constitutional' branches are present in the Greek tradition from our earliest authors onwards.⁵ Thus it is not doing undue violence either to the idea itself or to its historical origins to describe Greek comedy in terms of utopia and utopianism.

The τόπος (*topos*) element is also important here: utopia is always associated with the construction of a world. This does not mean, however, that I am defining utopia narrowly as the fictional world of the play, as is the trend in Aristophanic scholarship.⁶ Utopias can be narrated, as in More's book, or propositional, that is, inherent in beliefs, attitudes, wishes etc. of characters within a fictional world. This insistence on the plurality of contexts in which we can claim to find utopias is in line with a number of theorists of utopia and utopianism, though it also converges with recent accounts of possible worlds in literary theory.⁷ The plurality of utopias has been

elaborated by some into a ‘utopian mentality’ or ‘utopian consciousness’. This is something I do not have space to discuss fully here, though I have found some suggestive material in such thinkers, especially in the work of Karl Mannheim (1936) and Paul Ricoeur (1986).⁸

1. Golden ages and lands of plenty

At *Deipnosophistai* 6.267e to 270a, Athenaios quotes fragments from a series of comedies which he claims demonstrate that there was no slavery in the remote past. The fragments certainly form a coherent group, but, except in one instance,⁹ they do not explicitly demonstrate an absence of slavery. Baldry (1953) has argued convincingly that these fragments seem to have been selected and brought together for their distinctive environment, and this *may* be due to Athenaios lifting the collection in its entirety from an earlier source with different concerns.¹⁰ The principal feature of these fragments is massive natural abundance, especially of food and drink, an abundance which, especially by the middle of the sequence, is described at great length and often carried to sublime heights of silliness.¹¹ Baldry has suggested that these plays all present the αὐτόματος βίος (cf. Plato *Politikos* 271e4), a life where everything is produced of its own accord, and this we may certainly interpret as utopian.

It is not my intention here to give a definitive account of these plays,¹² but rather to draw out important themes associated with the automatist utopias and to assess their ideological implications. I stress, however, that the image of utopia is not static in these plays, but undergoes significant development over time, as comic poets react against one another, drawing upon different sources, expanding existing themes or introducing new variants. Uniquely, we can in this case give a relatively full account of comic intertextuality and comic rivalry in action, since Athenaios explicitly states (268d7–e6) that he presents the plays in order of performance: Kratinos’ *Ploutoi* (*Wealth-gods*), Krates’ *Thēria* (*Wild Animals*), Telekleides’ *Amphiktuones* (*Amphiktuon and followers*), Pherekrates’ *Metalles* (*Miners or Diggers*) and Persai (*Persians*), Aristophanes’ *Tagenistai* (*Fryers*).

It is impossible to know how many plays were available to (or included by) the compiler of the list, but there is a strong possibility that Athenaios preserves fragments from at least the majority of plays that were written on this theme. An impression of completeness is reinforced by the fact that Athenaios also refers (6.270a5–7) to plays which he says were unperformed, ἀδιδασκτά: Nikophon’s *Seirenes* (*Sirens*) and Metagenes’ *Thouriopersai* (*Thourian-Persians*). Presumably this means that no record was preserved of these in the Athenian *didaskaliai*, and there are a number of potential explanations for this.

They may have circulated as reading texts,¹³ or have been placed fourth or fifth at the Dionysia and not officially recorded, if we accept that there was no reduction in the number of plays produced during the Peloponnesian War.¹⁴ Alternatively, they may have been performed outside Athens, either in local Attic theatres, or further abroad. Both *Seirenes* and *Thouriopersai* have strong affinities with the Greek West, and it is possible that these two plays, which are evidently late in the sequence, were written for performance in south Italy or Sicily, and are evidence of the diffusion of Attic comedy.¹⁵

(a) *Kratinos' Ploutoi: Ideology and Utopia*

The sequence of plays begins with Kratinos' *Ploutoi*, 'blazing a trail' in Gomme's apt rendering of Athenaios.¹⁶ This play is a particularly good focus for discussion of the 'automatist' utopia, since papyrus fragments preserving the parodos and part of the following scene or scenes give a good idea of how the utopian world fitted into the play as a whole.¹⁷ The utopian world, as quoted by Athenaios, is a mythological one – the reign of Kronos:

οἷς δὴ βασιλεὺς Κρόνος ἦν τὸ παλαιόν,
ὅτε τοῖς ἄρτοις ἡστραγάλιζον, μᾶζαι δ' ἐν ταῖσι παλαίστραις
Αἰγίναϊαι καταβέβληντο δρυπετεῖς βόλοις τε κομῶσαι

.....those over whom Kronos was king long ago,
when they played knuckle-bones with bread rolls, and on the exercise-grounds barley-cakes
from Aigina had fallen, ripened on the tree and fringed with clods(?).¹⁸ (fr. 176)

This world of astonishing natural abundance and its location in the reign of Kronos derive from Hesiod, where it is described in the following terms:

καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα
αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον.

and the plough-land with its gift of wheat bore fruit of its own accord, plentiful and ungrudged.
(Works and Days 117–18)¹⁹

Automatism is clearly implicit in the abundance portrayed in fr. 176, and provides the link to the other plays cited by Athenaios. The influence of Hesiod is more obvious in fr. 363. The play from which this derives is unknown, but is almost certainly *Ploutoi*. The Hesiodic statement about automatism is elaborated into a comic list:

αὐτομάτῃ δὲ φέρει τιθύμαλλον καὶ σφάκον πρὸς αὐτῷ
ἀσφάραγον κύτισόν τε, νάπαισιν δ' ἀνθήρικος ἐνηβᾷ,
καὶ φλόμον ἄφθονον ὥστε παρεῖναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγροῖσιν.

And of its own accord it bears spurge and sage-apple
besides,
wild asparagus and tree-medick (and asphodel blooms in
the valleys)
and sage ungrudged, so as to be available for all the
country-folk.

(Kratinos, fr. 363)

Although some doubt remains over the origin of this fragment,
both automatism and general Hesiodic elements are clearly important
to the play, and this becomes more obvious when considering the plot
in detail. It depends upon some complex premises, which are set out
in the parodos:

	(Χο.) ὦν δ' οὐνεκ' ἐφήσαμεν [
10	πεύσεσθ' ἤδη. Τι τᾶνες μὲν γενεάν ἐσμ[εν Πλοῦτοι δ' ἐκαλούμεθ' ὅτ' [ἦρχε Κρόνος τότε δ' ἦν φωνήνθ' ὅτε τρέκνα πατήρ κατέπιν' ἀκόνας
15	κλωγμόν πολὺν αἰνετὸς ὑμῖν
	...
22	(Χο.) ὥς δὲ τυραννίδος ἀρχὴ λ[έλυται δῆμος δὲ κρατεῖ, δεῦρ' ἐσύθημεν πρὸς ὁμ[αιμόν τ' ὄντ'
25	αὐτοκασίγνητόν τε παλαιὸν ζητοῦντε[ς] κεί σαθρὸν ἤδη.

9 [ἦκειν Koerte: [ῶδ' ἐλθεῖν Herter 13 τρέκνα πατήρ
Pieters: π[αιδ' αὐτοῦ Vitelli 24 ὁμ[αιμόν τ' ὄντ' ed. pr.
coll. fr. 478

[Chorus:] And the reasons why we said....,
you will now learn.

We are of the race of Titans
and we were called Ploutoi when Kronos was king,
and at that time there were speaking animals²⁰ > when
the father
gulped down his children with whetstones,
to be praised with much clucking from you.

[Chorus:] And as the rule of the tyranny is over,
and the people are in power,
we hurried here to our kinsman,

our ancient brother,
seeking him even if he is already in decay (fr. 171.9–26).²¹

The plot appears to operate by collapsing three different types of material – political, poetic/dramatic and mythological. The mythological element is based on the succession myth of Hesiod's *Theogony*, and its reversal.²² The chorus of 'Wealth-gods' are, as they explain to their anonymous interlocutor and the audience, Titans, and their origin is in the time of Kronos. The identity of the chorus and their connection with the landscape, and fall, of Kronos is not comic invention but derives from the description by Hesiod of the fate of the Golden Race of men at *Works and Days* 121–6:

10 (Χο.) ὧν δ' οὐνεκ' ἐφήσαμεν [
πεύσεσθ' ἤδη.
Τιτᾶνες μὲν γενεάν ἐσμι[εν
Πλοῦτοι δ' ἐκαλούμεθ' ὅτ' [ἦρχε Κρόνος
τότε δ' ἦν φωνήνθ' ὅτε τρέκνα πατήρ
κατέπιν' ἀκόνας
15 κλωγμόν πολὺν αἶνετὸς ὑμῖν
...
22 (Χο.) ὥς δὲ τυραννίδος ἀρχὴ λ[έλυται
δῆμος δὲ κρατεῖ,
δεῦρ' ἐσύθημεν πρὸς ὁμ[αιμόν τ' ὄντ'
25 αὐτοκασίγνητόν τε παλαιὸν
ζητοῦντε[ς] κεί σαθρόν ἤδη.

but since the earth hid this
race from view,
they are spirits, according to
the will of great Zeus,
good, earthly, the guardians of
mortal men, ...
givers of wealth.²³

In the chorus' new, improved version of the myth, it seems that when Zeus removed Kronos, the Ploutoi were imprisoned. Now that the rule of the tyrant (Zeus) is over, the chorus are able to return.²⁴

Hesiod is not the only influence on the plot and world-construction of *Ploutoi*. Kratinos' play has certain structural affinities with *Prometheus Luomenos*, at least in the initial scenario: the chorus are Titans and they attend the release of their brother (fr. 171.25–6, cf. Aesch. fr. 322 Mette).²⁵ However, it is not clear that the identification of characters or the dramatic action is particularly close beyond these parallels. Certainly the development of the plot seems to be different.²⁶ Another potential dramatic intertext may be of more importance here: a previous, probably comic, version of the succession

myth, to which the chorus make reference in lines 13–15.²⁷ The influence of this earlier play may go beyond the adoption of a myth. The description of the end of tyranny, especially δῆμος δὲ κρατεῖ, ‘the people are in power’ (line 23), strongly suggests Athenian rather than divine politics. If this is the correct context, then the obvious candidate for an ἀρχὴ and a τυραννίς (‘rule’ and ‘tyranny’) is, of course, Perikles, not just because of his historical position, but principally because of his frequent appearance in comedy as Zeus and/or a tyrant.²⁸ It may be that the play alluded to earlier in the parodos also featured extensive use of such metaphors.

If *Ploutoi* here reflects a historical event, then there is the possibility of establishing a *terminus post quem* for the Athenaios sequence of fragmentary plays. The aftermath of the *demos* fining Perikles and stripping him of his *stratēgia* in 430 BCE would fit well.²⁹ However, it remains possible that the deposing of either Zeus himself or Perikles-as-Zeus is purely comic invention. Nevertheless it is probable, at least, that what the parodos of *Ploutoi* represents is a collision between the mythological, the real and the poetic-dramatic, revolving around the metaphor of Perikles as Zeus. Thus the premises of the plot and the fictional world are constructed as something rather more complex than straightforward myth burlesque.

The development of the story seems to follow similar principles. The Hesiodic Golden Age, which the chorus represent, is set to return in some form, but within the context of fifth-century Athens. There is no explicit statement of this return, though either that or a description of the past anticipating such a return may be the context of fr. 172:

αὐτόματα τοῖσι θεὸς ἀνίει
τάγαθά

the god sent up good things to
them of their own accord.

The identity of the god here is uncertain: possibly he is the equally mysterious brother whom the chorus have come in search of.³⁰ However, more interesting for my current purposes is that when this fragment is cited in collections of proverbs,³¹ it is suggested that it applies ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπραγμόνως εὐδαίμονούντων, ‘with reference to those who have good fortune without exertion’. This fits closely with the events immediately following the parodos.

The chorus have in fact turned up just in time for a trial, that of Hagnon, son of Nikias, a politician prominent in the 430s and early 420s.³² The transitional and trial scenes are highly fragmentary, but do allow us to see that the central issue here is just or unjust acquisition of wealth, both in general (πλουτουῦσι]ν ἀδίκως ἐνθάδε, ‘those who are unjustly wealthy here,’ fr. 171.46) and in the specific

(1) οὐδὲν οὐ πλουτεῖ δικαιοῦς ἐνθάδε ὡστε [clarification]
 70 (2) ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀρχαιοτάτους γ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἔργων
 πένθ' ὅσ' ἐστ' αὐτοῖς, τὰ μὲν [γ'] ἐξ οἰκίαν, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀγρῶν
 (3) ἐλαμεινόσιν ὁρούσις ἡ... συλλέγεσθαι
 Νεκίος δορυφόρος ἦν καὶ μὲν τε καὶ πλοῦσις []
 Πειθίου μισθώσις ...
 71 τὰ μὲν [γ'] ἐξ οἰκίαν [ἀνέλεον Καίτοι, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀγρῶν Γουμένε 73 καὶ μὲν τε
 καὶ κλοῦσις ἄσπις ποικίλται ἐλ. πρ.] καὶ] ἔσται

[?]: This man is not justly wealthy here, and so he'll be made to cry in pain.

[?]: No, his wealth is in fact ancient: he had from the beginning

all the property he now has, either from his houses or his estates.

[?]: I shall amend the accusation, speaking more clearly.

Nikias was a merchant, working and toiling.

a hireling of Peithias... (*Ploutoi* fr. 171.69–74)

The return of the *Ploutoi* manifests itself, initially at least, in a judgment on the distribution of wealth in Athens.³³ The suspicion of new wealth, especially that obtained by obvious commercial activity and economic *polupragmosunē* ('meddlesome overactivity'), has conservative implications, though this needs much qualification. It represents a traditionally aristocratic viewpoint,³⁴ though it is easy to see such an ideological position being acceptable to a majority of the audience. Certainly we have no evidence of any popular demand in fifth-century Athens for economic change towards redistribution or collectivisation, and what redistribution there was took place within an adaptation of traditional aristocratic frameworks of consumption and display. In addition, one may point to ownership of land being of ideological and economic importance for all classes at Athens.

In the trial of Hagnon, the judgment on wealth is also a vehicle for political abuse of a specific individual (or individuals). Attacking prominent politicians in terms of class is, of course, a staple feature of comedy, and the specific concern with νεοπλουτοί (*nouveaux riches*) reappears in Kratinos' *Seriphioi*, which I discuss below (pp. 492–3). Such abuse should not be interpreted narrowly in terms of the interests of one section of the audience. Two features in the comic tradition suggest a much wider appeal. Firstly, all leaders are targets, with the specific type of abuse varying from target to target, as comparison with the treatment of Perikles in particular suggests. And secondly, regardless of possible authorial motivation, abuse of prominent politicians *in any terms* would be attractive to the *demos* and indeed advance its political interest.³⁵

In sum, we can see the *Ploutoi* reinforcing dominant ideologies of both political power and wealth. However, I want to add a more speculative possibility, that the attack on νεοπλουτοί also exploits economic concerns of the lower classes – partly anxiety about

economic change, and partly anxiety about the influence of capital *per se*. While the ideology of wealth in Athens was relatively stable, excess could lead to envy and even suspicions of tyranny. Indeed, the primary dramatic connotation for the term νεόπλουτος, which lies behind this passage, is tyranny.³⁶ Commercial activity is a particularly conspicuous form of rapidly increasing wealth, and emphasis on this may in fact articulate deeper concerns about the role of wealth in society. In particular, the emphasis here on *dike* (justice) reminds us that political corruption, hypocrisy and deception are often alleged in comedy to stem from economic motives.

This discussion of the trial scene would imply a basically conservative role for the return of the Ploutoi. Yet the chorus of Ploutoi stand for more than the possession of wealth in accordance with notions of *dikē*. They also identify themselves with the utopian age of Kronos, which at first sight appeals to rather different interests. As we have seen, this represents an end to (agricultural) toil, and implicitly a universal distribution of the necessities of life without labour, and, indeed, trade. By abolishing economic differences, the automatist utopia, it seems to me, poses radical questions to the economic *status quo* at Athens, even if it offers no practical answers.

The automatist utopia should be seen in the context of utopia as a means of articulating popular grievances and popular dissent. The most obvious example of this is the widespread use of (equally 'unrealizable') utopian models in the period of the English Revolution, as discussed by Christopher Hill in his book *The World Turned Upside Down?*³⁷ Of these, the most notable examples are the Levellers, who in part supported their movement for political reform with a mythical vision of pre-Norman England, and the Diggers (or True Levellers), who proposed a much more far-reaching programme of land redistribution and communism. Their radical ideas, developed principally in the writings of Gerrard Winstanley,³⁸ are especially relevant here since they were based upon a fundamental re-interpretation of the Edenic utopia:

In the beginning of Time, the great Creator Reason, made the Earth to be a Common Treasury, to preserve Beasts, Birds, Fishes, and Man, the lord that was to govern this Creation; for Man had Domination given to him, over the Beasts, Birds and Fishes; but not one word was spoken in the beginning, that one branch of mankind should rule over another.

(Gerrard Winstanley,
*The True Levellers
Standard Advanced*

I suggest that in Kratinos' *Ploutoi* we can likewise see a foundational myth, which in this case derives from didactic poetry, being used to articulate a popular concept of utopia that challenges a dominant ideology or ideologies.

This interplay between a dominant ideology and utopia as critique sets the *Ploutoi* squarely within the scheme of Paul Ricoeur, one of a small number of writers who have actively considered the relationship between ideology and utopia.³⁹ Though detailed treatment of Ricoeur's ideas is outside the scope of this chapter, his argument centres on ideology and utopia having a functional correspondence within the cultural imagination. In particular, he sets up a dialectic between ideology, as a force for the legitimising of authority, and utopia as critique, providing a conceptual space from which to reflect on that ideology:

...what we must assume is that the judgement on an ideology is always the judgement from a utopia. This is my conviction: the only way to get out of the circularity in which ideologies engulf us is to assume a utopia, declare it, and judge an ideology on that basis. Because the absolute onlooker is impossible, then it is someone within the process itself who takes the responsibility for judgement.

(Ricoeur 1986,
171–2)⁴⁰

I do not wish to claim that Ricoeur's formulation is universally true, and I have reservations about his treatment of both ideology and utopia. Nevertheless, his dialectic of ideology and utopia does, I feel, offer us an approach to some instances of utopia in comedy, and certainly *Ploutoi*.

(b) *The automatist theme: popular utopianism and comic intertextuality*

Extending such an analysis to the other plays that Athenaios quotes from is difficult, not least because the outlines of their plots are much more hazy. However, these plays offer an interesting perspective on comic technique, as we can pursue the development of themes and images across a number of plays and comedians with a fair idea of which way the influences are going. It is possible to see significant developments in the *raisons d'être* for these comic utopias, the sources on which they depend, the detailed terms in which they are described, and their location and context. The developments are important not only for understanding comic intertextuality but also for assessing the

impact of the developing form of automatist utopia.

In Krates' *Thēria*, what we see is an opposition of two utopias (frs. 16–17).⁴¹ This, at least, is the claim of Athenaios 6.268a1–2, but this can be questioned, and it is clear that the two speeches outlining them are not from the same part of the play. If it is true that the speakers *are* offering different visions, the alternative seems to be between an automatist utopia of the more basic food-orientated type (fr. 16) and another more luxurious type (fr. 17) featuring baths and hot running water. We can see one utopia promising the removal of labour and hardship and another promising luxurious excess.⁴² The more basic utopia may be the one that wins out, as it is thematically associated with the other central utopian plank of the play: the appeal by the chorus (or someone associated with them) for fish-eating vegetarianism:

(A.) καὶ τῶν ῥαφάνων ἔψειν χρῆ
ἰχθῦς τ' ὅπταν τοὺς τε ταρίχους, ἡμῶν δ' ἄπο χειῖρας ἔχεσθαι.

You should boil mooli
and roast fresh fish and salt-fish, and keep your hands
off us.

(*Thēria* fr. 19.1–2)⁴³

Naturally, the chorus of animals are less than keen on being eaten. It is probable that Empedoklean/Pythagorean parody was central to the play, and apart from the general dietary restrictions, fr. 19.2 seems to echo Empedokles fr. 141 D-K: δειλοί, πάνδειλοι, κυάμων ἄπο χειῖρας ἔχεσθαι ('wretches, absolute wretches, keep your hands off beans').

A more certain piece of Empedoklean parody is the appeal to the people in Telekleides' *Amphiktuones*, fr. 2:

ἀλλ' ὃ πάντων ἀστῶν λῶιστοι σεῖσαι καὶ προσκαλέσασθαι,
παύσασθε δικῶν ἀλληλοφάγων

Best of all citizens at false accusations and summonses!
Cease devouring each other with your lawsuits...

which draws upon Empedokles fr. 136:

οὐ παύσεσθε φόνοιο δυσηχέος, οὐκ ἐσοράτε
ἀλλήλους δάπτοντες ἀκηδείησι νόοιο;

Will you not cease your ugly slaughter? Do you not see
that you are devouring one another with indifferent
hearts?

However, it seems that in terms of the utopian vision, the Empedoklean parody, like the Hesiodic elements in the play,⁴⁴ is

secondary to the Athenocentric implications of this appeal to the *demos*. Indeed, the title of the play suggests that the utopia described in fr. 1 (presumably by Amphiktuon, a mythical king of Athens⁴⁵), explicitly promising freedom from want and labour, was restricted in the first place to Athens. Another aspect emphasised in this local utopia was peace:

λέξω τοίνυν βίον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃν ἐγὼ θνητοῖσι παρείχον.
εἰρήνην μὲν πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἦν ὥσπερ ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός.
ἡ γῆ δ' ἔφερ' οὐ δέος οὐδὲ νόσους, ἀλλ' αὐτόματ' ἦν τὰ δέοντα·

So I will tell you the life which I provided to mortals from the start.

First of all things there was peace at hand like water.

And the land bore not want, not sickness, but all necessities of their own accord.

(fr. 1.1–3)⁴⁶

It is not going too far to suggest that internal peace and justice (*dike*)⁴⁷ are being linked with the utopia of external peace and (hence) general prosperity, represented by the myth-historical figure of Amphiktuon. It is tempting to link these concerns with historical circumstances, and although proof is impossible the mid-to-late 420s would certainly suit its position in the sequence admirably.⁴⁸

In these first three plays, the principal features of each utopia either elaborate or vary the representations of an earlier production or productions. At a much lower level, the detailed descriptions of the ‘automatist’ utopia are handled in a similar fashion. Individual points are picked up, expanded or altered from poet to poet. This process of comic intertextuality most clearly demonstrates the competitive milieu of the Athenian festivals. Thus Krates’ *Thēria* elaborates the relatively restrained automatism of Kratinos’ *Ploutoi*, with furniture, crockery and food all responding to orders and preparing themselves. When a roasting fish says that it is not yet done, it is told to turn over and baste itself:

(A.) τί δῆτα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς πλέον; (B.) πρόσεισιν αὐθ' ἕκαστον
5 τῶν σκευαρίων, ὅταν καλῇ τις "παρτίθου τράπεζα·
αὐτὴ παρασκευάζε σαυτήν. μάττε θυλακίσκε.
ἔγχει κύαθε. ποῦ 'σθ' ἡ κύλιξ; διάνιζ'· ἰοῦσα σαυτήν.
ἀνάβαινε μᾶζα. τὴν χύτραν χρῆν ἐξερᾶν τὰ τεῦτλα.
ἰχθὺ βάδιζ'." "ἀλλ' οὐδέπω πὶ θάτερ' ὀπτὸς εἰμι."
10 "οὐκουν μεταστρέψας σεαυτὸν ἀλὶ πάσεις ἀλειφών;"

[A.]: What more is this for them then? [B.]: Well now, each item

5 of furniture will approach when anyone calls, “Table!

Set yourself up alongside;
 You! Get yourself ready. Bread-basket! Get kneading.
 Ladle! Get pouring. Where is the cup? Go and wash
 yourself out properly.
 Barley-cake! Get up. The pot should have poured out the
 beets.
 Fish! Get moving.” “But I’m not yet done on the other
 side.”
 10 “Well, turn yourself over then, pour on oil and
 sprinkle yourself with salt!”

(*Thēria* fr.
 16.4–10)

The opposing, more luxurious utopia extends the same principle to the whole paraphernalia of bathing:

ἔρεϊ δὲ θῦδωρ "ἀνέχετε",
 εἴθ' ἀλάβαστος εὐθέως ἥξει μύρου
 αὐτόματος ὁ σπόγγος τε καὶ τὰ σάνδαλα

The water will say, “Get up “, and then the perfume-
 flask will immediately be present, the sponge too of its
 own accord, and the sandals. (*Theria* fr. 17.5–7)

The situation gets more absurd in Telekleides’ *Amphiktuones*, where there is a combination of *both* utopias of Krates,⁴⁹ with elements of Kratinos’ *Ploutoi* thrown in for good measure. Fish, as well as talking and cooking themselves, now catch themselves in the first place and lay the table when they’re done; hot-water aqueducts become rivers of soup and ditches of mash; roast thrushes fly into people’s mouths, and cakes queue up to be eaten; children play knucklebones with slices of pig-womb and strips of meat.⁵⁰

οἶνωι γὰρ ἅπασ' ἔρρει χαράδρα, μᾶζαι δ' ἄρτοις ἐμάχοντο
 5 περὶ τοῖς στόμασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰκετεῦνσαι καταπίνειν,
 εἴ τι φιλοῖεν, τᾶς λευκοτάτας, οἱ δ' ἰχθύες οἰκαδ' ἰόντες
 ἐξοπτῶντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἂν παρέκειντ' ἐπὶ ταῖσι τραπέζαις.
 ζωμοῦ δ' ἔρρει παρὰ τᾶς κλίνας ποταμὸς κρέα θερμὰ κυλίνδων,
 ὑποτριμματίων δ' ὀχετοὶ τούτων τοῖς βουλομένοισι παρῆσαν,
 10 ὥστ' ἀφθονία τὴν ἔνθεσιν ἦν ἄρδονθ' ἀπαλὴν καταπίνειν.
 λεκανίσκαισιν δ' ἀνάβραστα παρῆν ἡδυσματίοις κατάπαστα.
 ὀπταὶ δὲ κίχλαι μετ' ἀμητίσκων ἐς τὸν φάρυγ' εἰσεπέτοντο·
 τῶν δὲ πλακούντων ὥστιζομένων περὶ τὴν γνάθον ἦν ἀλαλητός.
 μήτρας δὲ τόμοις καὶ χναυματίοις οἱ παῖδες ἂν ἡστραγάλιζον.
 15 οἱ δ' ἀνθρώποι πίονες ἦσαν τότε καὶ μέγα χρῆμα γιγάντων

11 om. CE λεκανίσκαισιν Porson Adv. p. 89: λαϊκανίσκαισι A: ἐν
 λεκανίσκαις Kock: ἀνάβραστα Dindorf: ἀνάπαστα A: ἀλίπαστα

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(*Amphiktuones* fr. 1)

With this grotesque extravaganza, we reach the mature version of the automatist utopia. Certainly, the subsequent and ‘unperformed’ plays do not show the same inventiveness in terms of detail. However, there is still considerable variation in terms of plot, and we see development in terms of the location and literary form of the automatist utopia. Thus far the utopia has been set up within a myth-historical framework, as in Kratinos’ *Ploutoi* and Telekleides’ *Amphiktuones*, or as an explicitly future projection in Krates’ *Theria* (structured around a parodic vision). In subsequent plays, however, we find a contemporary utopia located in far-flung parts of the world. Thus Pherekrates’ *Metallēs* and Aristophanes’ *Tagenistai* are concerned with a utopia in the underworld, and offer inventive means for getting there – in the first instance, by apparently digging through to it, and in the second by apparently assimilating the symposium to the underworld. On the other hand, Pherekrates’ *Persai*, Metagenes’ *Thouriopersai* and perhaps Nikophon’s *Seirenes* locate their utopias in known, but distant, areas of the Greek world. These latter plays are substantially closer to the Morean utopia, and in particular the narration of utopia in *Metalles* approximates much more closely the literary form of More’s book.⁵¹

Although we know a certain amount about each of these utopias, it is difficult to form any overall assessment, as we have few details about their role in the development of the plot. I assume that in the

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majority of cases utopia is something to be aimed at, and we should probably ascribe to them some at least of the positive implications that I outlined for Kratinos' *Ploutoi*. Some nuances can be added. Firstly, the automatist utopias are quite general and remote, with the exception of Telekleides' *Amphiktuones*, where, as we have seen, the transfer of the Age of Kronos to a different mythological context enabled a particularly relevant localisation of the utopian frame. Secondly, while economic change is left implicit in these utopias, only Krates' *Theria* draws the conclusion that there would be no need for slaves (fr. 16.1–3). Nothing in the other plays explicitly contradicts this, but the availability of κοραί ('young women') for sexual exploitation in Pherekrates' *Metalles* comes close. Their status is ambiguous, but in any case their presence puts certain (not unexpected) limits on the implicit communality and universality of the automatist utopia.⁵²

Above all, the mature form of the automatist utopia invites comparison with similar folk-utopias from a range of cultures and it has been traditional to associate these plays with the *Pays de Cokaygne* of medieval ballads.⁵³ In fact, medieval banquet imagery which has broad parallels to Old Comedy can be found in a variety of sources, and these are helpfully discussed by Bakhtin (1984, 278–302). While it is not at all straightforward to fit Old Comedy into Bakhtin's concept of 'grotesque realism' in Rabelais,⁵⁴ it is with the mature 'automatist utopia' that the parallels are most obvious, and Bakhtin's conclusions particularly relevant:

The popular images of food and drink are active and triumphant, for they conclude the process of labour and struggle of the social man against the world. They express the people as a whole because they are based on the inexhaustible, ever-growing abundance of the material principle. They are universal and organically combined with the concept of the free and sober truth, ignoring fear and piousness and therefore linked with wise speech. (1984, 302)

Despite the hyperbolic terms in which this is expressed, Bakhtin's 'grotesque realism' in Rabelais has clear relevance to the popular utopias in Old Comedy, which, allowing for the nuances I have set out earlier, should be interpreted in broadly positive terms.⁵⁵

Throughout my analysis of these automatist utopias, I have stressed the degree to which the comic poets were responding to and using each other's work. However, I do not wish to suggest that the intertextual play with either comic or non-comic predecessors was so dominant that utopianism was *subordinated* to parody or that the idea

of utopianism in itself was being parodied.⁵⁶ It is important to remember that while Old Comedy is provoking humour, it is also constructively telling a story, which, at least in the earlier plays, seems to be articulated by a comically re-modelled utopia as both an inspiration and ultimate end. While not excluding parody from the presentation of the automatist utopia, it is not the sole or even the most important element.

However, towards the conclusion of the sequence, we may see the concept of utopia becoming problematic. Pherekrates' *Persai* seems to have concentrated heavily on the elements of wealth (fr. 137.3–5) and luxury, principally in the context of the symposium.⁵⁷ The association (real or metaphorical) with Persia has obvious negative potential. However, it remains an open question whether the utopian vision *per se* is the target, or (more likely) the symposium, which is clearly represented here as an elite one, and a target which may suffer a process of collectivisation and/or redistribution.⁵⁸ Here and in Metagenes' *Thouriopersai*, with its Sybaritic associations,⁵⁹ we can see the possibilities of a double-edged treatment. It is linked with narrow (elite) excess (which in turn is associated with notorious foreigners), but it is also perhaps something to be acquired by those outside the charmed circle.⁶⁰ In both respects, we can see the potential for utopia as social critique. With this final formulation of the automatist scenario, we have come a long way from Kratinos' *Ploutoi*, and utopia is no longer an entirely straightforward concept, a point that I shall develop in the final part of this chapter.

2. Historical and Athenocentric utopias

With the limited exception of Telekleides' *Amphiktuones*, all the utopias that I have discussed so far have maintained a certain distance between their formulation of utopia and historical or political material; they have also avoided a narrowly Athenian form of utopia (and some may not even have been performed in Athens). The issues raised by these utopias have tended to be correspondingly general, although we have seen with *Ploutoi* as well as with *Amphiktuones* that the general utopia could be applied to the specific case of Athens and its political life. However, I now want to turn to more historical utopias, and ones that are more directly political and Athenocentric.

(a) Kratinos' *Kheirones*: two types of utopia?

I begin with a play, Kratinos' *Kheirones*, that occupies a somewhat intermediate position, partly due to the author's use of many of the same techniques as are found in *Ploutoi*, not least sustained mythological metaphor. Perikles again features (fr. 258) as the tyrant Zeus κεφαληγερέταν ('head-gatherer'⁶¹), offspring of Στάσις ('Civil conflict') and Χρόνος ('Time', presumably a pun on Kronos), together

with his concubine Hera-Aspasia [fr. *259], offspring of Καταπυγοσύνη ('Shameless-hussyness'). Also, in common with *Ploutoi*, there is a negative vision of the present, this time apparently centred around a decline in education and *mousikē* as well as in political character.⁶² Opposed to this is a utopian vision of the past:

μακάριος ἦν ὁ πρὸ τοῦ βίος βροτοῖσιν
 πρὸς τὰ νῦν, ὃν εἶχον ἄνδρες
 ἀγανόφρονες ἡδυλόγῳ σοφίαι
 βροτῶν περισσοκαλλεῖς

Life was blessed before now
 for mortal men
 compared with current times,
 a life which gentle men led,
 men who spoke sweet words
 of wisdom,
 most lovely of mortals.
 (*Kheirones* fr. 256)

Athenaios quotes another fragment which seems to be describing this life (fr. 257⁶³), and he further links this to Telekleides' *Prutaneis* and the luxury of the time of Themistokles.⁶⁴ However, in the light of the possibly multi-faceted mythological metaphor, and indeed *Kheiron* himself, it is likely that *Kheirones* is projecting a more distant past. And certainly its further description as a world of natural abundance in fr. 257 would not be out of place in the temporally or geographically remote 'automatist' utopias that I discussed in the first part of this chapter.

Although it must be admitted that we have little evidence about the progress of the play, *Kheirones* should probably be viewed in the same light as *Ploutoi*, as involving a twofold utopian vision. On the one hand, we have a temporally remote utopia, and on the other hand the dramatic realisation of this utopia in a specific utopian fashion, transferring the past view to a future Athens. With this double aspect, I think, we can clarify something of the nature of utopias in Old Comedy. I wish to exploit here some points of disagreement between Ricoeur and Mannheim. Mannheim, with his emphasis on an oppositional class structure, took a highly politicised view of utopianism, attributing it to the revolutionary and the realisable, although, as he famously puts it:

The representatives of a given order will label as utopian all conceptions which *from their point of view* can in principle never be realized (1936, 176–7).

Ricoeur takes a less politicized view, and proposes a more ambiguous formulation. He rejects the criterion of historical realisability and

instead lays more stress on the potential of utopia:

...utopias are never realized to the extent that they create the *distance* between what is and what ought to be. The decisive trait of utopia is then not realizability but the preservation of *opposition* (1986, 179–180).

While this may be true of many (and perhaps all) utopias, I wish to return to Mannheim's original stress on social conflict and on the drive to realise a utopian vision, and suggest that we can draw a correspondingly politicised distinction between utopian visions that are potential and those that are realisable or realised. A utopian vision, whether historical or contemporary, always has the potential for what Ricoeur (1986, 310) describes as 'the best function of utopia.. the exploration of the possible'.⁶⁵ But we may set against such utopian visions ones that are realized in the dramatic process. While not denying the potentiality of any utopian vision, it is the dramatic realisation of utopia rather than the utopian vision *per se* that is where the true power in utopia lies – the ability, as Mannheim puts it, to 'shatter, either partially or wholly, the order of things' (1936, 173).

(b) *Eupolis' Dēmoi: radical nostalgia*

This dual nature of utopia within Old Comedy is perhaps a matter of degree, but the point becomes more obvious when considering a play for which there is substantially more evidence: *Eupolis' Dēmoi*?⁶⁶ *Dēmoi* is one of the better-known fragmentary plays, and so my treatment will be rather summary. In this play, we can clearly see the two utopias being set up: the nostalgic, utopian view of Athens' past or pasts, and the dramatic realisation of a utopia, transferring this past view to a future Athens. The nostalgic view is one that might seem familiar – the idea of political decline is present in Kratinos' *Ploutoi* and *Kheirones* and of course much of Aristophanes. The issue in *Dēmoi* is leadership of the people (δημαγωγείν). Current leaders lack the ability of those of the past, and, as often in Old Comedy, this political decline is accompanied by a similar moral decline, especially in the area of sexuality.⁶⁷ To return Athens to a better state, our hero, Puronides, a remnant of the old order,⁶⁸ somehow resurrects the dead.⁶⁹

Nostalgia as such need not be utopian, and I want to distinguish sharply between a negative portrayal of the Athens of the dramatic date of the play, and a positive formulation of the Athenian past. Such a positive formulation is rare in the fragments outside of Telekleides' *Prutaneis*, and it is certainly difficult to find a more explicit formulation than *Dēmoi*. Even here, though, the positive vision is not straightforward – no one period as such is singled out as utopian. Rather it is a matter of individuals from different periods exemplifying

different qualities. Aristides and Solon (paired at fr. 99.45–8) exemplify justice and morality,⁷⁰ and Aristides' confrontation with that well-known exemplar of Athenian decline, the *συκοφάντης* (malicious prosecutor), forms one of the core scenes of the play (fr. 99.78–120). It concludes with an address to the entire city:

ἐγὼ δὲ πάσῃ προαγορεύω τῇ πόλει
εἶναι δίκαιους, ὥς ὅς ἂν δίκαιος ᾦ...

But I announce to the whole
city
that you should be just, since
whoever is just.

(fr. 99.118–119)⁷¹

Generalship is represented by the pair (fr. 104) Perikles and Miltiades, the latter being singled out because of the Marathon campaign (fr. 106, cf. fr. 130). Perikles' major attribute is public speaking, in keeping with his comic personality.⁷² Perhaps due also to the comic tradition is the fact that Perikles in particular is singled out as less than perfect, and (as possibly also with Aristides) it is his failure to pass on his virtues to descendants that is singled out.⁷³ Similarly, there is the suggestion that it is an impossibility that Miltiades' achievements could be topped (fr. 130).

The nostalgic utopia is here not straightforward, but is an idealised past which is temporally diffuse. This imaginative approach to history is, of course, standard in nostalgic utopianism.⁷⁴ Moreover, it is acknowledged that specific features of the past are to be avoided (Themistokles is carefully excluded in fr. 126). The nostalgic utopia is constructed by combining a generally negative presentation of the present with the specific characterisation of a past in terms of good leaders and, importantly, good choice by the *demos*. In the context of this utopian version of Athenian history, the selected leaders as a group represent the best of Athens.

A crucial feature of this stress on personalities, and, as it were, the contract between leaders and *demos*, is that it deflects the utopian past from being tied down to a specific historic and constitutional situation. The result is a conception of the past that is inherently conservative. By that I mean that there is no suggestion of an Athens that is constitutionally different from the Athens of the early or mid-410s. I would further argue that in the selection and treatment of the dead, *Dēmoi* in no way undermines but rather reinforces the notion of Athens as a radical democracy. Solon is certainly an ambiguous and contested figure, but his role in the play, from what evidence there is, was one of moral authority, not constitutional politics. Similarly, Miltiades and Aristides are national, not partisan,

heroes. If there is any bias in choice of the dead, I would focus on Perikles, who cannot be anything but a radical democrat, though heartily abused in his lifetime. Likewise Muronides, if that is who Puronides is supposed to be, is a figure from the height of democracy.

Thus, in considering the influence of this historical utopia on the comic world, it is important to stress that the constitutional position remains unaffected. Evidence for the end of the play is lacking, but there are indications, especially in the Aristeides and *sykophantēs* scene, that there is a cleaning-up of the city: what has been constructed as negative is removed. Though there has been the suggestion of widespread corruption, this has been expressed through personalities, which leaves the *demos*, or, as here, the demes, free from the charge of anything except choosing poor leaders, which they seem finally to renounce in favour of the glorious past (fr. 118, cf. frs. 119, 131). Despite the politically realistic stress on leaders and personalities, it is important to bear in mind that the *demos* remains in control.

Thus the future utopia as realised in *Dēmoi* could be said to be radically conservative. The utopia functions as more than a context for abuse – which itself should not be underestimated.⁷⁵ The past, as constructed by Eupolis, provides an idealised yardstick against which to measure current politicians, as well as offering the means of articulating pressing political and social anxiety. The political firepower of the dead here might suggest that there was a more serious crisis than mere sycophancy underlying the play, but this grandiose plot device may have been purely a massive *coup de theatre*, articulating comic concerns in as challenging and innovative a fashion as possible. Overall, *Dēmoi* may be escapism, but this does not mean that the means of escape, the goal of the escape, and indeed the very desire to escape are value-free or uninteresting.

3. Utopia and anti-utopia

We have seen that in both the automatist and the historical/Athenocentric plays the presentation of utopia was generally straightforward, but in the later automatist plays it became somewhat double-edged and problematic. This problematisation intensifies in a further group of plays which offer much more complex (and in some cases aggressive) utopian scenarios. In these, a utopian environment is either inverted or directly questioned through the creation of an anti-utopia (or dystopia). As a directly theorised phenomenon, this has even less classical pedigree than utopia, but the two are closely related – both construct an alternative world (though, it must be stressed, both are at the same time parasitic on contemporary culture) and both offer an alternative and through this a critique, positive or

negative.

As with the utopias, there are two main types of anti-utopia: one which is quite narrowly political, and another which tackles broader issues of society.⁷⁶ In the first category, Eupolis' *Khrusoun Genos* is the principal example of the automatist utopia being inverted. The name of the play seems to derive from Hesiod's Golden Race, of the time of Kronos (*Works and Days* 109–26), who are central to Kratinos' *Ploutoi*. A response to that play, at least, is plausible, and fits well chronologically.⁷⁷ Of the common utopian elements, pseudo-automatism (in a sympotic context) features:

αὐτόματοι δ' ἄγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασιν

good men go of their own accord to the banquets of
scum

(*Khrusoun Genos* fr. 315),

though here negative connotations are obvious.⁷⁸ Further fragments do little to add any specific utopian elements – exotic animals and fine sacrifice appear as well as a reference to a cheese with wanderlust, which appears to be on-stage.⁷⁹

Instead of utopianism, the extant fragments of *Khrusoun Genos* suggest that the play was concerned with contemporary people, politics and culture. Aside from references to music and musicians, here in connection with barbarism,⁸⁰ two fragments give a hint of developments in the play. First, fr. 298 is an abusive list of people, undoubtedly prominent contemporaries – as is certain in one case at least, Arkhestratos (fr. 298.4).⁸¹ These dubious characters are likely to have formed the chorus – members of the 'golden race'. The ironic nature of this chorus and their world is presumably to be seen in the inverted sympotic sentiments just quoted (fr. 315), and also in the emphasis on political corruption that we find in fr. 316:

ὦ καλλίστη πόλι πασῶν ὅσας Κλέων ἐφοραῖ
ὡς εὐδαιμόν πρότερόν τ' ἦσθα, νῦν δὲ μάλλον ἔση

ἔδει πρῶτον μὲν ὑπάρχειν πάντων ἰσηγορίαν

πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν τις ὁμιλῶν χαίροι τοιαῖδε πόλει
ἴν' ἔξεστιν πάνυ λεπτῶι κακῶι τε τὴν ἰδέαν

Loveliest city of all that Kleon surveys!

How fortunate you were previously, but now you will be
more so.

It is necessary for there first to be equality of speech for
all...

So how would anyone not rejoice at being associated with such a city where it is possible for someone exceedingly thin and evil in appearance.

This fragment raises a number of questions. Is it parabolic?⁸² If so, is it ‘in character’ or completely anti-illusionistic? What is the role of Kleon in the play as a whole? Most importantly, what city is it? The language of fr. 316 is ambiguous as to whether the city is Athens or not, and this may deliberately blur the line between the audience and the environment of the play. Another fragment suggests that the location of the play was not Athens but somewhere more exotic:

(A.) ὁρῶ. (B.) θεῶ νῦν τήνδε Μαρτιανδυνίαν

(A): I see it. (B): Now behold Mariandunia! (*Khrusoun Genos* fr. 312)⁸³

The Mariandunoi were a tribe that lived around the Milesian colony of Herakleia on the south coast of the Black Sea. Little is known of them,⁸⁴ but there is evidence that they constituted a type of Helot (called *dōrophoroi*, ‘tribute-bearers’) subject to the Greeks at Herakleia (Athen. 6.263c7–e7, cf. Plato *Laws* 776c6–d3). More immediately relevant for reconstructing *Khrusoun Genos* is the fact that the Mariandunoi lived in territory adjoining that of the Paphlagonians.⁸⁵ In the same period, Aristophanes labels Kleon as a Paphlagonian in *Knights* (Lenaia 425/4 BCE), and there may be some connection with Eupolis’ play not only in the subject matter of corrupt politicians, but also in the insinuation that there was a non-Athenian, non-Greek and potentially servile element about them. Whereas *Knights* locates the metaphorical ‘Paphlagonian’ in a politically corrupt Athens, it is probable that *Khrusoun Genos* explicitly projected such alleged corruption on to a mirror-Athens at the margins of the Greek world, among a community that consisted of barbarian slaves.⁸⁶

This reading of *Khrusoun Genos* as an extended piece of irony reveals a classic pattern of dystopia: extrapolating the worst elements of the audience’s contemporary society and projecting them in concentrated form to a situation that is remote in either time or, as here, in space. What is more unusual here is that the dystopia is also directly drawing attention to an alternative, utopian conception, found in Kratinos and elsewhere. The dystopian critique is extended to cover not just Athenian society, but also the cultural production of rival comedians. We may with profit transpose Mannheim’s idealised and abstract conception of class-based ‘mutually antagonistic counter-utopias’ (1936, 187) to the comic competition, equally an arena for competing claims couched in utopian and anti-utopian terms.

Even so, I want to stress the similarity of technique, and, to an extent, subject matter, between utopia and dystopia. Indeed, the

notion of corrupt political figures is a theme found in the earliest of the utopias I have discussed, Kratinos' *Ploutoi*, though there it is only part of a wider structure. The corrupt dystopia of *Khrusoun Genos* is also likely to have shared elements with pessimistic portraits of contemporary Athens (e.g. Eupolis' *Marikas* and *Kolakes*, Aristophanes' *Knights*), but it would be wrong to treat such portraits as dystopias since they purport to describe a world congruent with Athenian society at that date. Although I have argued for a non-Athenian context for *Khrusoun Genos*, even if it were set in Athens, I would still want to consider it as dystopian, since it so explicitly subverts the utopian tradition.

An equally dystopian vision, with intriguing possibilities for resolution, comes in Kratinos' *Seriphioi*, which probably dates to the same period (see K-A IV 233). *Seriphioi* seems, like his *Ploutoi*, to have collapsed myth and contemporary politics – this time Perseus' avenging his mother by turning the island of Seriphos to stone with the gorgon-head meets the worst of Athenian culture head-on. Here we perhaps find our earliest expression of dystopian *landscape*, mediated through myth.⁸⁷ It is presumably Seriphos itself that provides the environment for 'spongers, the city's ruin' (ἀμοργοί, πόλεως ὄλεθροι, fr. 221), where 'run-aways live, a rootless evil for others' (οἰκοῦσιν φεύγοντες, αἰδρυτον κακὸν ὅλλοις, fr. 224). It functions as a mirror for the worst of Athens (like Amunias and Kleon⁸⁸), which seems to be encapsulated in fr. 223:

εἶτα Σάβας ἀφικνῆ καὶ Σιδονίου καὶ Ἐρεμβούς,
ἐς τε πόλιν δούλων, ἀνδρῶν νεοπλουτοπονήρων,
αἰσχρῶν, Ἀνδροκλέων, †Διονυσσοκουράνων

Then you come to the Sabai, the Sidonioi and Eremboi
and to the city of slaves, miserable men of recent wealth
shameful men, men like Androkles, †Dionysos-... †⁸⁹

We have seen in *Khrusoun Genos* fr. 316 the idea of a mirror city being reinforced by the use of inclusive language, where the line between the fictional polis and the Athenian polis that constitutes the audience comes near to collapsing. A related process might be seen with the greeting in *Seriphioi* fr. 225:

χαίρετε πάντες ὅσοι πολύβωτον ποντίαν Σέριφον...

Greetings, all of you – who live on bountiful, sea-girt
Seriphos.

The dystopian mirror is held right up against the collective nose of the audience.⁹⁰

The second type of anti-utopia is the even more problematic rejection of society that is found in Pherekrates' *Agrioi* (Lenaia 421/0

BCE: Athen. 5.218d = *Agrioi* T i K-A) and Phrynichos' *Monotropos* (third place, Dionysia 415/4 BCE: Arg. I to *Birds* 8–10 = T ii K-A). The first of these seems to have been an anti-utopia in the truest sense: a *denial* of utopia or multiple utopias (see Ceccarelli in this volume, pp. 455–8). In dramatizing mutually competing utopian visions it ends in denying them all. The central debate is over the chorus themselves, who, according to Plato *Protagoras* 327c–d, ‘had neither education (παιδεία) nor law-courts nor laws (νόμοι) nor any compulsion forcing them to always care for the moral good (ἀρετή)’.⁹¹ Although the further assertion in Plato that the chorus were ἄδικοι (unjust) is part of Protagoras’ argument, not necessarily an accurate description of the play, there is plenty of evidence that their way of life is satirised, especially fr. 14:

ἐνθρύσκοισι καὶ βρακάνοις
καὶ στραβήλοις ζῆν' ὅποτεν δ'
ἤδη πεινῶσιν σφόδρα
ὥσπερ εἰ τοὺς πουλύποδας
< > νύκτωρ περιτρώ-
γειν αὐτῶν τοὺς δακτύλους

... [they] live on chervil and
wild herbs
and wild olives, and whenever
they are really hungry,
just like octopuses,
at night they eat
their own fingers.

It is possible to read this satire on rustic anarchism as an ironic comment on the automatist utopia and Golden Age.⁹² But in the course of the play, there seem to have been sneers at other types of utopia. Fr. 10 seems to be a cynical comment about historical slave-free utopias: in the past no-one owned slaves, but women did the work instead – thus slavery is progress.⁹³ So I would argue that some of this play consisted of a rejection of differing conceptions of utopia, but there is no way of knowing whether any alternative was offered.⁹⁴

The central tension of Phrynichos' *Monotropos*, on the other hand, seems to have been more straightforward in its comparison of Athens with an anti-society (Ceccarelli in this volume, pp. 461–3), represented by our hero:

ὄνομα δὲ μοῦστι Μονότροπος
ζῷ δὲ Τίμωνος βίον
ἄγαμον, ἄζυγον†, ὀξύθυμον, ἀπρόσοδον,
ἀγέλαστον, ἀδιάλεκτον, ἰδιογνώμονα

My name is Monotropos

and I live the life of Timon,
unmarried, unwedded (?), not approached by anyone,
having no laughter or conversation, but keeping my own
opinions.

(*Monotropos* fr. 19)

This vision of the old, unmarried and childless hermit⁹⁵ is set against the political and cultural life of Athens. The roll-call of not-unexpected abuse of prominent citizens and politicians includes Peisandros (fr. 21), and there is a curious and ostensibly favourable comparison of someone with Nikias in fr. 23, in terms which are uncannily close to *Birds* 362–3, where Euelpides praises Peisetairos' adoption of kitchen utensils as armour. It is tempting to suggest that *Monotropos* is praised in his contact with (and in comparison to) Athenian society, but the *Birds* parallel counsels caution: there is at least a degree of irony in Euelpides' response to Peisetairos' defensive tactics.

A further feature common to both plays is satire on town-planning through the figure of Meton.⁹⁶ It is not surprising to find this particular element, ridicule of the polis in its most concrete form, in plays which in their different ways explored rejection of the polis. But just as Peisetairos was ultimately unable to evade Athenian πολυπραγμοσύνη (meddlesome overactivity) and construct an alternative reality, *Monotropos* may not have been able or willing to continue in his solitude. It remains unclear who came off worse in the encounter, *Monotropos* or Athens, and whether the play presented the anti-society as utopian or dystopian. Indeed, the tension between these two poles may have been left unresolved. Such ambivalence has a particular power in literary utopias, as the example of Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) shows.⁹⁷

What is clear here is that both *Monotropos* and *Agrioi*, in contrast to *Birds*, for example, explore polis society not so much through the construction of an alternative society as through an anti-society. Whereas the automatist utopia of *Ploutoi* and subsequent plays was predicated on the absence of economic structures, it is the need for social and political structures that *Agrioi* and *Monotropos* directly question. On the evidence of recent political praxis, an account of society based around extreme individualism⁹⁸ is not an absolute contradiction in terms. Rather, such a negative definition provides the strongest possible critique of conventional society. What we can see in *Agrioi* and *Monotropos* is accordingly the expression of the most powerful form of the utopian and anti-utopian vision.⁹⁹

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have emphasized the complexity and variety of comic utopianism, and the degree to which comic poets can

be seen to be explicitly responding to earlier representations, building upon an existing vision or breaking away to create something entirely new. Thus the ‘automatist’ utopia is first employed to question and critique a dominant ideology by employing foundational myths deriving from Hesiod (and elsewhere), and then grows into a grotesque celebration that can be linked to similar expressions of popular utopianism in other cultures, before being ultimately assimilated to expressions of foreign luxury. A nostalgic vision of political (and especially Athenian) history develops in a number of plays to reach its dramatic fulfilment in Eupolis’ *Dēmoi*, with radically conservative implications. Finally, different types of anti-utopia subvert or problematize these positive concepts of utopia, by either setting up a profoundly negative exemplar or by directly questioning the idea of utopia itself.

This varied treatment of utopia affords us an unrivalled glimpse of comic intertextuality and comic rivalry in action. The result is a particularly sophisticated discourse of utopia, which fully exploits the literary and ideological implications of the concept. Although the plays that I have discussed share many features with other types of plot and world-construction (and it is certainly not true that all of Old Comedy is utopian), the essential and distinctive feature of utopia is that it allows a completely free exploration of what is possible, and not just in literary terms. As I have argued, utopia also functions as ideological critique, reflecting back on the world which creates it, either in narrowly Athenian or in more general terms. The radical alternatives that are set up are certainly fantastic and idealised, but this ideal, against which comedy judges Athenian politics and society, makes the utopian and anti-utopian vision one of the sharpest literary and political tools available to Old Comedy. But the comic poets do not offer a naive picture of utopia. In a comparatively short period towards the end of the fifth century, we can see them exploring, developing and problematizing the concept of utopia in a wide variety of ways, generating a complex discourse of utopia on the comic stage – a rich expression of popular utopianism which has been unfairly neglected by both literary critics and historians.

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Notes

¹ For an example of the emphasis on *Birds*, see Bowie 1993, 166–77. Dobrov has recently (1997) published a book whose first section consists of five essays on ‘The

Theory and Practice of Utopia': all are concerned almost exclusively with *Birds*. Zimmermann 1983 is a more balanced but exclusively Aristophanic treatment (bibliography at 57 n. 2). Reckford 1987, 312–63 includes comments on the fragments, but these are unhelpful and incomplete. Dunbar 1995, 5–6 gives a brief synthesis of utopian trends in the comic fragments as a background to *Birds*.

² Manuel & Manuel 1979, 78–81 exemplify this trend. Among classical historians of utopia, Ferguson 1975 omits all mention of Old Comedy, while Finley 1975 has brief and wholly inadequate remarks. Both authors rely almost exclusively on a 'constitutional' model. Bichler 1995 does include a substantial account of both Aristophanes and the comic fragments, although his terms are largely descriptive.

³ So Kumar 1987. Ricoeur 1986 also argues that utopia can only be a valid concept from the Renaissance onwards, partly because his scheme relies on post-Renaissance socio-economic models.

⁴ On More's Christian humanist synthesis see Manuel & Manuel 1979, 117–49.

⁵ Edenic branch: Elysium and the isles of the blessed in Homer *Od.* 4.561–9, Hesiod *Works and Days* 167–72; the age of Kronos, *WD* 106–26. 'Constitutional' branch: Phaiakia in Hom. *Od.* 6.255–72, 7.37–135 etc.

⁶ So Carriere 1979, 85–118; Zimmermann 1983; Henderson 1987, xxix–xxxvi.

⁷ The classic statement of possible-worlds theory is Eco 1979, 200–60. See also Ronen 1994, with further bibliography.

⁸ On utopian consciousness, see also the massive work of Bloch (1986). For psychological approaches, see Ruyer 1950 and especially Marcuse 1956, who offers a Marxist reading of Freud. Modern theories of utopia are summarised by Manuel & Manuel 1979 and, from a Marxist perspective, by Geoghegan 1987.

⁹ Krates' *Thēria* fr. 16.1–3 (see p. 485 below for discussion of this point).

¹⁰ In any case, Pherekrates' *Agrioi*, a play with a very different plot and landscape, is quoted from separately by Athenaios in his section on slavery. On this play see Ceccarelli pp. 455–8 above.

¹¹ The use of 'silly' as a meta-term in modern comedy (for example, Chapman et al. (1989), chs. 32, 36) seems to capture the flavour and problems of these passages accurately.

¹² For bibliography, see Zimmermann 1983, 60 n. 10. Add Bonner 1910; Bichler 1995, 85–109; the valuable brief remarks of Gomme I. 104–5 as well as Ceccarelli in this volume on these and other utopias.

¹³ As Dover 1968, xcvi argues of *Clouds*, but see the scepticism of Taplin 1977, 13 n. 1.

¹⁴ See Luppe 1972 and Rosen 1989 with further bibliography. Platon's *Rhabdoukhoi* may be an example of a similar placing, but its date is unknown (*POxy.* 2737.44–51 = Ar. fr. 590.44–51 = Platon T7).

¹⁵ Some speculations about such dissemination are offered by Taplin 1993, 89–99.

¹⁶ ὥσπερ λαμπάδιον κατασείσαντος (6.268d8): see Gomme I. 104.

¹⁷ Fr. 171 = *PSI* 1212 + *PSI* 1279 + *PBrux.* E 6842. The most recent full-scale treatment is Luppe 1967. For a full bibliography, see *CGFP* p. 39, with additions in K-A IV 204.

¹⁸ The paradosis βώλοις is difficult to construe (see K-A ad loc.), and a number of emendations have been offered, e.g. φύλλοις Kock, '(fringed) with leaves'.

¹⁹ Plato *Politikos* 271c8–72b3 also describes the time of Kronos (perhaps through the filter of Old Comedy).

²⁰ φωνῆνθ' seems to fit talking animals better (so Pfeiffer ad Call. fr. 192.1 ff, and cf. Krates' *Thēria*), but K-A and others interpret it as referring to the act of swallowing.

²¹ The texts of the comic fragments given here are generally in accordance with K-A, but in some places I add plausible supplements or adopt an emendation to give a

slightly more readable text. In these and other unclear cases, I print a full apparatus.

²²A minor echo is καταπίνω, used of Kronos' child-eating (line 14, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 467), though it is the natural verb to use.

²³Elsewhere, Hesiod gives the parents of Ploutos as Iasios (a Titan) and Demeter (*Theog.* 969–74).

²⁴δεσμι in line 20 and δεσμὸς ξύλινος in line 21 suggest imprisonment for both Kronos and Titans (both mentioned in the exiguous remains of lines 18–19).

²⁵See Taplin 1977, 424–5 and West 1979, 140–1.

²⁶Another minor point of contact between the plays is the mention of automatism in Prometheus' description of the land of the Gabii (fr. 329).

²⁷κλωγμός and ὕμν (line 15) seem to refer to audience reaction to an earlier play, though the exact sense is unclear (κλωγμός elsewhere refers to a 'hooting' or 'clucking' in disapproval: cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 272–3). This passage has to be seen in the context of the whole parodos, which is remarkable for the degree of its metatheatricity. For metatheatricity in the parodos, see Kratinos *Odussēs* fr. 151, Ar. *Akharn.* 204–7.

²⁸Perikles as tyrant Zeus: Kratinos *Kheirones* fr. 258. As Zeus: Kratinos *Thraittai* fr. 73, *Nemesis* fr. 118 (cf. *Kheirones* fr. *259, adesp. fr. 704 (63K) on Aspasia); Hermippos *Moirai* fr. 42, cf. fr. 47 ('king of satyrs'). As Olympian: Telekleides fr. 18 (cf. fr. 48), adesp. fr. 701 (his oratory). Tyranny: adesp. fr. 703 (Perikles' followers called 'the New Peisistratids'), cf. Telekleides fr. 45, Plut. *Per.* 7, 16. These characteristics culminate in the description of Perikles at *Akharn.* 530–2. For Perikles' continuous *strategia*, cf. Plut. *Per.* 16.3. Thucydides' famous account of Perikles' rule (2.65.5–13, esp. 2.65.9) may, of course, be influenced by comedy. A further reason for associating this play with the decline of Perikles may be the extended attack on Hagnon (see pp. 478–9).

²⁹Thuc. 2.59–65.4, Plut. *Per.* 35.3–4 and cf. Gomme II.182–9. Lenaia 430/29 would accordingly be the earliest possible date.

³⁰Ploutos is a strong contender (suggested by Luppe 1967 on fr. 171.25–6), especially in the light of Kratinos' fondness for having choruses named after (and presumably to be taken as followers of) a *dramatis persona* – cf. his *Kheirones* and *Odussēs*. Kronos is, of course, the other main possibility. There is the further question of whether the god is (also) being associated with Plouton. The Ploutos/Plouton pun is certainly central to Aristophanes' *Tagenistai* fr. 504 K-A (= 488 Kock) 1 and 14, and may have motivated the *katabasis* of Pherekrates' *Metalles* (earlier than *Tagenistai*).

³¹Diogenianus 3.15. Cf. K-A ad loc. for a range of variants.

³²The attack on Hagnon (later a proboulos) may well be because of his association with Perikles – suggested not just by the temporal coincidence, but also by the story in Plut. *Per.* 32. On Hagnon see Davies 1971, 227–8.

³³The discourse of wealth in Athens is complex, involving more general notions of class and status. See de Ste. Croix 1981, 283–300; Ober 1989, 192–247; Davies 1981 and, most recently, Davidson 1997, 227–46. For the archaic period, an interesting approach is offered by Kurke 1991, 163–256. The social and economic raw material is presented by Jones 1957, especially chs. 1, 4; some of his conclusions, however, are challenged by Todd 1990.

³⁴Two stories in circulation explaining the acquisition of wealth by prominent Athenian families stress gift-giving (the Alkmeonidai, Hdt. 6.125) and divine favour and good fortune (the elder Miltiades' acquisition of Thracian interests, Hdt. 6.35–6) rather than open commercialism and trade.

³⁵Without invoking notions of inverse snobbery, the audience as a whole would not, I suggest, show class solidarity with Kleon or other politicians derided for being 'in trade'. While the account of de Ste. Croix (1972, 355–76) may, on his own

narrow terms, satisfactorily characterize the class background of Aristophanes (and other comic poets), his analysis woefully ignores questions of audience-reception and the complex comic tradition.

³⁶Aesch. *Agam.* 1043 with Fraenkel ad loc., Sophokles *Elektra* 1393.

³⁷Hill 1972; see also Hill 1958, 75–87, Manuel & Manuel 1979, 332–66.

³⁸These are collected, together with other Digger documents, by Sabine (1965). The influence of the Diggers can still be felt in modern politics through environmental direct action, and above all with the group ‘The Land is Ours’.

³⁹Ricoeur’s work is to some extent a critique and development of the approach of the German sociologist Karl Mannheim. I offer some further remarks on this below (pp. 487–8).

⁴⁰Ricoeur’s scheme also proposes a positive, integrating function for ideology and, to make a symmetrical scheme, a negative, escapist function for utopia.

⁴¹See Ceccarelli, pp. 453–5 above, for further discussion of this play. Fr. 16 is in iambic tetrameters, fr. 17 in iambic trimeters.

⁴²Hot baths, as we find most famously in *Clouds* 1044–54, are (or can be) associated with (essentially upper-class) softness and indolence: see Dover 1968 ad loc.

⁴³The food of fr. 16 is in line with the fish-eating vegetarianism promoted here. Though fr. 17 may be *elaborating* fr. 16, the details do not seem very pertinent to the concerns of the chorus.

⁴⁴Aside from general echoes of the utopia of *Ploutoi* and Hesiod *Works and Days*, the images and language of Hesiod are echoed in fr. 1.3 (cf. *WD* 112, 117–18). There is also use of Homer (fr. 1.15, cf. *Iliad* 9.120).

⁴⁵There are a number of alternatives (see K-A ad loc.) who cannot be ruled out completely.

⁴⁶Peace may also be an implicit element of the automatist utopia in Pherekrates’ *Persai*: see fr. 137.1–2.

⁴⁷Thus expressing an issue, in slightly different terms, that appears in Kratinos’ *Ploutoi* and perhaps also in Krates’ *Thēria*: cf. Krates *inc. fab.* fr. 48, ἀδικότροπος ἐρεῖς καὶ ἀδικοχρήματος, ὡς Κράτης, καὶ ἀδικόχειρας, ὡς Σοφοκλῆς (fr. 977 Radt) (‘you will say, “Of unjust character” and “with ill-gotten gains” like Krates, and “with unjust hands” like Sophokles’); cf. Lex. Bekk.^v p. 210.19: ἀδικοχρημάτους τοὺς κακοπράγμονας. οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐξ ἀδίκων πλουτοῦντας (‘those with ill-gotten gains: evil-doers, and those who are unjustly wealthy’).

⁴⁸Krates’ *Thēria* is probably before Dionysia 425/4 BCE (cf. *Knights* 537–540) and after c. 430/29 (see pp. 478–9 above on *Ploutoi*), while Telekleides’ career must have been drawing to an end (first victory shortly after 447/6 BCE; no evidence of activity in the 420s or later; relatively few play titles and extant fragments; note also *Amphiktuones*’ close ties to *Thēria* and *Ploutoi*). The remarks of the chorus at *Akharnians* 977 that αὐτόματα πάντ’ ἀγαθὰ τῷδὲ γε πορίζεται (‘all good things are coming of their own accord to him at least’), and at 1017 αὐτῷ διακονεῖται (‘he is ministering to his own needs’, cf. Krates *Thēria* fr. 16.2) may have been influenced by recent plays on that theme (see also *Wasps* 1282, *Peace* 665).

⁴⁹Assuming that they are distinct. Otherwise, it is a combination of the two different descriptions of the same utopia.

⁵⁰The last of these seems to derive from Kratinos *Ploutoi* fr. 176.

⁵¹Narration of a *historical* utopia also occurs in *Ploutoi* and *Amphiktuones*. A further characteristic of *Metallēs* may be a greater concern with landscape that can perhaps be termed pastoral, especially in fr. 114. The focus on landscape is found also in Kratinos fr. 363 (above, p. 476).

⁵²Their description as ἀρτίως ἡβυλλιωσαι καὶ τὰ ῥόδα κεκαρμέναι (‘recently come to the full flush of youth and with their “roses” [i.e. pubic area] plucked’, fr.

113.28–9) is unlikely to be a matter of pure aesthetics. There are also ambiguous references to παῖδια in Pherekrates' *Persai* (frs. 132.1, 139.2). An ambivalence over the role of slaves in a utopian context is reflected in the contrasting positions in *Ekklesiazousai*, where slaves do the work (651–2), and *Ploutos* (522).

⁵³The descriptions are uncannily similar, though it seems unlikely, *pace* Bonner 1910, 175–6, that the two traditions are connected. For a synthesis of popular traditions (including the American folk tradition of the 'Big Rock Candy Mountains'), see Manuel & Manuel 1979, 80–1.

⁵⁴For an attempt in this direction, see Edwards 1993.

⁵⁵Bakhtin 1984, 298 n. 10 argues that we should distinguish from these the *Schlar-affenland* of Hans Sachs, which he claims has an essentially moralizing tone (this should be distinguished from modern use of the term, which, as Kathrin Luddecke has pointed out to me, is not value-laden in the same way). A moralistic tone does not seem to be shared by the automatist utopias, despite Baldry's labelling of them as 'the idler's or glutton's paradise' (1953, 49).

⁵⁶*Pace* Finley 1975, who apparently takes this view of *all* the automatism plays, and cf. also Manuel & Manuel 1979, 78–81. Finley's other claim, that no utopias in the ancient world were non-hierarchical, seems explicitly disproved by these (and other similar) utopias. Finley is biased in his discussion towards the planned 'constitutional' model of utopia, such as Plato's *Republic*.

⁵⁷Wine and the symposium also feature heavily in Aristophanes' *Tagenistai*, though principally in the context of metaphorical and punning gags paralleling the symposium and Hades (cf. fr. 504 K-A = 488 Kock). Note that elsewhere it is food rather than wine that is central to the automatist utopia, and cf. Bowie 1995, 122.

⁵⁸στεφάνους τε πᾶσι κώμφαλωτὰς χρυσίδας ('crowns for everyone and embossed gold plate'), *Persai* fr. 134; οὗτος σύ τὴν ἀργυρίδα τὴνδὶ φέρεις; ('Hey you! Where are you taking that silver cup?'), fr. 135.

⁵⁹Thourioi was founded on the site of the former Sybaris (cf. Taplin, 1993, 12–17) and the latter's reputation surely influenced the representation of the Thourian Good Life. Local topography is central to this utopia, which consists of various details taken over from *Amphiktuones*, *Metalles* and *Persai* (see K-A on *Thouriopersai* fr. 6 and Baldry, 1953, 57–8) now attached almost exclusively to water-courses, especially the major local rivers, Krathis and Sybaris: see Lombardo 1995, 267–9. The only piece of evidence for the action of the comedy comes in fr. 7, where a character seems to view the chorus (perhaps on their entry) with some incredulity: τίς τρόπος ἱππων; ὡς δ' ὀρχοῦνται τὸν βαρβαρικὸν τρόπον οὗτοι. This might suggest that the play was all satire on foreign luxury, but the possibility remains open that the character is looking for such exotica (cf. *Birds*, esp. 92–4, 801–8).

⁶⁰Nikophon's *Seirēnes* may offer a more straightforwardly negative treatment, in an Odyssean myth-burlesque (as a temptation for Odysseus? So Hoffman: see K.-A. ad loc. and Baldry 1953, 57).

⁶¹The pun combines two elements of Perikles' presentation on the comic stage: his Zeus-like tendencies (see above, p. 478) and his (allegedly) odd-shaped head (cf. especially Kratinos *Thraittai* fr. 73; see now Revermann 1997).

⁶²Education/music: frs. 247, 248, 254, 263, 267; politics and decline: frs. 251, 258, *259, 268.

⁶³ἀπαλὸν δὲ σισύμβριον <ῆ> ρόδον ἢ κρίνον παρ' οὓς ἐθάκεν, μετὰ χερσὶ δὲ μῆλον ἕκαστος ἔχων σκίπωνα τ' ἡγόραζον And soft bergamot or rose or lily perched by their ears, and each man lounged in the agora with an apple and a staff in his hands (*Kheirones* fr. 257).

⁶⁴Fr. 25 = Athen. 12.553e3–4. The connection is accepted by Gomme I.104.

⁶⁵Note that within his framework, this is only one function of utopia.

⁶⁶See Storey and Braun in this volume for further discussion of this play. Date:

after Mantinea, 417/6 BCE, Storey (1990 and in this volume); 413/2 BCE K-A, following Geissler.

⁶⁷Fr. 99.1–22 attacks prominent citizens in the context of morality, food and the symposium; fr. 99.23–34 carries this over into political life and the treatment of the *strategia* and comic poetry (both from the parabasis). Fr. 104 also concerns the *strategia* and sexual morality (cf. also fr. 107) and lack of relevant experience. Various other villains appear in frs. 117, 135, 136, 139. Fr. 129 expresses the general change in treatment of an honest man (located at the symposium). Fr. 112 ridicules the sons of Hippokrates as simpletons.

⁶⁸Fr. 99.67–75; fr. *100 with K-A ad loc. Cf. Taplin 1993, 42 and fig. 16.16 (= Fig. 6 in this volume). I accept the view that Puronides is a pun for Muronides, the general of the 450s (who could still have been alive).

⁶⁹The stress is on the ‘coming up’ (cf. fr. 99.65, fr. 115, fr. 101.4, ?fr. 105), though there is no evidence as to how this feat was achieved or how much of their *anabasis* was dramatised (probably not very much, given that Aristides, at least, has arrived for the scene immediately following the *parabasis*). See Storey in this volume, pp. 175–7.

⁷⁰Solon as a distinct personality is not certainly represented in any other fragments although his presence is attested by T i (and fr. 109 has been assigned to a scene with him: see K-A ad loc.).

⁷¹For Aristides and justice see also fr. *105 (and cf. fr. 114); for the absence of justice after Aristides (even in his descendants), see fr. 127.

⁷²Fr. 102; the decline is presented in frs. 103, *116, 121. Cf. also fr. 108 (a rhetorical segment by an unknown speaker). Compare Plut. *Per.* 8, Hermippos fr. 47.3–4, Ar. *Akharn.* 530–1.

⁷³Fr. 110 (commenting on his son by Aspasia); cf. fr. 111, a more general failure to pass on virtues (and cf. fr. 127 on justice, using similar language). This alleged decline, already voiced in *Odyssey* 2.276–7, was to obsess Plato: *Laches* 179c–80b, *Protag.* 319e–20b,

326e–28b, *Meno* 93c–94e.

⁷⁴Good examples in recent British political history have been the Thatcherite ‘utopia’ of nineteenth-century laissez-faire economics and repressed morality, or John Major’s more traditional and conservative, yet equally skewed, vision of the 1950s. See Geoghegan 1987, 3–4, Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.

⁷⁵There is no doubt that abuse of the current crop of leaders can often be on class grounds in Old Comedy, and perhaps there was some of this in *Demoi* (cf. *inc. fab.* fr. 384), but, as I stressed with Kratinos’ *Ploutoi*, such abuse need not have been problematic for the lower classes at Athens.

⁷⁶I do not discuss here either the highly exiguous remains of fragmentary plays on the theme of *gunaikokratia* (Pherekrates’ *Turannis*, *Graes*, Theopompos’ *Stratitides*), or Arkhippos’ *Ikhthues*, which seems to share some themes with Ar. *Birds*, but where evidence for utopianism or anti-utopianism is not clear (see Wilkins in this volume, pp. 343–5).

⁷⁷*Khrusoun Genos* is to be dated between 428 and 422 BCE: see Storey 1990, 17–18 and 1993, 394–5.

⁷⁸This fragment perverts a concept found in Hesiod (fr. 264 M-W) and, with variations, in Bakkhulides (fr. 4.21–5 Snell). It had already been treated in comedy (relatively mildly) by Kratinos (*Pulaia* fr. 182). See Dover on Plato *Symp.* 174b3–6 for what Plato took this ‘proverb’ to be; see also K-A on Eupolis fr. 315, Kratinos fr. 182.

⁷⁹Exotic animals: fr. 317. Fine sacrifice (in past tense): fr. 301. Cheese: *λοιπὸς γὰρ οὐδεὶς <ῆ> τροφᾶλις ἐκείνηι □ ἐφ’ ὕδωρ βαδίζει, σκῖρον ἡμφιεσμένη* (fr. 299): ‘No-one is left: that piece of cheese there | Is walking off to get some water,

wearing its rind'. The deictic -ι, if correct (it is an emendation by Meineke accepted by K-A), suggests a walking cheese on-stage, and this may have been a model for the trial scene in *Wasps*.

⁸⁰Music: frs. 303, 309, 311; barbarianism: fr. 310, 311 (cf. fr. 313). Also ascribed to the play is fr. 326, where there is conflict between ancient and modern forms of music (cf. Eupolis' *Aiges*, Ar. *Clouds*), but there is no real evidence for assigning the fragment to this play.

⁸¹The other figures are hiding beneath their selected attributes and may have included Aristophanes (τὸν...φαλακρὸν, 'baldy', fr. 298). Other fragments of the play mention a Pantokles (fr. 318), Lampon (fr. 319), an Alkaios (fr. 303) and, of course, Kleon (fr. 316). Material references to Athens include the Odeon (fr. 325). The political situation includes references to implicit imperialism associated with Kleon (fr. 316) and to the *eisphora* (property-tax) introduced in 428 BCE (fr. 300). But although Kleon and the *eisphora* are usually linked (cf. Meiggs 1972, 318), there is no direct evidence for this. Kleon may appear on-stage in fr. 331, which has been ascribed to *Khrusoun Genos*, though there are no real grounds for such an ascription.

⁸²So Whittaker 1935, 189, accepted by K-A ad loc., on the grounds that the metre is a dicolon. I am not convinced that we know enough about the use of the wide range of dicola in comedy (only Eupolideans in the *parabasis* of *Clouds* in extant full-length comedy) to be sure of the position of such an unusual form as this. As Parker 1988 has demonstrated quite convincingly, Eupolis was particularly innovative in his use of metre.

⁸³Also ascribed to the play is fr. 439: Γαληψός. This town appears in the Athenian Tribute Lists in the Thraceward District, east of Strymon (absent in 434 and 429 BCE).

⁸⁴For a summary of the evidence, see *RE* XIV (1930) coll. 1148–51.

⁸⁵Strabo 14.541, 544. According to Strabo 14.542, Mariandunos originally ruled part of Paphlagonia.

⁸⁶Vidal-Naquet remarks apropos of slave-utopias that 'when the Greeks wanted to describe a city of slaves they could choose only between complete marginalisation (barbarian countries) and locating it in a country where a "slave" was not quite a slave' (1986, 208). It is possible that both elements can be identified in *Khrusoun Genos* (though of course, marginalisation and 'otherness' are central to any concept of utopia or dystopia).

⁸⁷For the mythical elements, see Strabo 10.487 (K-A IV 233). Andromeda features in fr. 231 and, apparently, Perseus in frs. 218, 222, 225. None helps much with plot reconstruction.

⁸⁸Amunias is described as ἀλαζών ('charlatan'), κόλαξ ('fawner') and συκοφάντης ('malicious prosecutor') in fr. 227. Kleon's eyebrows are satirised in fr. 228 (see Olson 1999).

⁸⁹The 'city of slaves' may be an instance of hyperbolic abuse here, although it is an attested feature of (especially Hellenistic) legend (see Vidal-Naquet 1986, 207–8 and my comments on *Khrusoun Genos* above).

⁹⁰Although *Knights*, *Khrusoun Genos* and *Seriphioi* with their dystopian and pessimistic accounts of political corruption affecting the whole of a society are all dated or datable to the 420s, I do not want to suggest that this represents anything more than a change of technique: the favoured method of attacking Perikles through myth-allegory formed the background for very similar abuse. It is impossible to say whether, in a further resemblance to *Knights*, the dystopias are finally redeemed.

⁹¹The debate is seen most obviously in fr. 5. The extended jokes around the verb μακαρίζω ('I think someone blessed', with connotations of both good fortune and death) recall the jokes of Ar. *Tagenistai* fr. 504 K-A (= Kock 488) 9–14. Whether there is any intertextual element is unclear, since the date of the latter play is

unknown.

⁹²For the octopus eating its tentacles, a sign of stress now corroborated from the Berlin Aquarium, see West 1978, 290 on *Works and Days* 524. Further irony comes in references to the Agrioi as (or in the contrast of the Agrioi with?) ‘public tasters’ (τῶν...πρωτενθῶν, fr. 7); and in the suggestions about various wild edible plants in frs. 8, 13.

⁹³I am assuming that this is a fairly ‘straight’ if cynical praise of progress, though it remains possible either that this was a ‘straight’ praise of a slave-free past, or that there was a deal of irony here (which would appease modern liberal sensibilities, and would also undermine my argument). See Ceccarelli in this volume pp. 455–8 for further discussion.

⁹⁴The other notable feature is the abuse of other (musical and theatrical) performers: the kitharodes Meles, son of Peisias, and Khairis (fr. 6); Karkinos and sons (fr. 15).

⁹⁵See also fr. *20. On Timon, see Dunbar 1995, 708–9 on *Birds* 1548–9. Armstrong (1987) tries, unsuccessfully in my view, to make the case for a historical figure, as against a proverbial figure or, indeed, a character from a pre-415/4 comedy (a possibility not canvassed by Dunbar). Two candidates for an earlier appearance for Timon in comedy would be the *Agrioi* and an unknown comedy of Plato in which he was also mentioned (*inc. fab.* fr. 237).

⁹⁶τίς δ’ ἐστὶν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα φροντίζων; (B.) Μέτων ὁ ἑυκονοιεύς. (A.) οἶδ’, ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων

[A]: Who is the next one who is coming up with bright ideas? [B]: Meton, the Leukonian. [A]: I know him – the one who brings the fountains. (*Monotropos* fr. 22)

Compare *Birds* 992–1020, with Dunbar (1995, 550–1) ad loc. The reference to fountains may be a metaphor for the work of a town-planner, though Dunbar suggests that Meton had recently worked on the Athenian water-supply.

⁹⁷The confrontation between Mustapha Mond and John Savage in chs. XVI–XVII (1994 reprint: 198–219) makes the tension between utopia and dystopia explicit.

⁹⁸Such a view of society drives the New Right ideologies of Thatcher, Redwood, Gingrich et al. as well as self-confessed anarchists on Left and Right.

⁹⁹I stress that in applying the terms utopia/dystopia to individualistic visions of society (where social, political and economic structures are implicit or directly negated) I am not proposing to extend the term to individual wish-fulfilment fantasy, such as in *Wasps*, where social structures are not affected, nor, more importantly, is the fantasy topographically dependent.

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Ian C. Storey

Introduction

I. The Rivals of Aristophanes

- (a) Texts
- (b) The 'old favourites'
- (c) Old Comedians in *RE*, *Der neue Pauly* and *PAA*
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II. Aristophanes' lost plays

- (a) Aristophanes' early career (*Daitales*, *Babylonioi*)
- (b) The first version of *Clouds*
- (c) Fragments from papyri
- (d) Miscellaneous articles

This bibliography falls into two parts: first, work done on the poets of Old Comedy other than Aristophanes, and second, studies on the lost comedies of Aristophanes. An earlier version was prepared for the conference *The Rivals of Aristophanes* held in London in September 1996. I have used 1971 as an arbitrary starting-point (25 years preceding the conference), but as a preface I have provided the standard texts of the comic fragments, some traditional critical studies, and the material in *RE* on the poets of Old Comedy. I have restricted myself to works in English, Italian, German, French and Spanish. Notes (and collections of notes) on the text that have consequence for the interpretation are included; minor *noticulae* are not.

K-A provide bibliographic information for each poet (Aristophanes excepted) and play-title, and for fragments with a history of controversy. At the end of each successive volume of K-A will be found bibliographical addenda to previous volumes. Bibliography for fragments from papyri known before 1972 will be found at the entry in *CGFP*.

Titles of journals are generally abbreviated as in *L'Année philologique*, but occasionally a fuller form has been used. An index of comic dramatists and of major topics will be found at the end of Part I.

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II. Aristophanes' lost plays

I have divided the work on the lost comedies of Aristophanes into four groups: (1) his early career with special emphasis on *Daitales* and *Babylonioi*; (2) the ever-fresh question of the content of the first version of *Clouds* (as produced at the Dionysia of 423) and its differences from the extant text; (3) the attribution of certain papyrus texts and commentaries; and (4) discussions of particular lost plays and fragments.

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- (v) K-A III.2 fr. 466 (attributed to *Poiēsis*)
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London 1981, 23–5 (no. 4)

H. Lloyd-Jones, 'Notes on P. Turner 4 (Aristophanes Ποίησις)', *ZPE* 42 (1981)

23–5

(vi) K-A III.2 fr. 322 = *CGFP* 58 = *P.Mich.* 3690 (attributed to *Heroes*)
B. Gentili, 'Dimetri liberi nel Pap. Michigan inv. 3690',
QuadUrbInCultClass 13 (1972) 141–3

H. Hofmann, *Mythos und Komödie*, Hildesheim 1976, 204–5

R. Parker, *Miasma*, Oxford 1983, 243–4

(d) *Miscellaneous discussions*

G. Alvoni, 'Aristoph. frs.128 e 129 K-A', *Eikasmos* 1 (1990) 147–56
[*Gems*]

– 'Aristoph. fr 130 K-A', *Eikasmos* 3 (1992) 165–71

– 'Aristoph. fr 131 K-A', *Eikasmos* 5 (1994) 109–18

– 'Ar. Γήox03C1;άς frs. 137 e 147; Αμφιάραος fr. 29 K-A', *Eikasmos* 6 (1995) 97–107 A.C. Cassio, 'I tempi di composizione delle commedie attiche e una parafrasi di

Aristofane in Galeno (Ar. fr. 346 K-A)', *RivFillstClas* 115 (1987) 5–11

E. Dettori, 'Una proposta per Aristoph. fr. 156.7 K-A (Θρακοφοίται)',
GiornItalFilol

46 (1994) 229–35

M. Dickie, 'A joke in Old Comedy: Aristophanes fragment 607 *PCG*',
CPh 90 (1995) 241–5

C. Faraone, 'Aristophanes *Amphiaraios* fr. 29 (Kassel-Austin): oracular response or erotic incantation?', *CQ* 42 (1992) 320–7

L. Gil, " Ἀνάγυρος ", *Museum Criticum* 19/20 (1984/5) 121–32 D.M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes and Athens*, Oxford 1995, 324–7 [first *Ploutos*] L. Perilli, 'Aristoph. fr. 205 K-A (ὑποτεκμαίρεσθαι)', *Museum Criticum* 23/24 (1990/3) 245–50

V. Tammaro, 'Aristoph. fr. 198K', *Museum Criticum* 15/17 (1980/2) 101–6

NB. For all lost comedies of Aristophanes see the earlier discussions by Schmid [I(b) above] 174–223 and Gelzer *RE Suppl.* XII cols. 1402–19.

Note on K-A VIII fr. 1105 = *CGFP* 220 = *POxy.* 2743

Recent studies of this controversial fragment of a commentary to a comedy, variously identified as Strattis' *Lemnomeda*, Eupolis' *Demoi*, Kratinos' *Drapetides* or *Thrattai*, include:

W. Luppe, *Gnomon* 43 (1971) 121–2

– [119] 203–4

F. Perusino, *QuadUrbInCultClass* 31 (1979) 135–6

V. Tammaro, *Museum Criticum* 10/12 (1975/7) 101–2

Kenneth Dover and W.G. Arnott

with additional material by N.J. Lowe and David Harvey

This appendix is the work of a quartet of authors. The biographies signed KJD and WGA are by Kenneth Dover and Geoffrey Arnott (first and second violins), and are reprinted from *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (third edition, 1996) by permission of Oxford University Press (© Oxford University Press 1996). Nick Lowe (cello) has provided a firm bass line by compiling the lists of plays; David Harvey (viola) is responsible for entries on authors too insignificant for *OCD*³, as well as translations and transliterations of titles.

Transliteration has introduced some dissonances. The *OCD*, like K-A, uses Latinized forms (e.g. **Cratinus**, not **Kratinos**) and abbreviates Aristophanes' plays as follows: *Av.* = *Birds*; *Eq.* = *Knights*; *Nub.* = *Clouds*; *Pax* = *Peace*; *Ran.* = *Frogs*; *Vesp.* = *Wasps*. We retain these forms, but have preferred to Hellenize transliterated titles. Where the title is a proper name, however, we use the most familiar form (*Sirens* not *Seirēnes*).

Plays listed in Greek as 'Ξ ῥ Y' were known by both titles in antiquity, but bracketed alternatives reflect modern uncertainties. The figures '1, 2' indicate that the author wrote two plays with the same name: sometimes the second comedy was a revised version of the first, sometimes it was a different play (see G. Bender, *De Graecae comoediae titulis duplicibus*, Diss. Marburg 1904). The notes in K-A on each play should be consulted for a judicious discussion of these and other problems.

Searching for English names for these comedies fills one with admiration for the inventive powers of their authors (though titles may mislead: Aristophanes' *Wasps* is not a play about wasps) and with despair over finding satisfactory equivalents. Like Aristophanes' *Themophoriazousai* they have no settled English titles: Krates' Θηρία has appeared sometimes as *Animals*, sometimes as *Wild Animals* and sometimes as *Beasts*. It is difficult to avoid inappropriate overtones: scholars have offered *Brigadiers* for Eupolis' Ταξιαρχοί and *Hermit* for Phrynichos' Μονότροπος, but the former surely sounds too British and the latter too religious. One can only hope that the *Grass-cutters* (Ποάστρια(ι)) of Magnes and Phrynichos will not suggest *Flymos*. *Twelfth Night* is very tempting for Philyllios' Δωδεκάτη, but the temptation must be resisted. Translations that aim to capture the brevity of the original often lose accuracy: for example μοιχοί is a

word of wider scope than ‘adulterers’ (see A.R.W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* I (Oxford 1968) 32–8), but *Adulterers* is still the best translation for Ameipsias’ comedy. We cannot tell whether the participle in Alkaios’ Ἀδελφαὶ μοιχευόμεναι is passive or (less likely) middle, but we can hardly translate it as *The Sisters who were Involved in Sexual Behaviour of an Adulterous or Similar Nature or Perhaps Initiated it Themselves*. Sometimes it is impossible to be sure of the meaning. We have translated Kallias’ Σχολάζοντες as *Men at Leisure*, though it is tempting to call it *Students* and to envisage it as another comedy about sophists. The verb can certainly bear this meaning – but not, it seems, until a later date. There are no fragments to help us, and *Men at Leisure* finds a parallel in Strattis’ Ψυχασταί. In the most desperate cases, we have printed ‘meaning unknown’, but here, as always, the reader is advised to consult K-A.

Alcaeus/Alkaios (K-A II 3–15) is called by the *Suda* a comedian of the Old Comedy (κωμικὸς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας) and author of ten plays. His *Pasiphae* took the fifth (last) prize in 388 BC (hyp. 4 Ar. *Plut.*). Fragments of seven other plays survive; the titles suggest that he specialized in mythological burlesques. KJD

Ἀδελφαὶ μοιχευόμεναι *Adelphai moicheuomenai* Sisters in Adultery
Γανυμήδης *Ganymede*
Ἐνδυμίων *Endymion*
Ἱερὸς γάμος *Hieros Gamos* Sacred Marriage
Καλλιστώ *Kallisto*
Κωμωδοτραγῳδία *Komōidotragōidia* Tragicomedy
Παλαίστρα *Palaistra* [hetaira’s nickname]
Πασιφάη *Pasiphae*

Ameipsias (K-A II 197–211): contemporary with Aristophanes. His *Connus* was placed second to Cratinus’ *Pytine* and above Aristophanes’ *Clouds* in 423 BC (hyp. 5 Ar. *Nub.*). Connus was Socrates’ music master, and the play may have had a similar character to *Clouds*. Socrates himself was a character (fr. 9 quoted by Diog. Laert. 2.28, without naming the play) and the chorus consisted of *phrontistae*, i.e. sophists (cf. the *phrontisterion* in *Clouds*). *Comastae* (‘Revellers’: see **Phrynichus**) won the first prize, defeating Aristophanes’s *Birds*, at the City Dionysia in 414 (hyp. 1 Ar. *Av.*). We have seven titles. KJD

Ἀποκοτταβίζοντες *Apokottabizontes* Kottabos-players
Κατεσθίων *Katesthiōn* Greedy-guts
Κόννος *Konnos*
Κωμασταί *Kōmastai* Revellers
Μοιχοί *Moichoi* Adulterers
Σαπφώ *Sappho*
Σφενδόνη *Sphendonē* The Sling [hetaira’s nickname?]

Anonymus Stockportensis: A funerary stele showing a comic poet (identified as such by two comic masks and a papyrus roll) was discovered in the Kerameikos in 1812, and is now at Lyme Park, Stockport. Webster and others dated it c. 380 BC, and believed that it was the gravestone of a poet of Old Comedy – perhaps even Aristophanes. But the monument is now generally dated a generation later, c. 350, in which case it will commemorate a writer of Middle Comedy. For bibliography see p. 118 n. 21 above. FDH

Apollophanes (K-A II 518–23) won one victory at the Lenaea (*IG* ii² 2325. 132 = 5 C 1 col. 2.6 Mette). In his Κρητες (Cretans) one character spoke Doric (fr. 7 K-A = 6K). Ten fragments. WGA

Δαλῖς *Dalis* [meaning uncertain]
Δανάη *Danae*
Ἰφιγέρων *Iphigerōn* [personal name]
Κένταυροι *Kentauroi* Centaurs
Κρητες *Krētes* Cretans

Archippus/Archippos (K-A II 538–57): We have six titles, and four other plays were variously attributed to Archippus or Aristophanes. Archippus may have been the man of that name denounced in 415 BC for profanation of the mysteries. In *Fishes* (after 403, as the reference to the archon Euclides in fr. 27 K-A shows) he exploited an idea similar to that of Aristophanes' *Birds*; fr. 27 concerns a treaty between Athens and the fishes. *Rhinon* no doubt satirized the man of that name who came into prominence in 404/3 (*Ath. pol.* 38.3 f.). KJD

Ἀμφιτρυῶν α' β' *Amphitryon* 1, 2
Ἡρακλῆς γαμῶν *Herakles gamōn* Marriage of Herakles
Ἰχθύες *Ichthyes* Fishes
ὄνου σκιά *Onou skia* Donkey's Shadow
Πλούτος *Ploutos* Wealth
Ῥίνων *Rhinon*

Plays attributed to Archippus and to Aristophanes:

[Διόνυσος] Ναυαγός [*Dionysos*] *Nauagos* [*Dionysos*] Shipwrecked
Νῆσοι *Nēsoi* Islands
Νιοβος *Niobos*
Ποίησις *Poiēsis* Poetry

Ariphrades (not in K-A) ridiculed tragic diction, according to Aristotle *Poet.* 1458b31–59a4; possibly but not necessarily a comic poet (Schmid 1946, 144). He may or may not be identical with Ariphrades the cunnilinguist (Ar. *Eq.* 1278–89, *Vesp.* 1280–3, *Av.* 883–5) or his homonym the pupil of Anaxagoras (*Ath.* 5.220b). FDH

Aristomenes (K-A II 562–8) competed c. 440 BC (*IG* ii² 2325.120), and probably the poet whose plays span the period 440–390 in *IG* xiv 1097.10 ff. He may also be the man of that name denounced for

profanation of the mysteries in 415. We have five titles in all, and sixteen citations. KJD

Ἄδμητος *Admetos*

Βοηθοί *Boethoi* Assistants

Γόητες *Goētes* Fraudulent Wizards

Διόνυσος ἀσκητής *Dionysos askētēs* Dionysos in Training

Κολεοφόροι (= Ὑλοφόροι) *Koleophoroi* (= *Hylophoroi*?) Sheath-carriers
(= Wood-carriers?)

Ὑλοφόροι: see Κολεοφόροι

Aristophanes (K-A III): We simply list the plays:

- Αἰολίσκη α' β' *Aiolosikēn* Aiolos the Cook 1, 2
Ἀμφιάραος *Amphiaraios*
Ἀνάγνωρος *Anagnōros* [Attic deme]
Ἀχαρνῆς *Acharnēs* Acharnians
Βαβυλώνιοι *Babylōnioi* Babylonians
Βάτραχοι α' β' *Batrachoi* Frogs 1, 2
Γεωργοί *Geōrgoi* Farmers
Γῆρας *Gērai* Old Age
Γηρυτιδῆς *Gērtyades* Singer [invented poet's name]
Δαίδαλος *Daídalos*
Δαιτάλης *Daítalēs* Barqueters
Δαναΐδες *Danaidē*
Διονύσος ναυαγός *Dionysos nauagōs* Dionysos Shipwrecked [see Archippos]
Δράματα [α'] ἢ Νιοβός *Dramata* or *Niobos* Dramas 1, or Niobos [see Archippos]
Δράματα [β'] ἢ Κένταυρος *Dramata* or *Kentauros* Dramas 2, or The Centaur
Εἰρήνη α' β' *Eirēnē* Peace 1, 2
Ἑκκλησιαζούσαι *Ekklesiāzousai* Assemblywomen
Ἡρώες *Herōes*
Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι α' β' *Thesmophoriāzousai* Women at the Thesmophoria 1, 2
Ἱππῆς *Hippeis* Knights
Κένταυρος *Kentauros* [see Δράματα β']
Κόκκυλος *Kokkalos* [mythical Sicilian king]
Λημνῖοι *Lēmniai* Women of Lemnos
Λυσιστράτη ἢ Διαλλαγαί *Lysistratē* or *Diallagai* Lysistrata, or Reconciliation
Νεφέλαι α' β' *Nephelai* Clouds 1, 2
Νῆσοι *Nēsoi* Islands [see Archippos]
Νίος; see Δράματα α'
Ὀδομ[αντοπρέσ]βεις (?) *Odom[antopres]beis* Envoys to the Odomantes
Ὀλκῆδες *Holkades* Merchant Ships
Ὀρνίθες *Ornithes* Birds
Πελαργοί *Pelargoi* Storks
Πλούτης α' β' *Ploutos* Wealth 1, 2
Ποίησις *Poîēsis* Poetry [see Archippos]
Πολύιδος *Polyidos*
Προῶγον *Proagōn* The Prelude [to the Dionysia]
Σκηνῆς καταλαμβάνουσai *Skēnas kata lambanousai* Women Bagging Tent-sites
Σφήκες *Sphēkes* Wasps
Ταγηνισταί *Tagēnistai* Frying-pan Men
Τελεμεσσή *Telemessēs* Men of Telmessos
Τριτάλης *Trítalēs* Mr Trebilcock
Φοίνισσαι *Phoinissai* Phoenician Women
Ὡραί *Hōrai* Seasons

Autocrates/Autokrates (K-A IV 18–19): comic poet, ἀρχαῖος according to the *Suda*, which adds 'he also wrote many tragedies'. Τυμπανισταί (or Τυμπαναστρίαί, Hsch.) is the only title we have. KJD

Τυμπανισταί *Tympanistai* Kettle-drummers

Callias/Kallias (K-A IV 38–53) won first prize at the City Dionysia in 446 BC (*IG* ii² 2318, col. 3), and was active at least until 430 (*IG* xiv 1097.5 f.). We have eight titles (including Ἀταλάνται), and 40 citations; fr. 15 mentions Socrates. ‘Callias the Athenian, a little earlier than **Strattis**’ (Ath. 453c) who composed a γραμματική τραγωδία, ‘alphabet-revue’ (cf. 448b, 276a), might be the same person. KJD

Αἰγύπτιος *Aigyptios* The Egyptian
 Ἀταλάνται *Atalantai* Atalanta and friends
 Βάτραχοι *Batrachoi* Frogs
 Ὑπογραμματατικὴ τραγωδία *Grammatikḗ tragōidia* Alphabetical Tragedy
 Ἔντερα (or Ὑπερα) σιδηρᾶ *Entera (or Hypera) sidērā* Iron Guts (or Iron Pestles) [first letters missing]
 Κύκλωπες *Cyclopes*
 Πεδῆται *Pedētai* Prisoners in Chains
 Σάτυροι *Satyroi* Satyrs
 Σχολάζοντες *Scholazontes* Men at Leisure
 Ἔντερα σιδηρᾶ: see Ἔντερα σιδηρᾶ

Cantharus/Kantharos (K-A IV 57–62), victorious at the Dionysia in 422 BC (*IG* ii² 2318.115 = 1 col 8.17 Mette). 13 fragments. WGA

Ἀηδόνες *Aedones* Nightingales
 Μήδεια *Medea*
 Μύμηκες *Myrmēkes* Ants
 Συμμαχίαι *Symmachiai* Alliances
 Τηρεὺς *Tereus*

Cephisodorus/Kephisodoros (K-A IV 63–8): active c. 400 BC (*IG* i² 2325.69 = 5 B 1 col. 3.3 Mette; Lys. 21.4). 14 fragments. WGA

Ἀμαζόνες *Amazones* Amazons
 Ἀντιλαῖς *Anti-Lais* Pseudo-Lais (The Substiprostitute?)
 Τροφώνιος *Trophonios*
 Ὕς *Hys* Pig

Chionides (K-A IV 72–6) is treated by Aristotle (Poet. 1448a33) as one of the two earliest Attic comic poets, and it is probable that he was the first recorded comic victor at the City Dionysia, in 486 (*Suda*, entry under the name). Two plays ascribed to him, *Heroes* and *Beggars*, existed in Hellenistic times (Ath. (137e and 638d) doubts the authenticity of *Beggars*) and the *Suda* mentions also the title ‘*Persians* or *Assyrians*’. KJD

Ἀσσύριοι: see Πέρσαι
 Ἡρώες *Heroes*
 Πέρσαι ἢ Ἀσσύριοι *Persai or Assyrioi* Persians, or Assyrians
 (?) Πτωχοί *Ptōchoi* Beggars

Crates/Krates (K-A IV 83–110) won three victories at the City

Dionysia, the first almost certainly in 450 BC (Jer. *Chron.* Ol. 82.2, *IG* ii² 2325.52); he was an actor before he was a poet (Anon. *De Com.* 9.8.7). We have six titles. *Animals* depicted a situation in which animals refuse to be eaten by men. It seems to have contained a comic prophecy of an era in which all work will perform itself (see **Metagenes** and **Pherecrates**). Aristophanes (Eq. 537 ff.) speaks of him affectionately, and Aristotle (*Poet.* 1449b7) says that he was the first to discard *ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα* and create plots which were ‘general’ (*καθόλου*), i.e. to advance beyond the ridiculing of real individuals. KJD

Γεῖτονες *Geitones* Neighbours

Ἑορταί *Heortai* Festivals

Ἡρώες *Heroes*

Θηρία *Thēria* Animals

Λάμια *Lamia*

Μέτοικοι *Metoikoi* Metics

Παιδιαί *Paidiai* Games

Ῥήτορες *Rhētores* Orators

Σάμιοι *Samioi* Men of Samos

Τόλμαι *Tolmai* Daring Deeds

[misattributed: Πεδῆται: see **Callias**]

Cratinus/Kratinos (K-A IV 112–337) was regarded, with Aristophanes and Eupolis, as one of the greatest poets of Old Attic Comedy. He won the first prize six times at the City Dionysia and three times at the Lenaea (*IG* ii² 2325.50, 121). We have 27 titles and over 500 citations. The precisely datable plays are: *Cheimazomenae* at the Lenaea in 426 BC (hyp. 1 Ar. *Ach.*), *Satyr*s at the Lenaea in 424 (hyp. 1 Ar. *Eq.*), and *Pytine* at the City Dionysia in 423 (hyp. 6 Ar. *Nub.*). Three more are approximately datable: *Archilochi* treats (fr. 1) the death of Cimon as recent, and therefore comes not long after 450; *Dionysalexandros* (see below) attacked Pericles for ‘bringing the war upon Athens’, and must belong to 430 or 429; and fr. 73 *Thratiae* suggests that Pericles has just escaped the danger of ostracism (444/3). We do not know when Cratinus died; Ar. *Pax* 700 ff. speaks of him (in 421) as dead, but the context is humorous and its interpretation controversial. One category of titles is especially characteristic of Cratinus: *Archilochi*, *Dionysi*, *Cleobulinae*, *Odyssees*, *Pluti*, and *Chirones* (see also **Teleclides**). In ‘?δυσσης it appears from fr. 151 that the chorus represented Odysseus’ crew; it is possible that the ‘new toy’ of fr. 152 was a model of his ship brought into the orchestra. The play is mentioned by Platonius (*Diff. com.* 7 and 12) as an example of ‘Middle Comedy’ ahead of its time, i.e. as containing no

ridicule of contemporaries. There are papyrus fragments of *Pluti*, one of which indicates that the chorus explained its identity and role to the audience in the parodos. The hypothesis of *Dionysalexandros* is also largely preserved in a papyrus: in this play Dionysus – as the title suggests – was represented as carrying Helen off to Troy; there was a chorus of satyrs. In *Pytinē* Cratinus made good comic use of his own notorious drunkenness (cf. Ath. 39c), represented himself as married to Comedy, and adapted in self-praise the compliment paid to his torrential fluency and vigour by Ar. *Eq.* 526 ff.

Cratinus' language and style were inventive, concentrated, and allusive, and Aristophanes was obviously much influenced by him, but Platonius (*Diff. com.* 14) describes his work as comparatively graceless and inconsequential. It is clear from Ath. 495a, Hdn. 2.945, and Galen, *Libr. Suis* 17 that Cratinus was the subject of commentaries in Hellenistic times. KJD

Ἀρχιλόχοι	<i>Archilochoi</i>	Archilochus and friends
Βουκόλοι	<i>Boukoloi</i>	Herdsmen
Βούσιρις	<i>Busiris</i>	
Δηλίαδες	<i>Dēliades</i>	Girls of Delos
(?) Διδασκαλῖαι	<i>Didaskaliai</i>	Dramatic Catalogues
Διονυσάλεξανδρος	<i>Dionysalexandros</i>	Dionysos as Paris
Διόνυσοι	<i>Dionysoi</i>	Dionysus and friends
Δραπέτιδες	<i>Drapetides</i>	Runaway Women
Ἐμπίπράμενοι ἢ Ἰδαῖοι	<i>Empipramenoi or Idaioi</i>	Men on Fire, or Men of Ida
Εὐμένιδες (= Εὐνεῖδαι?)	<i>Eumenides (= Euneidai?)</i>	
Εὐνεῖδαι	<i>Euneidai</i>	Descendants of Euneus
Θρᾷτται	<i>Thrattai</i>	Thracian Women
Ἰδαῖοι (= Ἐμπίπράμενοι?)	<i>Idaioi</i>	Men of Ida
Κλεοβουλῖναι	<i>Kleoboulinai</i>	Kleoboulina and friends
Λάκωνες	<i>Lakōnes</i>	Lakonians
Μαλθακοί	<i>Malthakoi</i>	Softies
Νέμεσις	<i>Nemesis</i>	
Νόμοι	<i>Nomoi</i>	Laws
Ὀδυσσῆς	<i>Odysḗs</i>	Odysseus and friends
Πανόπται	<i>Panoptai</i>	The All-seeing Ones
Πλοῦτοι	<i>Ploutoi</i>	Riches
Πυλαία	<i>Pylaia</i>	Festival (?) at Thermopylai
Πυτίνη	<i>Pytinē</i>	Wine-flask
Σάτυροι	<i>Satyroi</i>	Satyrs
Σερίφιοι	<i>Seriphioi</i>	Men of Seriphos
Τροφώνιος	<i>Trophonios</i>	
Χειμαζόμενοι	<i>Cheimazomenoi</i>	Tempest-Tossed
Χείρωνες	<i>Cheirones</i>	Cheiron and friends
Ἔρωι	<i>Hōrai</i>	Seasons

Demetrius/Demetrios (K-A V 8–10) (Diog. Laert. 5.85). Fr. 2 refers to the destruction of the Athenian walls in 404 BC. Only five fragments. WGA

Διονύσου [γονί ?] *Dionysou [gonai?]* [Birth (?)] of Dionysos

Diocles/Diokles (K-A V 18–24) ‘contemporary of **Sannyrion** and **Philyllius**’

according to the *Suda*, i.e. c. 400 BC. We have six titles and seventeen citations. He was also credited with the invention of a percussion instrument. KJD

Βάκχαι *Bakchai*
Θάλαττα *Thalatta* The Sea
Θυέστης α' β' *Thyestes* 1, 2
Κύκλωπες *Cyclopes*
Μέλιτται *Melittai* Bees
ὄνειροι *Oneiroi* Dreams

Diopieithes (K-A V 43): *IG* ii² 2325.51 records two victories at the City Dionysia: it has been calculated that the first was in 451 BC. No titles, no fragments. FDH

Ecphantides/Ekphantides (K-A V 126–9): contemporary of **Cratinus**, won four victories at the City Dionysia (*IG* ii² 2325.49), but we have only two titles and six citations. KJD

Πεῖραι *Peirai* Trials (? perhaps Making Passes)
Σάτυροι *Satyroi* Satyrs

Epilycus/Epilykos (K-A V 170–3) a Greek comic poet of uncertain date. His *Koraliskos* (a Cretan word for ‘Youth’) contained an anapaestic passage in Doric (fr. 4). WGA

Κωραλίσκος *Koraliskos* Laddie

Euclides/Eukleides: Aristotle (Poet. 1458b5–11) refers to Εὐκλείδης ὁ ἀρχαῖος (‘Euclides of old’) who ridiculed Homer’s metrical licences; possibly a poet of Old Comedy (Schmid 1946, 173). FDH

Eunicus/Eunikos (K-A V 278–9): an exceptionally shadowy figure. The *Suda*, which mangles his name into Ainikos, credits him with one play, *Anteia*. But Athenaeus (13.567c, 586e) ascribes that to ‘Eunicus or Philyllius’, and another play, *Poleis*, to Philyllius, Eunikos, Aristophanes ‘or whoever wrote it’ (3.86e, 92e etc.). One and a half fragments. FDH

(?) “Αντεία ? *Anteia*
(?) Πόλεις *Poleis* Cities

Eupolis (K-A V 294–539) was regarded as one of the greatest poets of the Old Comedy (e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.1). His first play was produced in 429 BC (Anon. *De com.* 9 p. 7); he won three victories at the Lenaea and at least one at the City Dionysia (*IG* ii² 2325.59, 126). The datable plays are: *Numeniae* at the Lenaea in 425 (hyp. 1 Ar. Ach.),

Marikas at the Lenaea in 421 (schol. Ar. Nub. 551), *Flatterers* at the City Dionysia in 421 (hyp. 1 Ar. *Pax*), *Autolykus* in 420 (Ath. 216d), and *Baptae* after 424 (fr. 89 refers to Ar. Eq.) but before 415 (Aristid. Or. 3.444 D relates a story which, though untrue, presupposes 415 as the last possible date for *Baptae*). *Cities* is probably to be dated c.420 BC; it has many personal references in common with Ar. *Nub.*, *Vesp.*, and *Pax*. *Demes* must be later than 418 (fr. 99.30 ff. refers to the Mantinea campaign of that year) and earlier than 406 (fr. 110 shows that the younger Pericles is still alive); 412 is the most probable date. Eupolis died 'in the Hellespont, during the Peloponnesian War' (*Suda*), sometime after 415 (Eratosth. quoted in Cic. Att. 6.1.18). We have nineteen titles and nearly 500 citations, with substantial papyrus fragments of, and of commentaries on, *Marikas*, *Prospaltii*, and *Taxiarchi*.

Flatterers ridiculed Callias, son of Hipponicus, for cultivating the company of sophists – a comic poet's view of the kind of scene portrayed in Pl. *Prt.* 314 ff. *Marikas* was an attack on Hyperbolus, comparable with Aristophanes' attack on Cleon in *Knights*; like Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, it had two opposed choruses.

In *Demes* great Athenians of the past were brought up from the Underworld to give advice to the present. In *Taxiarchi* the soft-living Dionysus is subjected to hard military and naval training by Phormion. Eupolis' style seemed 'abusive and coarse' to the author of Anon. *De com.* 33 p. 9, but 'highly imaginative and attractive' to Platonius (*Diff. com.* 1 p.6). KJD

Αἶγες	<i>Aiges</i>	Nanny-goats
Ἀνδρογῦνοι:	see	Ἀστράτευτοι
Ἀστράτευτοι ἢ Ἀνδρογῦνοι	<i>Astrateutoi</i> or	
<i>Androgynoi</i>	Non-combatants, or	Effeminates
Αὐτόλυκος α' β'	<i>Autolykos</i> 1, 2	
Βάπται	<i>Baptai</i>	Dippers
Δῆμοι	<i>Dēmoi</i>	Demes
Εἰλωτες	<i>Heilōtes</i>	Helots
Κόλακες	<i>Kolakes</i>	Flatterers
Λάκωνες	<i>Lakōnes</i>	Lakonians
Μαρικᾶς	<i>Marikas</i>	
Νουμηνίαι	<i>Noumēniai</i>	New Moons
Πόλεις	<i>Poleis</i>	Cities
Προσπάλτιοι	<i>Prospaltioi</i>	Men from Prospalta [Attic deme]
Ταξίαρχοι	<i>Taxiarchoi</i>	Taxiarchs [regimental commanders]
Ὑβριστοδῖκαι	<i>Hybristodikai</i>	Reluctant Prosecutors
Φίλοι	<i>Philoī</i>	Friends
Χρυσοῦν Γένος	<i>Chrysoun genos</i>	Golden Race

Euthycles/Euthykles (K-A V 541–2) a writer of Old or Middle Comedy, with two titles preserved. Two fragments. WGA

Ἄσωτοι ἢ Ἐπιστολή *Asōtoi* or *Epistolē* Profligates, or The Letter
Ἀταλάντη *Atalanta*
Ἐπιστολή: see Ἄσωτοι

Glycon/Glykon, allegedly the inventor of the glyconic metre, is called a comic poet by the grammarian Choeroboscus (6th/7th cent.AD). Perhaps he introduced the metre in a parabasis (Schmid 1946, 173), though some think Choeroboscus has simply confused him with **Leucon** (see H. Gartner in *Kleine Pauly* s.v.).FDH

Gnesippus: see Davidson's chapter in this volume.

Hermippus (K-A V 561–604), brother of **Myrtilus**, won at least one victory (435 BC) at the City Dionysia and four at the Lenaea, the first c. 430 BC (*IG* ii² 2325.57, 123). We have ten titles and 94 citations. Ἀρτοπώλιδες ('The Women Sellers of Bread'), in which Hyperbolus and his mother were ridiculed (cf. Ar. Nub. 551 ff. with schol.), must belong to the period 421–416. Fr. 47 (from an unknown play) refers to Cleon's attack on Pericles in 431 or 430; fr. 63 (from Φορμοφόροι? ('The Porters')) is of interest because it names (with jokes interspersed) the characteristic imports to Athens from various Mediterranean countries c. 430–420 BC, and fr. 77 (play unnamed) represents Dionysus giving his opinions on different wines. Several of Hermippus' titles indicate mythological burlesque. KJD

Ἀγαμέμνων *Agamemnon*
Ἀθηνᾶς γοναί *Athēnas gonai* Birth of Athena
Ἀρτοπώλιδες *Artopōlides* Women Bread-sellers
Δημόται *Dēmotai* Demesmen
Εὐρώπη *Europa*
Θεοί *Theoi* Gods
Κέρκωπες *Kerkōpes* [malicious dwarfs]
Μοῖραι *Moirai* Fates
Στρατιῶται (or Στρατιώτιδες) *Stratiōtai* (or *Stratiōtides*) Soldiers (or Soldieresses)
Φορμοφόροι *Phormophoroi* Porters

Kallias, Kantharos, Kephisodoros, Krates, Kratinus: see **Callias, Cantharus** etc.

Leucon/Leukon (K-A V 611–14): active during the Peloponnesian War (*Suda* λ 340). Fr. 1 mentions the politician Hyperbolus. Seven fragments. WGA

ὄνος ἀσκοφόρος *Onos askophoros* The Donkey Carrying Wine-skins
Πρέσβεις *Presbeis* Envoys
Φράτερες *Phrateres* Phratry-members

Lycis/Lykis (K-A V 615), like **Phrynichus** and **Ameipsias**, is alleged by Aristophanes *Frogs* 12–15 to have made the same joke about carrying luggage in every play. *IG* ii² 2325.65 shows that he won one victory at the City Dionysia. No titles, no fragments. FDH

Lysippus/Lysippos (K-A V 618–22) was victorious in 409 BC (*Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae*, ed. L. Moretti (1968–90), 216.7–9 = 6 A 2, 7–9 Mette). His Βάκχαι (*Bacchantes*) contained a jibe on the seer Lampon (fr. 6). Ten fragments. WGA

Βάκχαι *Bakchai*

Θυρσοκόμος *Thyrsokomos* Keeper of the Thyrsus

Καταχῆναι *Katachēnai* Mockeries

Magnes (K-A V 626–31) is treated by Aristotle (Poet. 1448a34) as one of the two earliest Athenian comic poets. He won eleven victories at the City Dionysia, one of them in 472 BC (*IG* ii² 2318.7, 2325.44; Anon. *De com.* 9, p. 7). We have eight titles, but the plays ascribed to him in Hellenistic times were of very doubtful authenticity (Anon. *ibid.*; Ath. 367f and 646e); the titles include *Dionysus*, *Fig-flies*, *Frogs*, and *Birds*, of which the last three may possibly be mere inferences from Ar. *Eq.* 520 ff., where Magnes is described as περὺγίζων... καὶ ψηνίζων καὶ βαπτομενός βατραχείοις ('flapping his wings.. .buzzing like a gall-fly and dyeing himself frog-green'). KJD

Βαρβιτισταί *Barbitistai* Lyre-players

Βάτραχοι *Batrachoi* Frogs

Διόνυσος α' β' *Dionysos* 1, 2

Λυδοί *Lydoi* Lydians

ὄρνιθες *Ornithes* Birds

Ποάστρια *Poastria* Grass-cutter

Πυτακίδης (Τιτακίδης?) *Pykatidēs* (emended to *Titakidēs*) [personal name: significance unknown]

Ψήνες *Psēnes* Fig-flies

Menecrates/Menekrates (K-A VII 1–2): author of Μάνεκτωρ or Ἑρμονεύς, according to the *Suda*. A solitary final sigma is all that remains of the name following Teleclides in the list of victors at the City Dionysia (*IG* ii² 2325.55 = V B 1 col. 2.2 Mette); this person won one victory. It might be Menecrates or **Thugenides** or **Xenophilus**. FDH

Ἑρμονεύς ἢ Μανέκτωρ *Hermioneus* or *Manektor* The Man from

Hermione, or Slave-Hektor

Metagenes (K-A VII 4–13) won two victories at the Lenaea in the last decade of the 5th cent.BC (*IG* ii² 2325.128). We have fragments of four plays; in *Thurio- Persians* Thurii is eulogized fantastically as a land of abundance (see **Crates** and **Pherocrates**); "Ὅμηρος ἢ Ἀσκηταί ('Homer or the Athletes') mentions (fr. 10) the betrayal of Naupactus to the Spartans in 400 (Diod. Sic. 14.34.2). KJD

Ἄσκηται: see Ὅμηρος
 Αὔραι ἢ Μαρμάκυθος *Aurai* or *Mammakythos* Breezes, or The Nitwit
 Θουριοπέρσαι *Thouriopersai* Thourio-Persians
 Ὅμηρος ἢ Ἀσκηταί *Homer* or *Askētai* Homer, or the Athletes
 Φιλοθύτης *Philothytes* The Fanatical Sacrificer

Myrtilus/Myrtilos (K-A VII 29–32), brother of **Hermippus**, won a victory at the Lenaea c. 427 BC (IG ii² 2325.125). We have two titles, *Titanopanes* and *Erotes* (Loves). KJD

Ἐρωτες *Erōtes* Loves
 Τιτανόπανες *Titanopanes* Titan-Pans

Nicochares/Nikochares (K-A VII 39–49), son of **Philonides**, produced *Lakones* in 388 BC (hyp. 4 Ar. Plut.) and in *Galatea* (fr. 4) ridicules the same person as Aristophanes in *Plut.* 303 f. We have ten titles, several implying mythological burlesque; *Galatea* could possibly be one ancestor of Theoc. 11. KJD

Ἀγαμέμνων *Agamemnon*
 Ἀμυμώνη ἢ Πέλωψ *Amymōnē* or *Pelops*
 Γαλάτεια *Galatea*
 Ἡρακλῆς γαμῶν *Heraklēs gamōn* The Marriage of Herakles
 Ἡρακλῆς χορηγός *Heraklēs chorēgos* Herakles Produces a Play
 Κένταυρος (or Κένταυροι) Centaur(s)
 Κρήτες *Krētes* Cretans
 Λάκωνες *Lakōnes* Lakonians
 Λήμνιαι *Lēmniai* Lemnian Women
 Πέλωψ: see Ἀμυμώνη
 [misattributed: Χειρογάστορες: see **Nicophon**]

Nicophon/Nikophon (K-A VII 63–73) won one or more victories at the City Dionysia and the Lenaea in the last decade of the 5th cent. BC (IG ii² 2325.67, 131) and produced *Adonis* in 388 (hyp. 4 Ar. Plut.). We have six titles, mostly implying mythological burlesque (including *Birth of Aphrodite*; see **Polyzelus**). KJD

Ἀδωνις *Adonis*
 Ἀφροδίτης γοναί *Aphroditēs gonai* Birth of Aphrodite
 Ἐγχειρογάστορες *Encheirogastores* From Hand to Mouth
 Ἐξ Ἄιδου ἀνιών *Ex Haidou aniōn* Coming up from Hades
 Πανδώρα *Pandora*
 Σειρήνες *Sirens*

Pherecrates/Pherekrates (K-A VII 102–220) won his first victories at the City Dionysia and the Lenaea between 440 and 430 BC (IG ii² 2325.56, 122) and produced *Agrioi* at the Lenaea in 420 BC (Pl. Prt. 327d, Ath. 218d), depicting the fortunes of men who have left civilization (cf. Ar. Av.) to live among savages. We have nineteen titles and only 300 citations, which bear out the judgement of Anon. *De*

Com. 29 p. 8 that Pherecrates was εὔρετικός μύθων (‘inventive of stories’). In *Deserters* the parabasis appears to have been uttered by a chorus of deities (fr. 28; cf. *Ar. Nub.* 607 ff.). In *Miners* the underworld is depicted (fr. 113) as a land of fantastic abundance, and a similar theme appears (fr. 137) in *Persians* (see also **Crates** and **Metagenes**). Μυρμηκάνθρωποι (‘Ant-Men’) contained the story of Deucalion’s flood and Zeus’ repopulation of the earth by turning ants into men – a conflation of the Flood myth with a story of the origins of the Myrmidons (*Hes.* fr. 205). *Tyrannis* may possibly have had a plot similar to that of *Ar. Eccl.* The long and interesting fr. 155 (from *Chiron*) is a speech by Music, complaining of her treatment by contemporary musicians. KJD

Ἀγαθοί *Agathoi* Good Men

Ἄγριοι *Agrioi* Savages

Ἀνθρωφορακλῆς *Anthrōphērakles* Man-Herakles

Αὐτόμολοι *Automoloi* Deserters

Γῤῃες *Graes* Old women

Δουλοδιδάσκαλος *Doulodidaskalos* The Slave-teacher

Ἐπιλήσμων ἢ Θάλαττα *Epilēsmōn* or *Thalatta* The Forgetful Man, or The Sea

Θάλαττα: see Ἐπιλήσμων

Ἴπνός ἢ Παννυχίς *Ipnos* or *Pannychis* The Kitchen, or The All-night Festival

Κοριαννὴ *Korianno*

Κραπάταλοι *Krapataloi* Trash (?)

Λῆροι *Lēroi* Golden Ornaments

Μέταλλης *Metallēs* Miners

Μέτοικοι *Metoikoi* Metics

Μυρμηκάνθρωποι *Myrmēkanthrōpoi* Ant-men

Παννυχίς: see Ἴπνός

Πέρσαι *Persai* Persians

Πετάλη *Petalē* [hetaira’s name]

Τυραννίς *Tyrannis* Tyranny

Χείρων *Cheiron*

Ψευδηρακλῆς *Pseudhēraklēs* pseudo-Herakles

Philonicus/Philonikos (K-A VII 362): *IG* ii² 2325.137 records one victory at the Lenaea, before the name of Strattis. No titles, no fragments. FDH

Philonides (K-A VII 363–9) produced Aristophanes’ *Wasps*, *Amphiaraus* and *Frogs*; we have three titles of his own plays, and he may be the Φίλ[who won first prize at the City Dionysia c. 410 BC (*IG* ii² 2325.64). It is stated by the first hypothesis to *Ar. Wasps* that he won first prize with *Proagon* at the Lenaea in 422 BC, but *Proagon* is everywhere else attributed to Aristophanes. KJD

Ἀπήνη *Apēnē* The Chariot
 Κόθορνοι *Kothornoi* Socks
 (?) Προάγων *Proagōn* The Prelude [to the Dionysia]
 Φιλέταιρος *Philhetairos* The Man who liked his Friends [or who liked
 Hetairai?]

Philyllius/Philyllios (K-A VII 374–87) won the first prize once at the Lenaia at the beginning of the 4th cent. BC (*IG* ii² 2325.137). We have ten titles, mostly implying mythological burlesque, and thirty-three citations. KJD

Αἰγεύς *Aigeus*
 Ἀταλάντη *Atalanta*
 Αὔγη *Augē*
 Δωδεκάτη *Dōdekatē* Twelfth Day (Festival)
 Ἑλένη *Helen*
 Ἡρακλῆς *Herakles*
 Ναυσικάα ἡ Πλύντριάι *Nausikaa or Plyntriai* Nausikaa, or Girls
 Washing Clothes
 Φρεωρύχος *Phreōrychos* Digging the Well
 Plays also attributed to **Eunikos**:
 Ἄντεια *Anteia*
 Πόλεις *Poleis* Cities

Phrynichus/Phrynichos (K-A VII 393–430) produced his first play in 434 (*Suda*) or 429 BC (Anon. *De Com.* 9 p. 7); the latter statement probably refers to his first victory – at the Lenaia, where he won two victories (*IG* ii² 2325.124), his first victory at the City Dionysia being some time after 420 (*ibid.* 61). He produced *Monotropos* in 414 (hyp. 1 Ar. Av.) and *Muses* in 405 (hyp. 1 Ar. Ran.). We have eleven titles and over 90 citations; two of the titles, *Connus* and *Revellers*, are also attributed to **Ameipsias**, and this attribution is to be preferred, since it is given by the fifth hypothesis to Aristophanes' *Clouds* and the first hypothesis to his *Birds*, the composers of which will have derived their information ultimately from the *didaskaliai*. Fr. 61 (play unnamed) refers humorously to the mutilation of the herms in 415. KJD

Ἀπελεύθεροι: see Τραγωδοί
 Ἐπιάλτης (or Ἐφιάλτης) *Epialtes* (or *Ephialtes*) Incubus
 Κόννος *Konnos*
 Κρόνος *Kronos*
 Κωμασταί *Kōmastai* Revellers
 Μονότροπος *Monotropos* The Solitary Man
 Μοῦσαι *Mousai* Muses
 Μύσται *Mystai* Initiates
 Ποάστριάι *Poastriai* Grass-cutters
 Σάτυροι *Satyroi* Satyrs
 Τραγωδοί ἡ Ἀπελεύθεροι *Tragōidoi* or *Apeleutheroi* Tragedians, or
 Freedmen

Plato/Platon (K-A VII 431–548) won his first victory at the City

Dionysia c. 410 BC (*IG* ii² 2325.63). He produced *Hyperbolus* at some date during 420–416 BC, *Victories* after 421 (it referred to Ar. Pax), *Cleophon* in 405 and *Phaon* (probably) in 391. We have thirty titles and 300 citations. Many of the citations refer to people known to us from Aristophanes (esp. Av.) and from historians. The titles show that many of his plays were strongly political, and at least one of them, *Envoys*, belongs to the 4th cent., since it mentions an embassy of Epicrates and Phormisius to Persia (fr. 127). Other titles, e.g. *Zeus kakoumenos*, point to mythological burlesque; *Sophists* ridiculed contemporary artistic (and possibly, though not certainly, philosophical) innovations. KJD

Ἀδωνίς *Adonis*
 Αἱ ἀφ' ἱερῶν *Hai aph' hierōn* Women Returning from the Sacred Rites
 Γρύπες *Grypes* Griffins
 Δαίδαλος *Daidalos*
 Ἑλλάς ἢ Νῆσοι *Hellas or Nēsoi* Greece or Islands
 Ἑορταί *Heortai* Festivals
 Εὐρώπη *Europa*
 Ζεὺς κακούμενος *Zeus kakoumenos* Zeus in Trouble
 Ἴω *Io*
 Κέρκωπες: see Ξάνται
 Κλεοφῶν *Kleophon*
 Λαῖος *Laios*
 Λάκωνες ἢ Ποιηταί *Lakōnes or Poiētai* Spartans or Poets
 Μαμάκυθος *Mammakuthos* The Nitwit
 Μενέλεως *Menelaos*
 Μέτοικοι *Metoiikoi* Metics
 Μύρμηκες *Myrmēkes* Ants
 Νῆσοι: see Ἑλλάς
 Νίκαι *Nikai* Victories
 Νύξ μακρά *Nyx makra* Long Night
 Ξάνται ἢ Κέρκωπες *Xantai or Kerkōpes* Wool-carders or Kerkopes
 [malicious dwarfs]
 Παιδάριον *Paidarion* Babykins
 Πείσανδρος *Peisandros*
 Περιάλγης *Perialgēs* The Man in Dreadful Pain
 Ποιηταί: see Λάκωνες
 Ποιητής *Poiētēs* Poet
 Πρέσβεις *Presbeis* Envoys
 Ῥαβδοῦχοι *Rhabdouchoi* Mace-Bearers
 Σκευαί *Skeuai* Costumes
 Σοφισταί *Sophistai* Sophists
 Συμμαχία *Symmachia* The Alliance
 Σύρφαξ *Syrphax* Riff-raff
 Ὑπέρβολος *Hyperbolos*
 Φάων *Phaon*

Poliochus/Poliochos (K-A VII 550–1) *IG* ii² 2325.127 attests one victory at the Lenaea. One title, two fragments. FDH

Κορινθιαστής *Korinthiastēs* The Man who Liked Those

Polyzelus/Polyzelos (K-A VII 553–9) won four victories at the Lenaia, the first in the last decade of the 5th cent.BC (*IG* ii² 2325.130). We have five titles and a dozen citations; four of the titles indicate theogonic burlesque; a fifth, *Demotyndareos*, is certainly political, but its occasion and point are disputed. KJD

Ἀφροδίτης γοναί *Aphrodites gonai* Birth of Aphrodite
 Δημοτυνδάρεως *Dēmotyndareōs* The Demos as Tyndareus
 Διονύσου γοναί *Dionysou gonai* Birth of Dionysos
 Μουσῶν γοναί *Mousōn gonai* Birth of the Muses
 Νίπτρα *Niptra* Baths

Sannyrion (K-A VII 585–9) produced *Danae* after Eur. *Or.* (408 BC), to which fr. 8 refers. We have three titles and a dozen citations. Fr. 1 ('we gods...you mortals...') shows that in *Laughter* at least one deity was a character. KJD

Γέλως *Gelōs* Laughter
 Δανὰη *Danae*
 Ἰώ *Io*

Strattis (K-A VII 623–60) produced *Anthroporestes* after Eur. *Or.* (408) and *Atalanta* 'long after' (schol. Ar. Ran. 146) Ar. Ran. (405). We have 19 titles and 70 citations; many titles suggest tragic parody (blended with mythological burlesque), e.g. *Medea*, *Philoctetes*, *Phoenissae*. A traditional figure, the gluttonous Heracles, was a character (fr. 12) in *Callippides*. KJD

Ἀγαθοὶ *Agathoi* Good Men
 Ἀνθρωπορέστης *Anthrōporestēs* Human Orestes
 Ἀργυρίου ἀφανισμός *Arguriou aphanismos* The Money that Vanished
 Ἀτάλαντος (or Ἀταλάντη or Ἀταλάνται) *Atalantos* (or *Atalanta*, or
Atalanta and friends)
 Ζώπυρος περικαιόμενος *Zōpyros perikaiomenos* Zopyros on the Pyre
 Ἰφιγέρων *Iphigerōn* [personal name]
 Καλλιππίδης *Kallippides*
 Κινησίας *Kinesias*
 Ληννομέδα *Lennomeda* [compound of Women of Lemnos and
 Andromeda?]
 Μακεδόνες ἢ Πausανίας *Makedones or Pausanias* Macedonians, or
 Pausanias
 Μήδεια *Medea*
 Μυρμιδόνες *Myrmidons*
 Πausανίας: see Μακεδόνες
 Ποτάμιοι *Potamioi* Men from Potamos [Attic deme]
 Πύτισος(?) *Pytisos* [meaning unknown, word corrupt?]
 Τρωῖλος *Troilos*
 Φιλοκτήτης *Philoktetes*
 Φοίνισσαι *Phoinissai* Phoenician Women
 Χρύσιππος *Chrysippos*
 Ψυχασταὶ *Psychastai* Men Cooling Off

Teleclides/Telekleides (K-A VII 667–92) won three victories at the City Dionysia, the first c. 445 BC (*IG* ii² 2325.54), and five at the Lenaea, the first c. 440 (*ibid.* 119). We have eight titles (including *Eumenides* and *Hesiodoi*) and seventy citations. The largest, fr. 1 (*Amphictions*), describes the golden age in extravagant terms; frs. 41 and 42 associate Socrates with Euripides, and frs. 45 and 47 attack Pericles. KJD

Ἀμφικτύονες *Amphiktyones*
 Ἀψευδεῖς *Apseudeis* Men Without Guile
 Ἡσιόδοι *Hesiodoi* Hesiod and friends
 Νησιῶται *Nēsiōtai* Island]ers?
 [first letters missing: perhaps Στρατιῶται *Stratiōtai* Soldiers, c
 Σικελιῶται *Sikeliōtai* Sicilians]
 Πρυτάνεις *Prytaneis*
 Σικελιῶται: see Νησιῶται
 Στερροὶ α' β' *Sterrhoi* Tough Guys 1, 2
 Στρατιῶται: see Νησιῶται
 Συμπ[*Symp[* Symp[[title incomplete, reading disputed]

Theopompus/Theopompos (K-A VII 708–49) was active from c. 410 BC (probably not earlier) to c. 370. We have twenty titles (including *Odysseus*, *Penelope*, and *Sirens*) and over 100 citations (many of them only glosses). KJD

Ἄδμητος *Admetos*
 Ἀλθαία *Althaia*
 Ἀφροδίτη *Aphrodite*
 Βατύλη *Batylē* [meaning unknown: hetaira's name?]
 Εἰρήνη *Eirēne* Peace
 Ἡδυχάρης *Hēdycharēs* Mr Lovejoy [invented name]
 Θησεύς *Theseus*
 Κάλλαισχος *Kallaischros* [personal name]
 Καπήλιδες *Kapēlides* Barmaids
 Μῆδος *Mēdos* The Mede
 Νεμέα or Νεμεά(ς) *Nemea* or *Nemeas* [hetaira's name]
 Ὀδυσσεύς *Odysseus*
 [perhaps Ὀδυσσῆς *Odyssēs* Odysseus and friends]
 Παῖδες *Paides* Boys
 Παμφίλη *Pamphilē*
 Πανταλέων *Pantaleōn*
 Πηνελόπη *Penelope*
 Σειρῆνες *Sirens*
 Στρατιώτιδες *Stratiōtides* Soldieresses
 Τεισαμενός *Teisamenos*
 Φινεύς *Phineus*

Thugenides/Thougenides (K-A VII 750–2) may be the name missing after Teleclides at *IG* ii² 2325.55 (see **Menecrates** and **Xenophilus**). One victory at the City Dionysia, if so; one title and seven citations (two dubious). FDH

Δικασταί *Dikastai* Jurymen

Xenophilus/Xenophilos (K-A VII 803): the third candidate for the missing name at *IG* ii² 2325.55 (see **Menecrates** and **Thugenides**). One victory at the City Dionysia, if so; and one victory at the Lenaea (*IG* ii² 2325.118) before Teleclides. No titles, no fragments. FDH

Xenophon (K-A VII 804): Diog. Laert. 2.59 lists seven men called Xenophon: the last is an Old Comic poet. *IG* ii² 2325.135 (= V C 1 col. 2.9 Mette) shows that he won one victory at the Lenaea, before Strattis. No titles, no fragments. FDH

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Statuette F. Mon. A(ttic) B(ronze) 3 (p. 117). Man running forward, both arms raised; he must have been holding some object – a tray, for example (Mon.). Dotted *chiton*, looped phallos. Later 4th cent.; from Dodona; height 10 cm. We include this, despite its late date, as an example of tragic parody (the actor has an *onkos*, an artificially heightened forehead: see *DFA* 189–90, 193–6). Green (36) suggests that some terracottas may have had metal prototypes of this kind.

GLOSSARY

Readers who wish to pursue metrical discussions in more detail should consult D.S. Raven, *Greek Metre* (London, 1962) or M.L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford 1982). The metrical symbols used here and in the book indicate the following: - a long syllable; ∪ a short syllable; x (or ≈) a syllable that may be long or short.

DFA = A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (second edition revised by J. Gould & D.M. Lewis, Oxford 1968, revised 1988).

Agon: the contest of words between the main antagonists or the protagonist and the chorus. The agon often comprises introductory choral odes and metrically balanced lines, in which case it is known as an *epirrhematic agon*.

Anapaests: an animated and frequently used comic metre of the form ∪ ∪ -. It normally appears in pairs in units of two or four. The (catalectic) anapaestic tetrameter is a unit of four anapaestic pairs that make up a line of animated verse whose end is signalled by a missing beat.

Antistrophe/ic: the stanza of a choral ode which responds to or balances the earlier *strophe*.

Antode: a short choral ode, which corresponds metrically with an earlier ode.

Apograph: a copy of a manuscript, often used of those taken directly from another manuscript without including material from a third.

Catalexis/catalectic: the omission of a rhythmical beat to signal the end of a sequence (see e.g. the 'catalectic anapaestic tetrameter' under *anapaests*).

Choregos: a wealthy citizen obliged by the city of Athens to pay for the recruitment, training and costuming of the chorus.

Choreutes: a choral dancer, a member of the chorus.

Codex: an ancient manuscript in the form of a book rather than of a papyrus roll.

Comedy, Middle and New: the Old form of Comedy which is the subject of this book, was followed in the fourth century by the so-called Middle and (by the end of the fourth century) New Comedy. No one challenges the form of New Comedy, which is best exemplified by the plays of Menander (?344/3–292/1 BC), but many have disputed the form and even the existence of Middle Comedy: see the chapters by Sidwell and Nesselrath in this volume).

Coryphaeus: the leader of the chorus.

Dactylo-epitrite: a complex and very varied metrical scheme generally based on the dactyl (- ∪ ∪ -) and the epitrite (- ∪ - -) or

- cretic (- ∪ -).
- Didaskalia:** the production of a dramatic performance or (plural) the list of productions staged at a particular festival.
- Dionysia:** one of the annual dramatic festivals of Dionysus at Athens. Normally the City Dionysia, held in late March/early April, to be distinguished from the Rural Dionysia, where plays were performed in small local theatres. Comedies were first produced at the City Dionysia in 487/6 BC. See *DFA* ch. 2.
- Ekkyklema/Eccuclema:** the trolley on which dead bodies and other spectacles were wheeled out on to the stage from the stage buildings, normally in tragedies.
- Epirrhema:** normally a speech recited by the chorus leader during the parabasis. This speech is balanced with a corresponding *antepirrhema*.
- Episode (epeisodion):** a comic scene, a number of which normally follow the parabasis.
- Epirrhematic agon:** see agon
- Eupolidean:** a metre associated with Eupolis and used particularly in the parabasis, of the form x x - x - ∪ - x x - x - ∪ x.
- Hetaira:** a courtesan or prostitute; a woman of no citizen status; the only kind of woman normally present at an Attic symposium.
- Hypothesis:** an ancient summary of a play. The earliest examples date to the Hellenistic period, after 300 BC.
- Iambic:** the standard rhythm of the non-choral parts of comedy. The iambic rhythm ∪ - normally appears in units of two; three of these units comprise an iambic trimeter, the normal line-length. Also found are iambic dimeters (two of these units) and tetrameters (four of these units, the last in catalexis). Non-comic iambic poetry, a form of invective verse, is an important predecessor of Old Comedy.
- Itthyphallic:** one of the aeolic family of rhythms, in the form - ∪ - ∪ - -.
- K-A:** abbreviation for Kassel-Austin, now the standard edition of the comic fragments (details in the main Bibliography). Older works (including the Oxford Classical Text of Aristophanes) number the fragments according to the earlier edition of Kock.
- Kolax:** a flatterer, one of the stock characters of Athenian comedy.
- Komodoumenos:** a person singled out for comic ridicule.
- Komos:** a band of revellers, especially the Dionysiac revel band thought to be linked with the origins of comedy and sometimes portrayed in comedy.
- Lemma:** the word or phrase in the text which a scholion has selected for comment.
- Lenaia:** a dramatic festival of Dionysus, held annually in January; less imposing in Athens than the City Dionysia, but apparently more used, or more successfully used by comic than tragic poets. See *DFA*

Ode: a choral song accompanied by dance steps.

Paignion: a comic interlude or performance of some kind (see Davidson's chapter in this volume).

Parabasis: the section of an Old Comedy in which the chorus steps out of its dramatic character and addresses the audience in a range of metres, normally on behalf of the poet. Some plays have two parabaseis. By the end of Aristophanes' career the parabasis appears to have become obsolete.

Paradosis: the transmitted manuscript text.

Parasite: originally an aristocratic official who took part in a ritual meal; later a scrounger, one dependent on another for his maintenance. One of the male stock characters of Athenian comedy: see Fisher's chapter in this volume.

Parodos: the entry-song of the chorus.

Pnigos: ('the choker') a brief animated unit in some parabaseis in which a series of lines were delivered apparently without taking breath.

Proagon: the 'pre-contest' at which the poet and his actors announced the subject of their play.

Prytaneion: a building at the heart of most Greek cities which housed the civic hearth and at which honoured visitors were entertained.

Prytaneis: the members of the executive committee of the Council (*boule*) at Athens from 508/7 (or 461)BC onwards, who held office for one tenth of the year, dining in the Tholos (not the prytaneion).

Pyrrhic: a lively dance associated with warriors.

Reizianum: one of the Aeolic family of rhythms, generally in the form
x - ∪ ∪ - -.

Σ = **scholion:** an ancient comment on a text such as that of Aristophanes, normally preserved in the margins of mediaeval manuscripts. The authors of such comments are known as scholiasts.

Skene: the stage building in the ancient theatre.

Spondee: a metrical unit (- -) often used in anapaestic and dactylic (- ∪ ∪) sequences.

Stasimon: a choral ode.

Stele: a stone pillar, especially one on which an inscription was incised.

Strophe: a stanza of a choral ode, to which the antistrophe corresponds.

Symposium: the drinking session which formed the later part of formal Greek meals.

T = **Testimonium:** ancient evidence on a dramatist or play. In K-A (see above) Arabic numerals (T 1 etc.) are used for information on dramatists, and Roman numerals (T i etc.) for information on plays.

Telesillean: one of the Aeolic family of rhythms, generally in the form
x - ∪ ∪ - x -.

Tetrameter: a run of four metrical units, such as four pairs of anapaests.

Tholos: see *prytaneion*.

Trimeters: see iambic.

Trochees/aic: a comic metre in the form - ∪. Like the iambic metre, it is found in dimeter and tetrameter form.

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Kenneth Dover

The problems that beset us in studying the comic dramatists against whom Aristophanes competed may be illustrated by an experiment.

Imagine that no text of Aristophanes' *Frogs* had survived, and that with its loss the hypotheses and scholia which accompany it in the medieval manuscripts had also been lost. Imagine that for our knowledge of *Frogs* we were wholly dependent on citations no more numerous, extensive, or helpful than those we have for the *Nanny-Goats* of Eupolis. That is to say, we would have eighteen citations consisting each of a single word or phrase – in two cases, with a little information from the citing author about the context – five consisting of part of a verse, nine of a whole verse, one of three verses, and one of five. The single-word citations of *Nanny-goats* do not in themselves tell us anything about the content of the play. There are in fact only two things of which we can be sure. First, the play is named after its chorus, for fr. 13 is a sequence of five anapaestic tetrameters listing twenty-four plant-species on which 'we feed' (and note the feminine participle ἀποτρῶγούσαι in line 2); and according to a Homerscholium the epithet προβατικός is applied by Eupolis to the chorus in his play. Secondly, a commentary on an unknown work (*POxy.* 2738) shows that at some point in *Nanny-goats* a 'countryman' dancing a pyrrhic stiffly is corrected by a 'teacher'. The teaching of 'letters' and 'music' (by a certain 'Prodamos') is confirmed by Quintilian and a scholium on Dionysius Thrax. A chorus of female goats and the education of rustics can plainly be brought together somehow in the same play, but how exactly were they brought together by Eupolis? What was the 'plot' of the play? What character was the protagonist? Was it the 'teacher'? Did the goats 'take over' rural Attica and try to improve their quality of life by having their boorish herdsmen educated?

Let us see how we would fare with our hypothetically fragmented *Frogs*. We can forget about single-word citations, from which we can hardly ever expect to infer anything of value. I have selected fifteen citations – as near as is practicable, a random selection, but under one formidable constraint: in most of the thousand-odd citations of *Frogs* the citer does not identify the play, and often not even the playwright. I have arranged my fifteen citations in the alphabetic order of their first word in Greek.

- (1) (840) ‘What! You son of the goddess of the fields (τῆς ἀρουραίας θεοῦ)!’
- (2) (439) ‘It’s the same old story again in the blankets’
- (3) (833–4) ‘He’ll just stick his nose in the air at first, the way he always tried to impress in his tragedies’
- (4) (1150) ‘Dionysus, the wine you drink is not a good vintage’
- (5) (501) ‘rogue from Melite’
- (6) (1163–5) (on the difference of meaning between ἐλθεῖν and κατελθεῖν)
- (7) (423–4) ‘having his hair plucked out among the tombs’
- (8) (799) ‘and collapsible brick-moulds – they are making bricks γε –’ (emendation of γε to γάρ would be compelling) ‘and set-squares and wedges’
- (9) (1106) ‘speak (dual), go at it (dual)!’
- (10) (1211–2) ‘clad in the hides of fawns’
- (11) (452–3) ‘which (masc.) the blessed Muses convene’
- (12) (1406) ‘a hundred Egyptians could not lift (sc. it)’
- (13) (721–6) (a complaint that bad new coins are now used instead of good old coins)
- (14) (926) ‘expressions unintelligible to the audience’
- (15) (619) ‘flogging with a bristle-whip’

What can we extract from these citations? Nothing, I suggest, from (2) (where, in the light of *Clouds* 709–10, I hope no-one would want to emend στρώμασιν), (8), (10) (which we would not recognise as the beginning of Euripides’ *Hypsipyle*, not possessing the scholium present in the manuscripts), (11) and (15). (4) tells us that Dionysus is a character in the play. The manner in which (3) is cited in the *Suda* (α 3517) makes it quite clear that Aeschylus is the subject of ἀποσεμνυνεῖται. The frequency of jokes associating Euripides’ mother with the cultivation of vegetables strongly suggests that (1) is addressed to Euripides, and the line is obviously not an apostrophe. So far then: Dionysus, Aeschylus, Euripides; and the dual imperatives of (9) look like an exhortation to a contest. Dionysus is the obvious arbiter of a contest between two tragic poets; and given the attitude of Aristophanes elsewhere to Aeschylus and Euripides, combined with the familiar contrast between good-old and bad-new exemplified in (13), we could be sure that Aeschylus won the contest. (6) and (14) could easily be imagined as occurring therein; we would not, of course, know that (6) had any bearing on a particular play of either poet, because it is only from the extant *Frogs* that we derive our knowledge of the beginning of *Choephoroi*. With *Clouds* 1366–7 in mind (where Aeschylus is κρημνοποιός), we might just possibly suspect that (12) had something to do with Aeschylus’ language.

But has the ghost of Aeschylus been raised to confront the living Euripides, or has Dionysus gone to the underworld, when both poets are dead (i.e. after 407), probably with the intention of bringing one of them back? The latter hypothesis would appear to be ruled out by (7), because its source (a scholium on Theocritus 5.43) says that the depilator is Kleon. Well, that can be emended to 'Kleophon'; still a misinterpretation of *Frogs* 423–4, but we wouldn't know that, nor would we know that someone (Philochorus?) dated the issue of bronze coinage to 406/5, because that datum is found only in a scholium on the main text. 'Kleon' in the Theocritus scholium might well be treated as firm evidence for the date of *Frogs*, and it would be necessary to make the history of Attic coinage conform, with ripples spreading into our interpretation of Athenian finances (and mining) in the years leading up to the Peace of Nikias. Dionysus, sickened by Euripides, has persuaded uncle Pluto and step-sister Persephone to let him bring the ghost of Aeschylus back to earth in order to put Attic tragedy back on the rails. Why *frogs*, though? The dead are ferried to the underworld across a shallow lake, the sort of place in which frogs are abundant; so the contest between the two tragic poets takes place not in the underworld itself, but at its boundary, and in the ghost of Aeschylus there are echoes of the ghost of Teiresias in the *Odyssey*. Is it perhaps the function of the frog-chorus to warn Dionysus (in comic terms) of the horrors and perils he will face if he dares to go further?

Meineke, I think, might have got thus far, and if he missed anything Kaibel would have picked it up. However, neither they nor anyone else could have known that the chorus of frogs appears only in the early part of the play and is then replaced by a chorus of initiates; that Dionysus at the start is a passionate admirer of Euripides; that he has disguised himself as Herakles; that he is accompanied by a masterful slave whose role foreshadows much in later comedy; and that a large part of the most memorable humour in the play is to be found in the interplay of those two characters during the episodes which constitute their journey to the underworld. That is the kind of humour which is virtually irrecoverable from citations, and its absence makes it peculiarly hard to arrive at a just assessment of the comparative merits of Aristophanes and his rivals (his own pronouncements on the subject of dramatic ingredients ἐφ' οἷς ἀεὶ γελῶσιν οἱ θεώμενοι are hardly objective). The predominant purpose of citation is lexical or morphological, and where it is not linguistic its interests are prosopographical and antiquarian. In those circumstances, what we learn from citations about the literary and theatrical aspects of Old Comedy cannot be more than incidental. As the above experiment with *Frogs* has shown, some degree of such incidental profit is by no means unattainable, while at the same time

one gross error in a citation may lead us badly astray, and a flexible mind open to alternative interpretations is indispensable. So far as citations are concerned, it is hard to imagine that there can ever be any significant improvement on the scholarship and judgement of Kassel and Austin in *Poetae Comici Graeci*. Hopes lie, as always, with papyri awaiting discovery.



Terracotta B. Mon. AT 12 (p. 49). Man in pilos, holding himation up to right eye: weeping? Dotted chiton, looped phallos; same mask as Frontispiece 4. Early 4th cent.; examples found in Athens and Olynthos; height 12.1 cm.

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Frontispiece. Four comic actor terracottas (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4)

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Terracottas. Line-drawings of comic actor terracottas by Myfanwy Tristram

A xiv; B xx; C 162; D 340; E 406; F 526

The terracotta figurines of comic actors

Numerous terracotta figurines representing comic actors have survived from antiquity, and some have been used to illustrate this volume. One group serves as our frontispiece, and line-drawings of others will be found elsewhere. The figurines were made in Athens, and later in other places too, from moulds that could produce numerous identical copies. The clay was covered with a white slip before firing, and afterwards painted in bright colours, traces of which sometimes survive (details in Green 36). It would be interesting to create and paint some replicas, so as to recapture the original effect. Those that we illustrate are between 7.5 to 12 cm (roughly 3 to 5 inches) high; one (E) is larger (17 cm = nearly 7 inches).

Both sexes are depicted. Their bellies and bottoms are padded, a long-standing tradition going back to the seventh century. This was (presumably) considered funny in itself, but it would also protect the actor in more boisterous scenes, such as those which involved beatings and pratfalls. The men generally wear a *chiton* (short tunic), which exposes the leather phallos that was characteristic of Old Comic costume, worn 'to make the little boys laugh', according to Aristophanes (*Clouds* 539), though in fact of ritual origin (*DFA* 220-2). It was normally rolled up in a loop (2, 4, A, B, D, F), but sometimes left to dangle. The women have longer dresses and cloaks, and

preserve the decencies.

The terracottas make use of a limited range of forty-odd masks (*Monuments* 13–26; *DFA* 218–20): thus Herakles has the same mask in 2 and A, and so do figurines 4 and B. This does not imply that the dramatists of Old and early Middle Comedy restricted themselves to a similarly limited range of standard characters.

One of the most important finds is a group of fourteen found in a single tomb in Athens, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (*Mon.* pp. 45–60; illustrated in Bieber 1961 pp. 46–7). It is no longer believed that these (or any others) formed a set illustrating a single play.

These figurines were enormously popular, and not only in Attica: they are found all over mainland Greece, the islands of the Aegean, Asia Minor, South Russia (the Taman region), Cyrenaica, south Italy, Sicily (including the Lipari islands), even Spain (details in *Mon.* and Green 64–5). We are rarely well informed about the contexts in which they were discovered. People will have kept them at home as souvenirs of performances, as we know from those found at Olynthos, but they were also placed in graves to commemorate the interests of the deceased.

The surviving figurines are carefully catalogued in *Mon.*, and there is an excellent discussion in Green 1994, 36–8. Bieber 1961 offers a generous selection of illustrations of some seventy pieces from our period, but her interpretations are fanciful. (She writes of F: ‘He is jumping in undisguised terror over some obstacle. He is *obviously* [our italics] a coward running away from an imaginary danger, after a lot of high-flown talk’ [p. 42]). By contrast, the descriptions in *Mon.* are admirably cautious.

However, chronology presents difficulties, and remains controversial. Some scholars have dated the earliest examples to the end of the fifth century (*Mon.* pp. 1–3, 29, 45–6; Green 1994; Green & Handley 58, 115), but this view is based on the archaeological associations of a single example, which may be fortuitous (Nicholls 473–4 n. 320). If so, the genre will have been born a couple of decades later, at about the time that the rivals of Aristophanes were dying. A mould could be used again and again over a lengthy period, and it was easy to create new moulds from the figurines. Figurines of this and other types continued to be produced throughout the fourth century and beyond. *Mon.* divides its material by quarter-centuries, but such precision is at present unattainable, and as far as the terracottas are concerned its dates may be too early. We have preferred to use the deliberately vague phrase ‘early fourth century’.

- Bieber M., *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, Berlin and Leipzig 1920
- *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*², Princeton 1961, 39–48, 279–80 DFA = Pickard-Cambridge A.W., *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*¹, revised by J. Gould & D.M. Lewis, Oxford 1968, 214–5 and figs. 89–102
- Green J.R., *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society*, London 1994, 34–8, 64–5
- & Handley E., *Images of the Greek Theatre*, London 1995, 58–61, 115
- Mon. = T.B.L. Webster & J.R. Green, *Monuments illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*³ =
- BICS Supplement 39 London 1978
- Nicholls R.V., ‘The Stele-Goddess workshop’, *Hesperia* 64 (1995) 405–92
- Trendall A.D. & Webster T.B.L., *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, London 1971, 126–7
- Line-drawings by Myfanwy Tristram, after the excellent photographs in Bieber 1920 and elsewhere. We are most grateful to Lucilla Burn for advice on chronological problems.

A
L E T T E R
TO THE
Reverend Dr. *SH-N*.
Written in the Year 1718.

by JONATHAN SWIFT

W HATE' ER your Predecessorstaught us
I have a great esteem for *Plautus*;
And think your Boys may gather there-hence
More Wit and Humour than from *Terence*.
But as to Comic *Aristophanes*,
The Rogue's too Bawdy and too Prophane is.
I went in vain to look for *Eupolis*,
Down in the * Strand just where the new Pole is,
For I can tell you one thing, that I can,
You will not find it in the *Vatican*.
He and *Cratinus* used, as *Horace* says,
To take his greatest Grandees for Asses.
Poets, in those Days, us'd to venture high
But these are lost full many a Century.

THUS you may see, dear Friend, *ex pede* hence
My Judgment of the old Comedians.

...

And now I find my Muse but ill able
To hold out longer in Trysyllable.

* N.B. *The Strand* in LONDON. *The fact may be false, but the Rhyme cost me some Trouble.*

Dr Thomas Sheridan (1687–1738) was a Dublin schoolmaster and friend of Swift who published translations of Persius, Juvenal and Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.

Line 6: 'Prophane' must be stressed on the first syllable. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives no authority for this pronunciation, which is presumably a comic distortion by Swift to create a rhyme for 'Aristophanes'.

Line 8: Harold Williams, in his edition of Swift's *Poems*, vol. 3 (2nd edn, Oxford 1958, 988), compares line 8 to *The Dunciad* 2.28: 'Where the tall may-pole once o'erlooked the Strand', and adds: 'In the year

1718, when Swift wrote these lines, the Maypole erected opposite Somerset House was taken down, and was not replaced. Its predecessor, removed in 1713, was originally 134 feet high.'



Terracotta A. Mon. AT 11 (p. 48). Herakles with finger in mouth, wearing lion-skin and carrying club. Looped phallos; same mask as *Frontispiece 2*. Early 4th cent.; examples found in Athens and Paestum; height 12 cm. From a mythological burlesque? (see Bowie in this volume, pp. 319–24). Bieber 1961, 47 suggests that the gesture denotes hunger.

GENERAL INDEX

Note: Greek names and words may be transliterated either in Greek style (Alkaios) or Latinized (Alcaeus). Contributors to this volume have followed the conventions that they prefer, but in the indexes names generally appear in Greek style. Words which begin with the letter ‘c’ in some chapters may be listed under ‘k’ (the default) in the index. Similarly ‘ai’ in some chapters may be listed under ‘ae’. ‘Chi’ becomes ch (not kh), however, and familiar names such as Aeschylus retain their familiar forms.

See also the index locorum for ancient authors and their works. Information on all known fifth-century poets of Old Comedy will be found in the bibliographical appendix. They are only listed in the index if they are discussed elsewhere in the volume.

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